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COTTON CULTIVATION AND SUPPLY.

THE paralysis of a great branch of our national industry, and the consequent pauperisation of an entire county, have given more than ordinary interest to the search for new sources from which our supplies of cotton may be drawn. Nor is the question one of merely temporary importance. The state of things which has been so suddenly interrupted is little likely to be restored in its integrity; and the present derangement of the cotton trade has in it the elements of permanent change. There are some persons, indeed, who still cling to the belief that the crisis will be short; that a few modifications and readjustments will enable us to tide it over; that at any moment the American ports may be thrown open; and that the liberation of the cotton now lying there ready to be shipped would be the signal for a complete return to the accustomed order of growth and exportation. There is little probability, however, that these sanguine anticipations will be fulfilled. It is true, indeed, that the military ardour of the North seems to be rapidly cooling down; but this change is probably owing, in a great measure, to the extreme uncertainty and wide differences of opinion which at present exist as to the object and method of carrying on the war. The triumph of one or other of the two great political parties in the Federal States might put an end to this state of things, but it would not necessarily insure the restoration of peace. The propriety of recognising the independence of the South is not the question now in issue between them. Hereafter it may, not improbably, become so; but at this moment the point of

departure is the nature of the terms of reunion. The South, however, seems to look with no more favour upon its old allies than upon its old opponents. It is just as unwilling to return to the Union of President Buchanan as to the Union of President Lincoln. The doctrine of putting down rebellion seems as unpalatable when it is preached by a pro-slavery democracy, as when it is made the pretext for a republican reign of terror. That the recent Democratic victories may ultimately tend to bring about a peace is not improbable; but there are several intermediate steps to be got over before any party in the North can make the recognition of the South an integral portion of its platform. Let us assume, however, that this has been done; that the peace-party in the North has been created, has fought, and has been victorious; and that the ambassadors of the two Federations are now discussing the terms of separation. A man must be very conscious of inspiration who would predict that the war is over even now. Negotiations have not always ended amicably, nor treaties of partition been invariably treaties of peace. The determination of a boundary-line; the division of the territories, which will involve economical interests of great importance to both the contending parties; the rendition of fugitive slaves, a question which did more, perhaps, than any other to split up the Union, and will probably yield its full quota of discord to the international relations of the separated parts;—all these problems will present themselves for diplomatic solution, and upon any one of them a new conflict may arise as disastrous to English interests as the one which is now raging. Nor are the continuance or renewal of the war the only contingencies which may operate unfavourably on the supply of cotton. Southern society can hardly come unchanged out of such a fiery trial as it is enduring. Separation following upon an exhausting war must almost of necessity tend to modify the system of slavery in its present form. As the war goes on, military if not political reasons will probably compel the planters to arm larger numbers of their slaves,—a step which would be tantamount to a measure of partial emancipation. And when the war is over, the presence of a critical and hostile neighbour on the same continent; the coming for the first time face to face with the public opinion of Europe; the rise into importance of the poor Whites, who, after they have fought for political independence, are not likely to rest contented with their present political and social insignificance; and the growth of a manufacturing interest;—all necessarily point in the same direction. But the economical tendency of any change of the kind will in the

first instance be injurious. It is quite possible, indeed, from the wastefulness and want of intelligence which are the inherent characteristics of slaves, that in the long-run more cotton may be grown in the Southern States by a large admixture of free labour. But the intermediate period, during which the two systems will be working side by side, and neither of them doing its utmost, will almost certainly be a period of diminished production.

The precise estimate, however, which may be formed of the duration and consequences of the present contest is not of much importance to the matter in hand. Our exclusive reliance upon America was as short-sighted twenty years ago as it is now. At no time since the cotton trade has been in existence was a catastrophe similar in kind, though not perhaps in proportions, to that from which we are now suffering, impossible or even improbable. Threats of secession and rumours of civil war might perhaps seem too wild and idle to merit serious attention; but "difficulties" with the United States have at no time been uncommon, and a war in which the Southern ports would have been blockaded by an English fleet must have checked the flow of cotton to our own shores as effectually as the most rabid of internecine struggles. The cotton manufacture of Great Britain has depended from its very birth upon the industry of a single country, whose policy we cannot regulate, and whose friendship we cannot insure. The lives of hundreds of thousands of Englishmen have been as much at the mercy of a foreign power as though Lancashire were already a conquered province. And yet, while the faintest suspicion that the increase of a foreign navy, or the improved organisation of a foreign army, might one day place us at a disadvantage at sea or in the field, has been enough to arouse the fears and quicken the energies of the whole people, this state of things has been acquiesced in without serious alarm, and with only an occasional expression of anxiety. It was assumed that the material losses inseparable from a war between England and the United States were a sufficient guarantee against its occurrence; that one side would never risk a cotton famine, or the other sacrifice the value of a cotton crop. How weak a safeguard this really would have been, the events of the last two years have abundantly shown. If considerations of profit and loss have proved wholly inadequate to keep the North and the South from fighting, they would hardly have been of more avail in the case of a foreign enemy. Commercial treaties and commercial intercourse may do much to remove causes of war; but where the cause exists, they will have but little influence on the result. Interests



are as often defeated by passions as they are victorious over principles.

Whatever, therefore, may be the immediate or remote issue of the present struggle in the United States, there can be no question that, if the cotton manufacture of Great Britain is to be sustained in, or, more correctly speaking, restored to, the position it has hitherto occupied, the first and most pressing need is the discovery of new sources from which to obtain supplies of raw material. Whether we shall ever again have American cotton in the same abundance and at the same price as we had up to last year, is at best uncertain; and even if our doubts on this point should turn out to be unfounded, experience has shown us that even the most certain channel of import may be stopped up for a time. If it is to rest wholly with the Southern States of America to determine whether the mills of Lancashire are to work or to remain idle, it is much to be desired that cotton should cease to be the preponderating element in the national industry, and consequently the disturbing element in the national prosperity, which we have been accustomed to see it. Even the immense advantage of cheap calico may be too dearly purchased at the cost of an occasional famine. We can hardly regard the magnitude of our cotton trade as a reasonable ground for self-congratulation, unless it can be placed on a footing which may enable us to contemplate even an American war with some approach to equanimity. It must be admitted, however, that the selection of new cotton soils is not quite so simple a matter as some persons seem to think. It is easy, no doubt, to draw a line along the 40th parallel of North latitude, and another along the 30th parallel of South latitude, and call the intermediate space the cotton zone; but after all, when we have ascertained that cotton has at some time or other been grown at various places within those limits, we have not advanced very far. The requirements of the plant seem to be neither few nor simple; but our present knowledge of what they amount to is unfortunately scanty. While the art of cotton cultivation under favourable circumstances has attained a very high degree of perfection, the scientific principles on which it is based have been but little investigated, and consequently we are unable to predict with any certainty the success or failure of new experiments.

Cotton is the fibrous down surrounding and adhering to the seeds of the *gossypium*, a genus belonging to the natural order *malvaceæ* (mallows). The fibres of which this down is composed vary in length from  $\frac{1}{2}$  an inch to  $1\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch; in thickness, from  $\frac{1}{700}$ th of an inch to  $\frac{1}{2500}$ th of an inch; and in

colour, from pure white to tawny yellow. The appearance of the plant differs greatly in different localities and climates; but under the most favourable conditions of soil and culture it is a well-grown shrub of about the height of a man, with large soft waving leaves, covered in summer with handsome cup-like flowers, varying in colour from bright yellow to dark chocolate, and in autumn with balls of down as large as guelder roses, which give to the cotton field an appearance of dazzling and almost painful whiteness. The family *gossypium* has never been accurately examined, and the number of species ranges, in the estimation of botanists, from five to forty. The cottons used in commerce, however, have been reduced by Dr. Royle to three—*gossypium Barbadosense*, *gossypium Indicum*, and *gossypium Peruvianum*. Of these, *gossypium Barbadosense* is the most important, and the most widely distributed. It is a native of Mexico, and probably of some of the West-India Islands. From Mexico it was introduced into the United States; and the Southern planters are still in the habit of occasionally renewing their seed from the original source. To this species belongs all the short-stapled cotton of America, which, under the trade names of Uplands, Orleans, Mobile, Bowed Georgia, and others, forms the great bulk of the raw material hitherto imported into this country. Whether the other great variety of American cotton, the long staple or Sea Island, also belongs to it, is uncertain. Dr. Mallett considers that it is either a distinct species or at all events a strongly marked variety. Dr. Royle, on the other hand, mentions several instances in which the long fibres and the smooth seeds which constitute its distinguishing characteristics have appeared in cotton grown from New Orleans seed. Plants grown near Calcutta from this latter seed produced, in the third generation, black seeds entirely without hairs, and long fibres; and in the Southern States, the practice of renewing the seed from Mexico is said to have been adopted in order to prevent the crop losing its productive qualities, and giving a smaller supply of longer staple. From the West Indies the *gossypium Barbadosense* found its way to the Island of Bourbon, and from thence was introduced into India, where accordingly it is chiefly known as “Bourbon cotton.” The indigenous cotton of India, however, which has hitherto answered best there, is the *gossypium Indicum*, a smaller plant than the former, growing from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 feet high in temperate climates, and from 4 to 6 feet in hot countries. There are several varieties of this species, one or other of which is found throughout India, and probably also in China. *Gossypium Peruvianum* is a native of Brazil. It is the largest of the three species,

averaging from 10 to 15 feet in height, and, under the trade names of Pernambuco, Bahia, and Maranham, has been exported to England in considerable quantities.

Although, however, the accident of a small crop in America may, from time to time, have given a momentary stimulus to the demand for the cotton of other countries, yet for all practical purposes it is to that quarter alone that we have looked for our supplies. Eighty per cent of our whole imports has been from the cotton ports of the Southern States,—from New Orleans, Mobile, Galveston, and Apalachicola, on the Gulf of Mexico; and from Charleston and Savannah, on the Atlantic. Of these, New Orleans sends us nearly half. The Mississippi and its tributaries,—the Tennessee, the Cumberland, the Arkansas, and the Red River,—bring down to that city the produce of Louisiana, Mississippi, Northern Alabama, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Eastern Texas. The whole amount received there in 1859 was 1,669,274 bales. Next in importance to New Orleans stands Mobile, which, by means of the rivers Alabama, Tombigbee, and Black Warrior, receives the crops of Alabama and Northern Mississippi, amounting in 1859 to 685,000 bales. South Carolina and Georgia send their produce, chiefly by railroad, to Charleston and Savannah; but a portion of the crop of the latter state, as well as some from Eastern Alabama, finds its way, by the rivers Flint and Chattahoochee, to Apalachicola, the cotton port of Florida. Central and Western Texas send their crops to Galveston.

The cotton lands of these states group themselves naturally into four distinct regions. The first of these consists of the numerous sandy islands extending along the coast of South Carolina, Georgia, and a small part of Florida, on which, together with a narrow strip of the adjoining mainland, is produced the famous Sea-Island cotton. These islands were once inhabited by a tribe of Indians, who lived chiefly by fishing; and the soil is composed of the accumulated shells of oysters, clams, and other shell-fish, mixed with sand and decayed vegetable matter. Whether from some peculiarity in the light sandy loam thus formed, or in the salt mud with which it is liberally dressed, or from the action of the sea air, the cotton grown on this coast yields a fibre which, for length, firmness, and fineness, has never been equalled elsewhere. The finest yarns used in the trade can only be spun from this cotton, and its price has always been more than double that of any other. But the crop is so precarious, the process of preparation so prolonged, and the average yield per acre so much smaller than that of short-stapled cotton, that its cultivation is said to be rarely profitable; and out of nearly 3,000,000



bales, the whole amount of cotton exported from the United States in 1858, only 30,000 were Sea Island. The second and least important of the cotton regions is the "pine barrens," a belt of sand from 30 to 100 miles broad, which lies between the coast and the higher lands in the interior. It is almost wholly covered with pine woods, and although at one period it produced considerable quantities of cotton, much of the cleared land is now exhausted. A good deal of cotton, however, is still raised, chiefly along the banks of the rivers. In wet seasons the crops are often very good, but in dry years the yield is inconsiderable. Between the pine barrens and the mountains come the "prairie lands." They overlie a cretaceous formation—the most important constituent being a soft argillaceous limestone—which sweeps round the south-western slope of the Alleghanies in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee, and reappears on the other side of the Mississippi valley in Texas. Much of this region, especially in Alabama, was covered at the time of the first white settlement with a dense growth of cane. It had never been inhabited by the native tribes, owing to the difficulty of obtaining water. The few streams which are found there are small and muddy, and dried up half the year; and water has either to be stored in tanks or drawn from Artesian wells, of which there are often four or five on a plantation. On the prairies, and in the river bottoms of the Mississippi, with its southern tributaries, and the rivers of Texas, which constitute the fourth of the cotton regions, the great bulk of the crop of the Southern States is produced.

What knowledge we possess of the description of soil and climate, and the method of cultivation best adapted to the full development of the cotton plant, is derived from the experience of the Southern States. There all the energies of the owners of land have long been directed almost exclusively to this object; and the only attempt at a complete analysis of the soil is to be found in the record of a series of very elaborate and careful experiments carried on by Dr. Mallett, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Alabama, the publication of which is now unfortunately interrupted by the civil war. The importance of the facts established by these experiments depends in a great measure on the peculiar requirements of the cotton plant in respect of moisture. There are four distinct forms in which moisture may be supplied to growing plants: 1. The atmosphere may contain water in the form of vapour, to any extent short of the point of saturation. 2. This point may be passed, *i. e.* the atmosphere may be so charged with water as to precipitate it in the form of rain. 3. The soil may contain water

intimately united with it, but not so as to be perceptible to sight or touch. 4. In this case, also, the point of saturation may be passed, and the soil may contain water in a liquid form. Now while, on the one hand, cotton is emphatically a sun-plant, while it can bear great heat and prolonged drought, it stands in need, on the other hand, of a large amount of moisture. So long as water is supplied to it in the first and third of the above forms, it cannot have too much of it. The more it gets, the better it will thrive. But in the second and fourth forms, the case is quite different. Rain, if it be heavy, or if it come late in the season, is very destructive; and a wet soil is always and absolutely injurious. These facts serve to account for the proverbial fertility of a "Mississippi bottom." The evaporation from so large a body of water keeps the air constantly charged with vapour. Of the adaptation of the prairies to the cotton plant there is no such obvious explanation; and Dr. Mallett therefore selected the Alabama "cane-brake" as the theatre of his experiments. The comparisons instituted between this and other soils proved beyond a doubt, that the success which has attended the culture of cotton in the interior of the Southern States is due in great part to the extraordinary powers of absorption and retention which the soil possesses. The results of the experiments may be summed up in a sentence. Dr. Mallett found that the specimens of soil examined took more than two months to dry, and lost nearly half their bulk during the process; that they were able to contain a very large quantity of water without allowing any of it to drain off; that they parted with water very slowly, and were percolated by water very slowly; and that they absorbed a large amount of moisture from the surrounding air. It is no wonder, therefore, either that in the cane-brake, dry as it apparently is, moisture-loving plants should abound on every side, or that the cotton plant should find a congenial home. The nature of the soil secures a supply of moisture in one of the right forms, just as in the river bottoms the condition of the atmosphere secures it in another. While the seeds and fibre are ripening in the warmth and light of a noon-day sun, the roots are living on the moisture which the earth around them has stored up during the winter damp. Further experiments proved the existence of a corresponding capacity for absorbing gases, especially ammonia, and heat from the sun's rays. The action of these qualities on the growing plant is the more important from the extreme fineness of the particles of which the soil is composed. Few of these are found to measure more than  $\frac{1}{40}$ th of an inch in diameter, and stones or gravel are never met with. The roots are thus allowed a free passage in all directions.

This last feature of the best cotton soil it is the principal object of cultivation to develop, or, if need be, to supply. In the winter the land is "bedded," *i. e.* laid out with the plough in ridges about ten inches high, level at the top, and from three to six feet apart, according to the richness of the soil. At the end of March a furrow is run along the top of the ridge, in which the seed is planted, and the earth is then pressed down on it by a wooden harrow with a small roller attached to it. A careful hand will plant from ten to twelve acres a day. In a week or a fortnight the seed appears above the ground; and shortly after that, the stalks are thinned out with the hoe, so as to leave only a few standing together at intervals of eight or ten inches, and the earth carefully drawn up round the remaining stems, to prevent their being blown down by the wind. At the same time the ground between the rows is ploughed over again to destroy the weeds and grass, and to keep the earth soft and light for the roots. This process is repeated every two or three weeks, until at length the crop is reduced to rows of single plants, standing from one to two feet apart, the distance being so regulated that when the leaves are fully grown the intervening spaces may be perfectly shaded from the sun, and the ground beneath kept as moist as possible. Until the plant is thus "laid by," it is of the first importance to keep the plough and the hoe in constant operation. Trained Negroes become very skilful in the use of both these implements. They will run a furrow or cut out a tuft of grass within an inch of the plant, without doing it the least injury. By the early part of June, the flowers are in full bloom. They last but three days, changing their colour from yellow to crimson on the second, and to chocolate on the third day. When they fall, they leave a green pod, about half an inch in diameter, which takes from three to six weeks to ripen. The first bolls open and the picking season commences about the middle of August; but the plant goes on flowering till the first frosts, and cotton may be gathered as late as January, or, in mild winters, even February. To pick cotton properly requires considerable manual dexterity. Every particle should be withdrawn from the boll at one pull, without allowing any fragments of leaves or husks to come away with it. A "right good hand" will pick 200 lbs. of seed cotton in a day. In Mississippi and Alabama, 1600 lbs. of seed cotton per acre is an average yield; but in South Carolina and Georgia, 800 lbs. is considered a fair crop, and much cotton land does not produce more than half that quantity. About one-fourth of this is cotton wool, and the remainder seed. Under favourable circumstances a



single plant will yield as many as 400 bolls, or from 15 lbs. to 20 lbs. of seed cotton.

The cultivation, on a great scale, of short-staple cotton dates from the invention of the saw-gin, by Mr. Whitney, in 1793. Before that time the fibres were separated from the seeds by a machine consisting of two wooden rollers, half an inch in diameter, revolving in opposite directions one above the other. They were connected with a treadle, which a labourer worked with his foot, while he fed the rollers with the seed cotton lying on a board before him. The roller-gin is still used for Sea-Island cotton, as the action of the saw-gin destroys the long fibres; but on the short staple it was quite useless, in consequence of the short hairs on the seeds sticking to the rollers and preventing them from working. The saw-gin is composed of two cylinders, one fitted with circular saws placed three-quarters of an inch apart, and the other with brushes the bristles of which just touch the teeth of the saws. The cylinders revolve opposite to an iron grating, on the other side of which is placed the seed cotton. The fibres are caught by the saws as they pass, and drawn through the bars, and then, coming in contact with the brushes on the other cylinder, whisked off to a table underneath. A machine of one-horse power will gin a bale of cotton weighing 400 lbs. in a day; and on large plantations it is usual to have four gins, worked by ten or twelve mules, or more often by steam, which will turn out five bales a day each. The use of the roller-gin is not the only feature in which the preparation of Sea-Island differs from that of Uplands cotton. While the latter may remain unpicked for weeks without injury, the former must be gathered as soon as the bolls open, or it will fall from the pod and be spoiled; and the extreme violence of the rains which set in along the coast about the 20th of July, and often last far into the picking season, sometimes prevents the labourer from gathering more than 10 lbs. a day. Again, while the short staple is ready for ginning as soon as it is picked, the more delicate variety has to be first "whipped," *i.e.* passed through a long sloping cage, where it is whirled round by a revolving shaft, so as to get rid of any particles of sand or leaves which may have got mixed up with it. All the seeds whose fibres are not a pure white are then removed; and after it is thus "sorted" and ginned, it is again carefully gone over by hand, and any remaining fragments of seed or husk are picked out. This extreme degree of care is absolutely necessary, not merely to command a high price, but even to insure the sale of the cotton, as, from its being employed only for particular pur-

poses, a certain standard of quality is required, in estimating which the purchaser is chiefly guided by the reputation of the plantation on which it is grown.

The history of cotton culture in America does not offer much encouragement to experimental planting in other countries. There have been great successes, it is true, but they have been obtained under very remarkable conditions as to soil and climate, and by the aid of a wholly exceptional system of labour. We are not going to enter upon the much-vexed question whether slavery is economically profitable. But it must be borne in mind that what is generally said of the inherent superiority of free labour, is proved only of free white labour. It remains to be seen whether any system short of slavery can obtain the like results from the labour of an inferior race, even with the advantages of white superintendence. One thing, however, is clear: successful cotton growing is not a thing of easy or certain attainment. The experience of the Southern States is evidence of what can be done under an extraordinary combination of favourable circumstances: it is no evidence of what can be done under any of those circumstances standing alone. The climate may be all that we could wish, and its influence be thrown away on an unkindly soil; the soil may have every component that could be desired, and the climate may play us false; soil and climate may both do their utmost, and the crop which has grown up under our very eyes may be wasted by the careless ignorance of those who gather it in.

We have now to inquire what are the sources, other than the United States, from which any appreciable quantity of cotton is actually received; what are their capabilities for development; and what is the probability of our being able to add to their number. The following table, which we extract from Mann's *Cotton Trade of Great Britain*, gives a comparative statement, calculated on the average of periods of five years, of the amount imported from all quarters since 1815.

| Years. | United States. | Brazil.    | Mediterranean. | British East Indies | B.W.Indies and British Guiana. | Other parts. | Grand total.  |
|--------|----------------|------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|--------------|---------------|
|        | lbs.           | lbs.       | lbs.           | lbs.                | lbs.                           | lbs.         | lbs.          |
| 1815-9 | 59,404,980     | 19,084,711 | 322,362        | 34,293,655          | 11,223,446                     | 6,109,353    | 130,438,507   |
| 1820-4 | 103,844,292    | 24,360,668 | 2,463,078      | 13,553,256          | 7,515,002                      | 1,829,610    | 153,565,906   |
| 1825-9 | 159,326,280    | 24,357,882 | 10,293,685     | 23,793,450          | 6,129,023                      | 1,817,611    | 225,717,931   |
| 1830-4 | 231,337,114    | 26,530,522 | 4,750,988      | 27,828,314          | 2,450,003                      | 1,103,277    | 294,000,218   |
| 1835-9 | 327,551,781    | 22,972,862 | 7,768,755      | 51,260,320          | 1,580,566                      | 3,904,904    | 415,039,188   |
| 1840-4 | 470,417,078    | 17,286,643 | 8,798,307      | 84,344,421          | 1,192,119                      | 4,263,406    | 586,306,974   |
| 1845-9 | 525,590,127    | 21,116,077 | 11,661,824     | 66,370,532          | 994,996                        | 873,047      | 626,606,603   |
| 1850-4 | 647,205,152    | 24,007,892 | 27,159,431     | 125,621,264         | 427,735                        | 2,248,717    | 826,670,191   |
| 1855-9 | 782,274,506    | 23,483,264 | 33,751,470     | 180,213,488         | 666,974                        | 8,667,978    | 1,029,057,680 |

It will be seen from this table that our total imports have

gone on steadily increasing. In the five years ending in 1859 they were more than double what they were in the corresponding period twenty years before, and nearly ten times what they were twenty years before that again. But until the last ten years this increase was wholly contributed by the United States. The supplies from every other country had either grown less, or, at best, remained stationary. From Brazil we now obtain, as nearly as possible, the same quantity as we did forty years ago; but this contribution, which in the first ten years of the period was fifteen per cent of our whole supply, in the last was only two per cent of it. Egypt and India fluctuate greatly during the larger part of the time, but both show a decidedly upward tendency during the last ten years. The amount sent by the West Indies has constantly decreased; for even the reaction from 1855 to 1859, slight as it is, is more apparent than real, being due to an unusually large crop in the Bahamas in 1857,—a fact which is the less important, as in 1856 and 1858 these same islands did not raise a single pound. Of these four sources,—India, Egypt, Brazil, and the West Indies,—the first is by far the most important, both with respect to the quantity actually imported, and to the rate at which it has increased. In the search for an auxiliary to, if not a substitute for, the Southern States of America, it is to India that we must first turn.

The cotton grown in the British East Indies is of two kinds,—that raised from the seed of the *gossypium Indicum*, which is indigenous to the peninsula, and that raised from various exotic seeds, chiefly American, which have been from time to time introduced by way of experiment. The native cotton has been grown for at least 3000 years, and during all that time it has furnished the principal material for the clothing of the natives; but no statistics exist of the amount actually raised, either now or at any former period, and the estimates of different authorities vary from 750,000,000 lbs. to 3,000,000,000 lbs. Of the two extremes, the latter is perhaps nearer the truth. The cottons known by the trade-names of Surats, Madras, and Bengal, all belong to this species; and from it are manufactured all the native fabrics, from the coarse cloths of Madras up to the famous Dacca muslins. But the indigenous cotton of India has not been popular in England, and it certainly does not seem that its ill repute is undeserved. In the first place, the staple is very much shorter than the American. Out of 105 samples of native cotton in the International Exhibition of 1862, only thirty-nine were an inch long, and only ten more than an inch. The mean length of the whole collection was  $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of



an inch. In consequence of this defect, considerable alterations would have to be made in the machinery hitherto used, to adapt it to the spinning of this inferior material. But the shortness of the fibre is not its only fault. In the tabular synopsis given in the Indian Catalogue, one column is devoted to the remarks of the Commissioner appointed by the Cotton Supply Association to examine the various cottons. In this column the expressions, "worthless," "not worth growing," "inferior," "poor and weak," "coarse," "bad colour," "rotten fibre," "harsh," "irregular," "naturally bad," are constantly to be met with. Besides this, it is generally injured in the preparation. Looking again at the table, we see "spoiled," "badly ginned," "leafy," "ruined in cleaning," "chopped to bits in ginning," recurring with equal frequency. And then it comes to market adulterated with every sort of foreign substance,—seed, sand, shells, stones, dirt, dung, water, and inferior cotton,—and constantly packed and branded so as to counterfeit the higher-priced varieties. Under these circumstances, that small section of the manufacturers which has taken any interest in the cotton trade of India has chiefly occupied itself in recommending the introduction of the more valuable exotic species. It is the fashion with these gentlemen to speak with great severity of the shortcomings of the former government of India. If the East India Company had done its duty, they maintain, American cotton would now be grown throughout the whole extent of the peninsula, and Lancashire distress be a thing unknown. In reality, however, it does not appear that on this point the Board of Directors were at all to blame. Before 1840, isolated attempts had constantly been made, under their sanction and at their expense, to naturalise foreign cotton in India; and from that year to 1860 a series of experiments was undertaken, at a very great outlay, solely for the purpose of obtaining some trustworthy data on which to found a conclusion as to the feasibility of the attempt. In the first instance, these experiments were conducted by a body of experienced American planters brought over from the United States, who were placed in experimental farms, furnished with seeds, tools, and machines for cleaning, and authorised to enter into contracts with the natives to buy all the American cotton they might raise at a fixed rate. Clearly the government was willing to make the trial; let us see with what success it was attended.

In Bengal, the planters met with nothing but disasters. At Dacca, the growth of the plant in its earlier stages was too luxuriant, and its strength was all wasted on wood and leaves;

while later in the season the whole crop was destroyed by insects,—a danger to which the native cotton does not appear to be exposed. On the coast of Ava, the same thing was repeated,—overgrowth in the beginning, and destruction by insects at the end. At Rungpore, insects were again fatal; while at Gorruckpore, the plants seemed altogether exhausted, and allowed their fruit to drop off unripe at the end of three months, when they ought to have been just in their prime. In Cuttack alone, on the seacoast near the Mahanuddy river, was any success met with; and in this case the seed used was not the New Orleans, but the Bourbon, a variety originally from the same stock, but long acclimatised in the country. Still these failures admit of partial explanation. Notwithstanding the tendency to over-luxuriance, the “black soil,” the richest in India, was selected for the plantations, and even this was dressed with manure; and the instance of Cuttack seemed to suggest that a poorer and more sandy soil might answer better. But this view was hardly borne out by later experience. The North-west Provinces answer in some respects to this description, and accordingly four farms were planted in the Doab, and to the west of the Jumna river. But here the heat and drought proved as fatal in their turn. The leaves shrivelled up beneath the blazing sun, as though they had been scorched; and the bolls fell off in showers. At Agra, there was a combination of both evils. Early in the season, when the plants wanted rain, they were withering from the heat; later, when they wanted sun, they were destroyed by the violence of the rains. And here, again, such of them as chanced to survive were devoured by insects. Irrigation, however, was not attempted; and it is at least possible that, if persevered in, it might have modified the extreme dryness of the climate. In the Madras Presidency the ill success was not quite so uniform. The planters, indeed, thought the northern districts too dry, and the climate of the southern districts too uncertain; but to this unfavourable verdict there were two exceptions. In Tinnevely and Coimbatore the New-Orleans seed answered well, being planted, in the former case, in sandy soil, near the seacoast, and the “red soil,” in the latter case, being preferred to the black. Even here, however, partly from the shortness and uncertainty of the seasons, and partly from the disinclination of the ryots to take the trouble of learning a new system of cultivation without any corresponding advantage to themselves, the experiment had no permanent results of importance.

In Bombay, which has always been the great cotton-exporting Presidency of India, similar attempts have been made for

the last twenty years. In the collectorate of Broach, where the best indigenous cotton is largely grown, some kinds of exotic seed were found to yield occasionally, when cultivated as garden-plants with great care and at a great expense. Even then they never escaped partial damage from the violence of the seasons; and when tried on a larger scale they invariably came to nothing. So again at Surat, and at Ahmedabad, where the experiment was tried for nine seasons, from 1851 to 1860, and proved only "a costly failure." At Sattara, the New-Orleans cotton was introduced in 1850, at the suggestion of the President, Sir Bartle Frere. The natives had heard of the success which, as we shall shortly see, had attended the new system in the neighbouring collectorate of Dharwar, and were anxious to make the trial for themselves. In that year, 60,000lbs. of seed were distributed; but for three successive seasons the plants were destroyed by drought, and after that, the ryots were discouraged, and planted no more. Change the name, and we have here the history of the experiment at Sholapore. In Khandeish, New-Orleans seed was planted from 1845 to 1850, with very indifferent results; but in the season of 1850-51, the appearance of the crops gave promise of triumphant success. "Mr. Simpson entertained the most sanguine hopes of the crop. In June he reported, 'Some of the plants have attained to 3 feet in height, and they generally range from 13 inches to 2 feet, and are beginning to throw out flowers and young fruit. These plants have the most vigorous and healthy appearance, with the finest developed leaves, I have ever seen in India; some of these measuring nearly 6 inches in diameter.' In July, he stated, 'The plants reared from irrigation are from waist to breast high, and are well filled with bolls and blossoms.' He subsequently wrote, 'I never before saw better cotton crops in India,—they are equal to Louisiana;' and again, 'The cotton plants at Copra and Yawul, reared by irrigation, are superb: this irrigated America cotton cultivation has approached perfection.' In August, he reported, 'I found the plants at Copra and Yawul, that were reared by being watered from wells for nearly a month before the rains set in, to be in the most luxuriant and promising condition; each plant being uniformly the same to the very utmost verge of these fields, and looked as though, had the whole of the Khandeish been sown at the same time, and treated in a similar manner, the result would have been all over alike, which I can assure you would have been equal to the finest cotton province in the United States.'"<sup>1</sup> And yet, notwithstanding these brilliant

<sup>1</sup> Cotton in the Bombay Presidency, p. 93.



prospects, the crop was scanty; insects and caterpillars destroyed the leaves and blossoms, and the first ripened pods grew rotten under the later rains. Still, in the next season, a much larger area was laid down in cotton, but the crop was damaged by drought. The ryots grew disheartened; and in spite of government encouragement, and a gratuitous distribution of seed, the cultivation of exotic cotton declined, and in 1855 came to an end altogether. At Rutnagherry, the collector, Mr. Elphinstone, had tried Sea-Island, New-Orleans, and Bourbon seed, in his own garden. The cotton was remarkably fine, and samples of it were sent to Bombay, where they "excited the most lively interest." In the two following years, 1840-41, he was equally fortunate, and the government was induced by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce to make a grant to enable him to cultivate on a larger scale. Thus tested, the experiment was a decided failure, in consequence, as Mr. Elphinstone was forced to admit, of the inferiority of the soil. It afterwards appeared that his former successes had been obtained "by the excavation of small holes in a hard red gravel, filled up with artificial soil brought from a distance," at a loss of nearly 70 per cent. In Belgaum, New-Orleans seed was introduced in 1845; and as long as the government found the seed, bought the produce, and gave rewards to the growers, it continued to be planted. The crops were usually promising at first, and the average yield of clean cotton from 15 lbs. to 30 lbs. per acre. In 1852, however, it fell to 6 lbs.; and in the next year the attempt was given up, except in one district, where it had met with rather better fortune; but, taking the whole collectorate, the area of exotic cotton is only 6,500 acres, against 287,000 of the indigenous species.

In one solitary instance the experiment met with a success as conspicuous as the perseverance with which it was carried on. In Dharwar, New-Orleans seed was introduced in 1842 by the collector, Mr. Shaw, who continued to superintend the cultivation until 1845, when he was obliged to resign from ill health. By that time, his unwearied exertions had so far naturalised the new system that the experimental farms were abolished, and the cultivation left to the ryots, under the superintendence of Mr. Mercer and another American planter. It turned out, however, that the native officials had exercised an undue pressure upon the ryots, in order to compel them to plant New-Orleans seed; and upon this being withdrawn, the number of acres sown with it fell from 20,502 in 1847-48, to 3,351 in 1848-49. This reverse was only temporary. Government encouragement was continued for a time, and only gradually withdrawn; while a larger

number of saw-gins were introduced, so as no longer to leave the cultivators at the mercy of the dealers who might happen to own them. In 1849-50, 15,573 acres were planted with exotic cotton, and 225,685 with indigenous. In the following year, the proportions were, 31,668 acres of the New Orleans, and 223,314 acres of the native; and in 1861-62, the acreage of the former had increased to 178,682, while that of the latter was 200,491. "Saw-ginned Dharwar" stands first in the list of Indian cottons, and has generally commanded a price little inferior to middling Orleans. For three years, however,—from 1858 to 1860,—its reputation greatly declined, in consequence of the dirty and adulterated state in which it came to market; and in 1860, it actually fetched a lower price than the best native cotton. Since then its character and value has again risen.

But the climate of Dharwar seems to be quite exceptional. In common with Broach, Surat, Berar, and Nagpore, Dharwar is subject to the south-west monsoon, followed by heavy night-dews, and has therefore nine months of comparatively cool and moist weather; while the eastern and southern districts of Madras, which are subject to the shorter north-east monsoon, have continuous drought for three-fourths of the year; and the North-west Provinces, though they are subject to the south-west monsoon, suffer from the neighbourhood of the great sandy deserts to the west, which give the winds a dry and scorching influence. Besides this advantage, it has others peculiar to itself. It lies above the Western Ghauts, about seventy miles from the sea, and the force of the monsoon is spent on the mountain range; so that, while the climate is mild and moist, the annual rainfall is only thirty inches, though on the Ghauts themselves, at a distance of only forty miles, it is 150 inches. Altogether, Mr. Shaw seems to be justified in saying that "the climate of no part of Western India approaches so near the climate of the cotton districts of the United States" as that of Dharwar.

In determining the causes of this long catalogue of failures, two seem to stand out with especial prominence—the climate and the insects. In the opinion of the American planters, the former was chiefly in fault. In America, says one of them, the climate is "regular, mild, and humid," while India is "periodically deluged with an excess of rain, followed by perpetual drought, an arid atmosphere, and a parched surface." Undoubtedly India is, throughout nearly its whole extent, a country of short seasons and extreme and sudden variations of heat, dryness, and moisture, and in all these respects it is ill suited to the cultivation of plants the produce of which,

consisting of seeds, necessarily requires a long time to come to maturity. The most trying moment is generally that of the transition from the extreme of moisture to the extreme of heat; and it has been suggested that this may admit of being tempered by irrigation. But the benefit is at best doubtful, as in many cases irrigation tends to promote an over-luxuriant growth; and even where the poverty of the soil acts as a safeguard against this danger, the works have to be kept in order throughout the year at an expense which may seriously interfere with the profits of the crop, or else the canals are almost certain to be empty just at the moment when water is most wanted. But perhaps the feature in which the local inferiority of the foreign to the native cotton is most apparent, is the readiness with which the former becomes a prey to the myriads of insects that infest a tropical country. The greater hardness and roughness of texture which distinguish the indigenous plant seem to preserve it from their attacks; but the only suggestion which Dr. Royle can make for the safety of the New-Orleans cotton is, that the habits of the destroyers should be carefully watched in order to discover some weak point where they may be assailed with success.

It has been suggested recently that the true reason for the failure of these repeated attempts must be looked for in the nationality of the men who were chosen to superintend them. How, it is asked, could American planters do otherwise than conceal the fact that British India could beat the United States on its own ground? Was it to be expected that they should really identify themselves with the success of an experiment the object of which was to give their own country a dangerous rival in the European market? This explanation does more credit to the ingenuity than to the common sense of its inventors. Patriotism is not so widely diffused among the members of any great community as to make it likely that ten men, taken at random from among them, would deliberately prefer the remote advantage of their country to their own immediate interests. Englishmen are not less alive to patriotic feelings than other people; but it is not generally held that a Manchester man is ineligible to superintend an experimental factory abroad, or that he would be likely to send in a false report to his employers to guard his native Lancashire from a possible infringement of her manufacturing monopoly. It must be a more than usually poetic fancy that can paint the American planter gazing into the future, and then choosing the wrong season to sow his seed; or brooding over the destiny of his country while he is looking out for a cotton-field conveniently situated for an inunda-



tion. And if any other answer be needed to this most far-fetched of objections, it is to be found in the fact, that the only successful experiment, that of Dharwar, was superintended, for the greater part of the time, by two Americans; while many of the unsuccessful ones were carried on by the Company's own servants.

Nor are we without other evidence which, if it be not more conclusive, is at all events wholly free from suspicion on the score of interested motives. In the middle of 1861, the Manchester Cotton Supply Association sent out a large supply of New-Orleans and Egyptian seed, to be distributed over the country by means of the Agri-Horticultural Society of India. At the end of the year, a circular letter was sent to many of the gentlemen who had applied for seeds, requesting them to state how the experiment had answered. Out of more than twenty answers received, there are only three which can be said to record any success. At Shajehanpore the plants thrived in almost any soil, especially in a rich well-pulverised mould; but, from the want of rain during sowing, it was necessary to sow them in the first instance in sheltered patches near wells, and afterwards to transplant them into the fields,—a method of treatment which when tried in another locality proved fatal to the crop. At Jugdispore the seed was sown in pits four feet deep, which were filled in with manure as the plants grew up, and, the roots being thus kept away from the hot dry surface, a fair yield of cotton was obtained. On the low alluvial coast of the Soonderbunds the results were also favourable. But contrast these instances with the remainder. At Futtighur the plants grew and flowered fairly, but the unripe pods were eaten off by worms. At Mynpoorie the plants were stunted, and appeared to constitute the favourite food of the white ant. At Roy Bareilly they died off when they were a foot high. At Lucknow only one in a thousand of the New-Orleans seed germinated; those that did, grew well and bore a fair crop of pods, but scarcely any cotton was gathered from them, owing to the ravages of insects. In Baraitch, Fyzabad, Goudah, and Dunabad, the New-Orleans seed never appeared above the ground. In Mahomdie, Putabghur, Sullanpore, Hurdin, Oonao, the plants died without flowering, or, if they survived, were stunted and unhealthy. In Deoghur the germination was most promising, and the first leaves were ten times larger than those of the native cotton; but when they reached the height of eighteen inches the leaves shrivelled and the whole plant stopped growing. In Chittagong the appearance of the plants was most healthy, but unfortunately there were no pods to be found on

them. It is true that the season of 1861 is described as being unusually rainy; and it is perhaps possible that future trials may be more happy. But at present the only conclusion we can come to is, that the introduction of American cotton into India has been attempted for a long series of years, over a wide range of country, under different circumstances, with different modes of culture, by natives, Americans, and Europeans, and that up to this time there is only one instance of success to set against innumerable failures. In a territory so vast as that of India, it would be rash to say that there may not be districts where American cotton has not yet been tried, which may prove better adapted to its cultivation, or others where, though it has failed already, it may be tried again hereafter with better fortunes. But it is idle to cast the blame of past failures on the Indian government, or to point to Dharwar in support of the argument that, if New-Orleans cotton has succeeded in one district, it may in others. One prize amidst so many blanks is hardly enough to justify any further expenditure of public money; and the fact that New-Orleans cotton has answered in Dharwar is rather a reason why it should not answer elsewhere. Its success there is owing, as we have every reason to believe, to the presence of given climatic conditions. Those climatic conditions are wanting in most other parts of India, and we have no cause to be surprised that the agricultural results which depend on them are wanting also. The cotton of Dharwar may cease to be an exceptional product, but not, we suspect, until the climate of Dharwar has ceased to be an exceptional advantage.

The next question which presents itself is, whether the indigenous cotton may be so far improved as to fit it to supply the place in European manufacture of that American species which India has failed to reproduce. This improvement may relate either to the character of the staple, or to the condition in which it is brought to the market,—in other words, either to the system of cultivation, or to the processes of gathering, cleaning, and packing. As to the former, the opinion of those best qualified to judge seems decidedly adverse to its possibility. No doubt, the native system of agriculture is rude enough when compared with that of the Southern States of America. The land is ploughed twice, before and after the rains, with a heavy hoe drawn by two bullocks and weighted by stones, with the driver standing on it. The first time, all the leaves, weeds, and manure (where any has been applied) are worked into the cracks which the heat has made in the surface; the second time, the weeds are cleared away, and

the soil is mixed and softened. The seed is then sown, usually in the month of June; and, if the land is new, that is all the attention which the crop receives. If, however, it is old and has been manured, it is weeded twice,—once, a month after sowing, with a small bullock-hoe, and once, a month later, by hand. The plants are generally in flower by October; and in that case the first picking will take place in December, and the second in January. Manure is too scarce to be generally used; and the ryots cannot afford to let their land lie fallow, though the importance of a rotation of crops is well understood, and cotton is rarely planted oftener than once in three or four years. In some of the more important cotton districts, such as Berar and Broach, the American method of planting in rows has taken the place of the old plan of sowing the seed broadcast; but in other respects the native system has probably undergone but little change since the time of Alexander. Before we attempt to change it, we should remember two things: first, that it is useless to introduce improvements which, if they increase the gross crop, increase the cost of production in a yet greater degree; and, second, that the ryot carries his dislike of change to a degree of which Europeans have very little conception, and that, if he is much interfered with, he will be very likely to prefer to grow a crop in the management of which he may be left to follow his own traditions without hindrance. Nor is it by any means certain that his system is susceptible of much improvement. If the native implements are rude and clumsy, the American and European ones would be too heavy and too expensive. Native cattle could not draw, or native cultivators hold, the English plough; and if English men or English cattle were imported to take their places, they would certainly die before the end of their first season. Even where New-Orleans seed has been successfully naturalised, it has been cultivated on the native system; and all the American planters ultimately came round to the conclusion, that the Indian husbandman possesses a practical knowledge of the capabilities of the soil he has to deal with upon which it would be difficult to improve. Even the introduction of irrigation on a more extended scale, which is so often urged upon the Indian government, would be in many cases but a doubtful benefit. Throughout India the opinion of the ryots is hostile to it; and in Khandeish, where there is a large number of irrigation-works which are used in the cultivation of other and less valuable crops, it is never applied to cotton. Where the experiment has been tried, the results have been far from uniform. In Broach, irrigation rather increased the quantity of



the crop. In Surat, in one case, it gave a smaller return but of better quality; in another, a larger return of inferior quality. In Belgaum, no difference was observed between the crops raised on irrigated and non-irrigated lands.

On the other hand, in the preparation of native cotton for the market there is great room for amendment. It is picked carelessly, to begin with; and leaves are largely gathered with the seeds. The labourer is paid in kind, instead of by the day; and consequently his only object is to collect the cotton as rapidly as possible. When the crop is got in, it has hitherto been necessary to clean it, either by the saw-gins introduced from America, which are quite unsuited for the short tender fibres of the indigenous cotton, or by the native machine, the churka, which can only turn out about 12 lbs. of cleaned cotton in a day. The choice, therefore, lies between having the staple so injured as to be almost unsaleable when it reaches Liverpool, or letting it lie, generally in the open fields, until the churka happens to be standing idle. These mischiefs, however, are at length in a fair way to be remedied. Dr. Forbes has invented a gin for cleaning native cotton, which injures the staple as little as the common churka, while it can turn out 250 lbs. daily; and this is likely to be in general use before long throughout the principal cotton districts of India. Much of the adulteration, however, takes place after the cotton has left the hands of the cultivator. He delivers it, in the state in which it is gathered, to the wakharia, or local agent, who has already advanced him the money, at an enormous interest, on the security of the growing crop. The wakharia has it ginned, and then sells it to the broker, who is the agent of the merchant at Bombay, or some other of the great seaports. The result of this system is, that no one has any direct interest in the state in which the cotton reaches the market. The ryot knows that the wakharia must take whatever crop he has to give, or lose the security for his advances; the wakharia knows that the broker has received his commission, and must find the required amount of cotton somewhere; the broker knows that the merchant will just receive it in time for shipment, and will have to put up with the loss of a market, if he stops to quarrel with the quality. The chance of its being so bad as ultimately to prove unsaleable is merely reckoned among possible trade-losses, against the risk of which each purchaser in turn takes such precaution as he is able by giving less than the real value. In a population of peasant proprietors destitute of capital, and heavily burdened by debt, middlemen are a necessary evil; but much may, no doubt, be done to improve the present character of the system.

The defective means of transit is another drawback to the improvement of cotton. Much of it is still carried on the backs of bullocks, which are loaded and unloaded twice a-day,—a process which usually results in the pack being deposited in the mud while the animals are being watered. The dirt thus accumulated, even when added to the dust of a long journey, is not more than enough to make up the loss of weight which is caused by each bullock “keeping his nose in his leader’s pack, and steadily eating” its contents on the road. In many parts of India, however, carts are now used; but even then the rate of progression is usually so slow that the cotton suffers scarcely less than it did formerly. It is easy to see what immense additional facilities for adulteration these delays afford, and how much they tend to increase the distance already existing between the consumers and the ryots. To bring these two classes into more direct communication with each other seems to be the first condition of any real improvement in the supply. But road-making in India is not easy work. The black plains are impassable after a heavy fall of rain; the materials for making roads are not found where they are most needed; and both these and the stones for the bridges have to be brought from a great distance. Nor would the mere construction of a trunk-road, or even of a line of railway, in the cotton districts be of any avail unless a complete system of feeders were organised at the same time.

Into the means of meeting this necessity, as well as into the propriety of the suggestions which are frequently offered to the Indian authorities by their critics in England with reference to the tenure of land, the levying of taxes, and the regulation of contracts, this is not the place to enter. These questions must be decided by other considerations than those which exclusively depend on the cotton trade. India must be governed and administered for the interests of its own inhabitants, not for those of a particular class of their customers. Whether the demand for Indian cotton is of a kind to justify a large investment of public or private capital is at best doubtful; and the true state of the case seems to be accurately summed up by Mr. Walter Cassels, in the official narrative which he drew up last year, “at the desire of the Bombay government, and in accordance with a resolution of the government of India.” “For upwards of half a century,” he says, “government have desired, and have endeavoured, to promote the improvement of Indian cotton. During this period, the hope that India might ultimately replace the United States as the source of cotton supply, has vaguely existed in Great Britain, rising into eagerness in moments of

distress, and sinking into indifference on the return of abundance. For upwards of half a century, Indian cotton has occupied the unsatisfactory position of a mere *pis-aller* for the American growth, reluctantly purchased when the latter has been dear, and instantly abandoned when it has become cheap. From the similarity of actual circumstances, and the very slight change which has taken place in the character of the staple, there is no reason to suppose that the present appetite for Indian cotton will survive the American blockade, or that the present demand is less fickle than that which preceded it. The position of American cotton is not shaken in the English market by the present scarcity; and the Indian staple is not established on any more solid basis because necessity has driven manufacturers to use it. The exceptional nature of the demand gives an exceptional importance to the Indian growth; but when the usual course is resumed, Surats will return to their usual level. There is absolutely no reason why Indian cotton should now be more favourably received than it has hitherto been. Its quality is unaltered, and its price has increased. . . . It is important that the actual position of India, in regard to cotton supply, should be clearly defined. The pleasant illusions of temporary demand must not be allowed to conceal the less agreeable features of sober reality. The expenditure of some lakhs of rupees in cotton experiments, and the experience of a century of the cotton trade, have at least furnished data for distinct conclusions, and it is now time that the case should be rightly understood. Leaving the other Presidencies to speak for themselves, the following results are clearly deducible from the facts of cotton cultivation in Bombay:—Exotic cotton cannot be successfully cultivated on a large scale in the Bombay Presidency, except in a limited portion of its southern districts. Indian cotton may be improved in cleanness, and somewhat reduced in cost, but the general characteristics of the staple will not be materially altered. In so far as this quality of cotton is serviceable to the manufacturers of England, India can compete with America; but if a finer description be required, India cannot adequately supply it. Unless, therefore, such alterations in machinery can be devised as may render the manufacturer indifferent to length and fineness of staple, and of the probability of this others must judge, India is not likely to replace the United States. It seems evident, then, that Indian cotton must continue to hold a subordinate place in European markets, and that there is a point at which its competition with other growths entirely ceases. . . . The failure of exotic cotton, when cultivated on a large scale, may be reasonably attributed



to the violence of Indian seasons. As for garden experiments, they are much worse than useless ; and had not their occasional results, produced by an altogether disproportionate expenditure, misled sanguine minds, the true position of India, in regard to cotton, would long ere this have been perceived, and energy might have been directed to points where it might have been beneficial, instead of being frittered away in watching and chronicling the results of cotton cultivation in a flower-pot."<sup>2</sup>

Now if India can only supply us with an inferior type of cotton, it is evident that no length of occupancy can secure her from being, in the end, again shut out of the market. It may, indeed, be years before the Southern States of America are in a position to enter again into competition with her ; but nothing short of the utter extermination of the whole white population can prevent them from doing so some day. If, by that time, India could have really replaced the United States not merely in Liverpool but in Manchester, not merely in the quantity of material but in the quality of the fibre, there would be no reason why she should fear the struggle. But if the substitute which she sends us is essentially inferior, it will be no more able to hold its own five or ten years hence than it was five or ten years back. The place will have remained open ; and when the owner is again able to fill it, the *locum tenens* will have nothing to do but to retire. Even supposing that alterations in the machinery may be devised, which may enable the manufacturer to work up shorter and coarser staple for many of the purposes to which it has hitherto been unsuited, he will be none the more "indifferent" to the better material when it is once more in his power to obtain it. If improved machinery can make Indian cotton do the work of New-Orleans, we shall not have long to wait for other improvements which will make New-Orleans do its own work better still. Ingenuity can do much, but it cannot equalise good tools and bad in the hands of the same workman. It is not wonderful, then, that the Indian government is little disposed to urge the natives to a larger growth of cotton than they can themselves see to be profitable, or that it declines to burden India with new debts in order to meet a demand which will probably have ceased to operate before the completion of the works undertaken to supply it. When a government revolutionises the agriculture of a whole people, and that people an Oriental one, it takes on itself not only the chances of success, but also the consequences of failure.

One description of exotic cotton, however, yet remains,

<sup>2</sup> Cotton in the Bombay Presidency, pp. 345-7.

the cultivation of which has never been tried in India, although there seems some reason to believe that the obstacles which have been so fatal to the introduction of New-Orleans seed might, in this instance, turn out to be less insuperable. This is a variety of the *gossypium Peruvianum*, which, if it be not distinct from the Brazilian plant, is at least found to flourish under such very different conditions from its name-sake that no adverse conclusion with regard to it can be drawn from any former failure of Brazilian seed in India. It is indigenous to the fertile coast-valleys, sixty in number, intersecting the sandy desert which lies between the Andes and the Pacific, from lat. 21° S. to lat. 3° S. The climate of these valleys is peculiarly dry. Rain never falls, and the only moisture contributed by the atmosphere takes the form of thick fogs, which last for great part of every day from May till November. The cotton cultivation of this region depends for success entirely on the natural irrigation of the soil by the overflow of the rivers which traverse the valleys. Mr. Markham, who was employed by the Indian government to collect quinine plants in Peru, and to superintend their naturalisation in India, was struck with the similarity existing between the climate of these Peruvian valleys,—especially those of Piura, the most northern province,—and that of Sind and the collectorates on the eastern side of the Madras Presidency, where the air has always been found too dry for the cultivation of New-Orleans cotton. They have the advantage, however, with respect to moisture, of the Piura valleys; and it is from this latter district, as the driest portion of the coast region of Peru, that Mr. Markham has made arrangements for obtaining seeds. They are to be transmitted to Madras, with a view to their being tried in Coimbatore, Madura, and Tinnevely. Should this experiment succeed, we may ultimately obtain from India a cotton possessing the hardihood of the native plant, combined with a length of staple exceeded only by Sea Island and Egyptian.<sup>3</sup>

Next on the list of sources of supply comes Egypt, the imports from which country have increased from 22,090 lbs.

<sup>3</sup> Mean length of the staples of different kinds of cotton compared with Peruvian:

| Species of Cotton.                   | Length in inches. |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Sea Island . . . . .                 | 1·61              |
| Egyptian . . . . .                   | 1·41              |
| Peruvian . . . . .                   | 1·30              |
| Brazilian . . . . .                  | 1·17              |
| New Orleans . . . . .                | 1·02              |
| New Orleans grown in India . . . . . | 1·08              |
| Indigenous Indian . . . . .          | 0·89              |



in 1821, to 30,594,650 lbs. in 1859. The first-mentioned year witnessed the beginning of cotton-growing in Egypt. The indigenous variety was discovered accidentally by a French mechanician in the service of Mohammed Ali. Its cultivation was at once encouraged, or rather commanded, by the viceroy; and for the first seven years the average export was 13,605,632 lbs. During the next similar period it rather diminished, owing to the drain upon the population caused by foreign wars; but from 1835 to 1848 it rose to 20,116,564 lbs., and in the eleven years between 1849 and 1859 it amounted to 44,488,508 lbs. The cause of this latter increase was a change in the land-system. Up to 1848 the villages with the lands adjoining had been assigned to different pashas, who paid the land-tax to the government, directed what crops should be sown, advanced the necessary funds to the cultivators, and gave them a portion of the produce in return for their labour. The weak point in this arrangement was that the pashas had neither the intelligence to superintend, nor the capital to provide the means for, the cultivation they required; and it has been altogether abandoned by Said Pasha, the present viceroy. The land is now entirely in the hands of the Fellahs, or peasant farmers. They cultivate it as they please, and sell the produce, paying a fixed rent-charge to the government. In fact, the tenure is closely allied to the much-abused land-system of India. The fellahs hold from 50 to 500, and sometimes even 1000, acres each, which they farm with the help of the Mourabain, or hired labourers, who are paid by a fourth share in the produce of the plot of ground they till. The soil of Egypt seems to be very well adapted to the growth of cotton. It is a black porous loam, several feet deep, and extremely fertile where it is sufficiently watered either by the natural overflow of the Nile, or by artificial irrigation. But in Lower Egypt, to which the cultivation of cotton has hitherto been confined, about two-thirds of the land lies beyond the reach of the inundation. This portion, when irrigated, is much the more productive, the cotton crops grown on it being often double those raised on the lands lying nearer the bed of the river. The only means of raising the water from the river, or the canals which communicate with it, at the disposal of the fellahs, is either the Persian water-wheel, made of wood and worked by bullocks, or the still more primitive shadoof, which consists simply of a long pole, acting as a lever, with a goatskin bucket at one end, and a lump of clay by way of a balance at the other. Their agricultural implements are equally rude; and they have no means of cleaning the cotton except by the *dulab*, a species of

roller-gin which, like the Indian churka, can only clean a few pounds of cotton in the day. Thus the fellah has often to wait for months after he has gathered in his crop before he can get it ginned,—a delay which is more directly injurious to him than to the Indian ryot, inasmuch as he is all this time shut out of the market, and unable to repay the money which he has been forced to borrow, at high interest, to meet the expenses of cultivation and the demands of the tax-gatherer. We need scarcely wonder, therefore, that he often prefers to grow grain crops, which he can dispose of as soon as they are threshed out, and at all events plants only just so much cotton as he can get cleaned within a reasonable time. Steam-gins, however, are being introduced to some extent at Abouzir,—a hundred are now in working, owned by one German firm. The fellahs are quite alive to the advantages of the change; and the growth of cotton has already largely increased throughout the surrounding district. As to other improvements, cheap American ploughs and harrows would probably find a ready sale, and wind-pumps would greatly lighten the labour of raising water for irrigation. Steam-pumps would involve too great an outlay both in their first purchase and in the fuel necessary to work them. The Egyptian government appears to be well inclined to promote the growth of cotton, as far as lies in its power; but as it no longer interferes, either directly or indirectly, with the fellah's choice of crops, its influence is chiefly confined to the culture of cotton, by way of example, on the estates belonging to the viceroy and his brothers. One of the latter, Halim Pasha, has introduced on his own estates steam-pumps, improved gins, and even steam-ploughs; and if an experiment conducted on this scale is found to answer, it may prove worth the attention of English capitalists. If more cotton is to be grown, the end must be attained by making it the fellah's interest to grow more. He now borrows money at twenty, thirty, and even sixty per cent from the Jew money-lenders of Alexandria and Cairo; and, as his creditor has a first claim on the crop, he is obliged to take whatever price he may offer. The viceroy wishes an English Association to be formed to advance money to the cultivators at reasonable rates, and so make it their interest to grow cotton rather than other crops. There appears to be no want of punctuality in repaying the present loans; and, if the government is anxious to attract English capital, defaulters will probably find the law stretched to reach them with true Oriental elasticity. Two drawbacks to the adoption of this scheme are, that we do not yet know whether New-Orleans cotton will grow in Egypt, while the

native cotton is long-stapled and less suited to the ordinary manufacture; and that, as the fellahs are too poor to buy grain, they cannot indefinitely increase the area of cotton lands. It remains to be seen whether this can be done to any very large extent without displacing the food crops.

Whether the cotton crop of Brazil can be immediately or largely increased, we have little means of knowing. Cotton has been exported from that empire since 1778; and during the last twenty years the amount has slightly increased, and a good deal is raised for home use. The Brazilian cotton plant is perennial, and grows to a height of fifteen feet. It succeeds better in the inland provinces than near the sea, as the climate is less changeable; but, from the want of proper roads, most of the produce has to be brought down to the coast, a distance sometimes of 450 miles, by pack mules. The great obstacle, however, to increased cultivation is the want of labour. It has been suggested of late that this difficulty may be removed by the employment of Indians; but as they have very few wants which the forest cannot satisfy, and none which they cannot supply by gathering vanilla or india-rubber and taking it for sale to the nearest village, it is more than doubtful whether they will submit to be thus utilised. The same objection applies to the West-India Islands and to British Guiana. We are told that there are 1,000,000 acres of land in Jamaica fit for cotton-growing, and 100,000 persons out of employ. Inasmuch, however, as this unoccupied class has contrived to exist, ever since the emancipation of the Negroes, without any profit to other people, but with perfect satisfaction to itself, we question whether the substitution of cotton for coffee or sugar on a plantation will inspire it with any new taste for work. British Guiana has for some time back been importing Chinese labourers with unusual success; but it remains to be seen whether the planters will think the present demand for cotton a sufficient inducement to give up growing sugar, when both soil and climate offer such exceptional facilities for the cultivation of that crop.

The imports of cotton from all quarters, besides those we have enumerated, amounted in 1860 to 8,667,978 lbs. For this increase, we are mainly indebted to the labours of the Manchester Cotton Supply Association. But none of the countries included under this general designation are in a position to send us an immediate supply. A good deal has been said of late about Africa; but with the exception of Natal, the cotton districts of that continent are exposed to all the risks and vicissitudes incident to barbarous society; and Dr. Livingstone's glowing pictures of native cultivation have probably more interest for the philanthropist than the capitalist.



Natal has higher claims upon our notice. Its situation, soil, and temperature, are described as being admirably fitted for the cotton plant; but, as a young and scantily peopled country, it has neither the labour necessary to develop its resources, nor the capital wherewith to supply the deficiency. Queensland, with even greater advantages, suffers from a similar want. The climate seems to suggest the introduction of two different systems of cultivation:—in the temperate districts, small farms, resembling the German plantations in Texas, worked by European colonists, with their families; and, in the tropical districts, large plantations, worked by Asiatic labour. The former class of emigrants, Queensland, under the guidance of its energetic Governor, Sir George Bowen, is making very vigorous efforts to attract to its shores. Persons who are able to pay their own passage-money are entitled, on their arrival, to receive land-orders, in the proportion of eighteen acres for each adult whom they bring with them, and twelve acres more after they have been two years in the colony. Two children, over four and under fourteen years of age, count as one adult; so that a man and his wife with four young children will start with a free grant of seventy-two acres, to be increased in two years' time to one hundred and twenty. By taking additional labourers at their own expense they may enlarge their farms, in the same proportion. With a view to encourage larger plantations, grants are also made of not less than 320 acres, or more than 1,280, at a deposit of 2s. per acre. If within two years one-tenth of the land is planted with cotton, and a sum of money equal to 2,500*l.* for every 320 acres has been laid out on clearing and improvements, the deposit will be returned, and the land granted in fee. If no evidence can be shown of these conditions having been complied with, the deposit will be forfeited, and the land, with any improvements which may have been made on it, will revert to the government. The importation of coolies seems to be less unpopular in Queensland than was expected; and a bill to legalise it was passed last summer by a large majority of the House of Assembly. Chinese immigrants appear to incur the same dislike which, whether deservedly or undeservedly, is felt for them in other parts of Australia. If these measures have their anticipated effect, there seems great reason to believe that Queensland may rival the Southern States of America as a cotton-growing country. The climate is favourable. Warm rains come early in the season, and from April onwards there is an uninterrupted continuance of fine weather for picking, during six or eight months. The constituents of the soil are not yet so well known; but the undiminished verdure of the natural grasses throughout the dry season points to that



capacity for retaining moisture which we have seen to be the most essential requisite for the growth of cotton. The cost of interior transport will be small, as in almost all cases the plantations will be along the seacoast, or on the banks of navigable rivers. Hitherto only Sea-Island cotton has been cultivated in the colony; but, as that has yielded more than double as much to the acre as it does in South Carolina or Georgia, there is reason to expect that the average produce of the short-stapled variety, which is about to be tried, will be proportionately large. The quality of the fibre is said by Mr. Bazley to be equal, and in some instances superior, to any thing ever seen in England.

The results of this survey are not very encouraging. No country besides America seems to possess all the requisites for the immediate production of the best material on a sufficiently large scale. India has the labour which is required, but her material seems to be hopelessly inferior. Australia possesses the material, but has still to create the labour. Egypt and Brazil have both material and labour, but it is not clear to what extent their exports admit of being increased. On the whole, however, Australia is the quarter from which there seems to be most hope; and the Cotton Supply Association and the Manchester Cotton Company would probably be better employed in coöperating with the Australian governments to organise a system both of white and coolie emigration than in attending exclusively to India. Artificial encouragements and a revived system of protection may certainly do much to increase the Indian cotton crop, as well as to divert into the English market a portion of what is now exported to China or retained for home consumption; but we cannot forget, as Mr. Bright does, that the Indian authorities have other duties than that of keeping Lancashire employed. If, under the impulse of an exceptional remission of taxation, cotton crops were to be generally substituted for grain throughout India, from what quarter is the food of the population to be derived? In a country destitute of any adequate means of transit, food does not readily find its way from one district to another, still less from the seacoast to the interior, and over-abundance may be effectually separated from scarcity by the intervention of an inaccessible mountain or a few miles of pathless jungle. Even supposing the danger of famine averted, we have seen that the demand for the indigenous cotton of India must, to all appearance, cease in a few years. And it is an Indian, as well as an English question, whether the benefit of increased exports for a time would not be too dearly purchased at the cost of a glutted market, an unsaleable crop, and a disappointed people.

## UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

NOWHERE does the difference in principle between English freedom and Continental liberalism appear in sharper outline than in questions connected with national education.

Abroad, the revolutionary party seek to absorb all power into the central authority. They insist that it is the prerogative of the state, or rather of the minister who, in matters of public instruction, represents the dominant party in their chambers, to direct the education of the people. In his hands they place the appointment of schoolmasters and professors; he determines how much or how little of religion should be taught in schools and colleges, and so seeks to control and to form the mind of the rising generation. Thus, democratic absolutism is no less absolute than monarchical absolutism, and not only asserts its dominion over the body, but claims a right to guide the conscience and to mould opinion.

With us, on the contrary, government interference in education is jealously limited. Disliking all monopoly, we hold with Bastiat that the most odious of all monopolies is the monopoly of education. We believe that state education would be intellectually inferior to that given in our various free universities and schools, whose honourable competition with one another preserves a high standard in all. We love liberty too much to allow the government to give a direction to opinion. It is our boast that among us government is itself the result and the expression, not the creator, of public opinion.

But, above all, it is our deep and unwavering conviction that the central political authority is powerless to mould the mind and the heart. True moral training can be given only by family or religious influences; and for the youth in our public schools, away from their homes, we deem the presence of a strong religious influence essential to the protection of their faith, and the development of their moral being. Our love of liberty, and our religious spirit, both combine therefore to make us almost unanimous in favour of the most complete liberty of education, and any infringement of that liberty we should resist, and have resisted, as an odious and un-English tyranny.

We are deeply persuaded of the truth of these principles; we approve of their practical working as satisfactory; and yet, with strange inconsistency, we limit their operation to our own island, and force upon our reluctant fellow subjects on the other side of the water a system which, for ourselves, we repudiate and anathematise. It is to a remarkable manifestation

of this inconsistency that we propose now to call attention : we approach it in no party or sectarian spirit ; we have always maintained, in their largest sense, the principles of religious liberty ; we desire that those principles should be carried out in as conscientious a spirit where Catholics are strong, as where Catholics are weak—where they form a majority, as well as where they are few. Therefore we consider that the statement we are about to make, and the appeal we shall found upon it, have some claim on the attention of those among our readers who, differing from us in religious belief, desire, as we do, to extend as widely as possible the domain of freedom. Grave political and social interests are at stake : it is our geographical morality, our double weights and measures, our loud profession of principles here, our refusal to admit them or to act upon them outside our own island, that have alienated from us the hearts of our Irish fellow subjects. No Englishman will admit that French institutions are better than those we enjoy ; and yet, in a century and a half, German-speaking Alsace, the same in race with the Germans inhabiting the opposite side of the Rhine, has become united in heart and affection to the rest of France. The inhabitants of Alsace are as entirely French in spirit as the inhabitants of Touraine or Nivernais ; while six hundred years of connection have left the Irish people as distinct from, not to say as hostile in feeling to, England as the Belgians were to Holland in 1830. Why ? Because the French government has governed Alsace upon the same principles, and in the same spirit, as the rest of France. It has applied to both the same system of administration ; it makes no religious distinction between different portions of the population ; it does not speak, or think, or act, as if any portion of its subjects were aliens ; and the natural result has been complete unity of feeling and entire political consolidation. Our government of Ireland has been, and still is, founded on totally opposite principles. Messages of peace we send there when it is our interest to do so. Equal justice, religious or educational equality, we have denied, and still continue to deny, to the Irish people : we seem to forget in our dealings with them, that it is harder for a nation to bear a partial injustice than to submit to a tyranny which is equal for all. In one word, our policy in Ireland is a policy not founded on principle, but on a supposed expediency. We seek there not truth and justice, but the maintenance of the English interest ; and that English interest is considered to consist in weakening, as far as we can, the hold which the Catholic religion has on the minds of the Irish people.

Neither the failures of three hundred years, nor the ab-



stract love of liberty, have eradicated this policy from the minds of many among us; and a statesman like Lord Palmerston, no chivalrous champion any where of principle, counts on English support as a reward for setting aside in Ireland the golden rule of doing to others as we wish they should do to us. In an evil hour for his party he thought fit to punish his alienated Irish supporters by inflicting Sir Robert Peel upon their country as Chief Secretary. The antecedents of that statesman, his exposure at Berne by Monsieur Bois le Comte, the absence of all respect for himself or for others which the speech he delivered on his return from the Russian coronation exhibited, had excluded him from office. No colonial minister would have been rash enough to trust any considerable colony to the consequences of his notorious indiscretion. These were sufficient proofs of his fitness to become a rod for the chastisement of ungrateful Ireland: but he had, during the session of 1861, added another to his long list of qualifications. On the occasion of an Italian debate, in a carefully prepared speech, he had insulted, in the grossest manner, the religion of the Irish people. Other speakers had defended their views on Italian policy by political considerations; Sir Robert Peel alone at that time had proclaimed motives founded on religious antipathies, and had declared that his sympathy with Italian revolution was founded on the hope that Italian revolution would injure the Catholic Church.

It was not unreasonable to expect that he would use political power in Ireland to promote the same object for which he rejoiced to see political power used in Italy. Therefore Mr. Newdegate and Mr. Kinnaid, and the small band who are ready to sacrifice peace and order to their hatred of Catholicism, hailed his appointment with unconcealed satisfaction. The Tories rejoiced that Ireland was at length alienated from their party opponents. The Liberal party held up their hands in astonishment and indignation. The Chief Secretary went over to Dublin, and, true to his antecedents, rushed at once upon that dangerous ground which the discretion of his predecessors had led them to avoid. He commenced an agitation in favour of the Queen's Colleges. He determined to increase their number and to extend their influence. There was no dependent of the government whom he did not solicit for subscriptions to aid him in carrying out his views; and thus the conscience and the interest of many of those employed in the public service were placed in direct antagonism to one another.

The Catholic Archbishop of Dublin issued a letter to his flock indicating some passages from the life of the Chief Secre-



tary, and containing extracts from his most recent speeches; and left them to judge whether either his antecedents or his principles rendered him a fitting guide to follow in an educational project. Sir Robert Peel replied by vulgar abuse, cheered to the echo by the Orangemen of Belfast and Londonderry. He assailed, as if they had been guilty of some political offence or some moral crime, Catholic prelates who maintained the same principles of religious education as are maintained in England by the clergy both of the Establishment and of the Dissenting communities, and in Ireland by the great majority of the Protestant clergy and of the higher laity. The Catholics of Ireland, of all classes and all ranks, were roused. Thoughtful men had always appreciated the importance of sound academical education; but the dangers of the existing university system had appeared to the careless mass even of educated men to be often more theoretical than real. The open assumption by a fanatical Chief Secretary of power to prescribe the principles on which Catholic youth should be educated opened the eyes of the least suspicious to a danger which, under more prudent rulers, they had not fully appreciated. Cold interest was turned into enthusiasm. It was felt that General Lee might as well consult with General M'Clellan upon the discipline or training of the Confederate army, as Catholic parents conduct the moral and religious training of their children by the guidance of Sir Robert Peel; and for the first time the Catholic nation absolutely determined to make the Catholic University a reality. The corporations of Ireland assembled, and prepared addresses. The wealth and intellect of the country protested against the Queen's Colleges. Scholarships in the Catholic University were founded. Subscriptions poured in. A discussion took place in parliament which was not more remarkable for the superiority evinced by the supporters of liberty of education than for the moderation of their demands. The government did not attempt to discuss the question; and a sensible and most favourable impression was produced on the independent members of the House of Commons.

It was thought, under these circumstances, that even Lord Palmerston would hardly be bold enough to refuse the just request, that those Catholic parents who conscientiously object to the Queen's Colleges should be allowed, at their own expense, to provide for their children a means by which they might be enabled to obtain academical degrees without doing violence to the convictions of conscience. A deputation composed of representatives from forty-six municipal bodies, and all the members of parliament representing Catholic constitu-

encies who had remained in London until the end of the session, waited on the prime minister. Their case was explained to him by liberal Protestants as well as by Catholics. He met their moderate demands by a decided refusal, and told them, in substance, that the violation of conscience must continue, for such Catholic parents, to be the *conditio sine quâ non* of their children obtaining degrees.

The Catholics of Ireland were not slow to reply to his challenge. On the occasion of laying the first stone of the new buildings of the Catholic University, a demonstration, greater than any that had taken place since the days of O'Connell, proclaimed the determination of the Irish people to insist upon the redress of a flagrant grievance; and the country committed itself to a struggle for that equality and justice in the conduct of public education upon which the welfare of future generations so largely depends. Since Sir R. Peel's aggression the number of students in arts has been doubled in the Catholic University; the annual contributions to it have been much more than doubled; many of the Catholic colleges, already existing in Ireland, have been affiliated to it and made its feeders; and several middle-class schools have already been created by it. Every day men see better the path in which they have to walk, for every day the mist is removed. The principles upon which it is intended to carry on the Queen's University have been since laid down with unmistakeable and offensive clearness. So late as October last, its religious tenets were proclaimed at a meeting of the senate, with no uncertain voice, by no less a personage than the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Latitudinarians, we are told, while they profess charity towards all doctrines, nevertheless count it heresy to oppose the principle of latitude. It cannot be wondered at, therefore, that Lord Carlisle denounced, under the name of intolerance, not the forcing of consciences, for this is done by the system of education he supports, but firm and undoubting faith in any creed. "When we," he said, "indeed look a little backward and around us, and consider that it has pleased the Almighty to permit the various creeds and churches of Christendom to be supported and adorned by such men as Luther, Bossuet, Fénelon, Jeremy Taylor, John Wesley, Bishop Hall, Dr. Chalmers, and Channing,—men with the fire of divine eloquence on their lips, and the teachings of divine piety in their hearts,—surely there can be none of us who must not think how likely it is that in many points he must be wrong, how impossible it is that in all points he can be right." It is difficult to overrate the importance of this

statement: it was made by the representative of the sovereign in the presence of the representatives of the several Queen's Colleges; the highest dignitaries of the state stood by his side; no voice was raised to question it; its sense was not obscure; it dealt not only with one of the most momentous questions that can occupy the human mind, but with one which greatly influences human conduct. In one word, the Lord Lieutenant here enunciated the principles which govern the teaching of the University at whose solemn session he presided. Those principles we freely admit, if founded on truth, would go far to justify the manner in which religious teaching is dealt with by that University. The argument is, that because Bossuet and Channing had "the fire of divine eloquence on their lips, and the teachings of divine piety in their hearts," no certainty is attainable on those points on which these eminent men differed; the points, therefore, upon which no one can be certain are those which separate the Catholicism of Bossuet from the Unitarianism of Channing. It has been well said, that in all schools and universities there is a contract, expressed or implied, between the teacher and the learner, as to the principles on which the one agrees to teach, and the other to learn. The terms of that contract, as regards the Queen's Colleges, are here plainly stated. Henceforth no parent of a student in them can fairly complain if he finds that the general tone of thought impressed upon his son's mind is in accordance with Lord Carlisle's announcement. And yet, if the proposition so authoritatively enunciated be true, St. Athanasius could not have been certain that Arius was a teacher of falsehood; the Council of Nicea blasphemously erred when it declared that it was infallibly guided by the Holy Ghost; the solemn decrees of that Council dealt with points on which it is impossible to know whether it decided rightly or wrongly; and the Emperor Constantine was the maintainer of true Christian liberty when he asserted that Athanasius and Arius "agreed in fundamentals," and that the great question at issue between them was one of no importance.

We will not stop to enquire how Lord Carlisle's statement is to be reconciled with those Thirty-nine Articles of the Established Church to which he has subscribed. But it does concern us deeply and intimately to enquire how, in an institution professedly intended for Catholics, the Lord Lieutenant could have allowed himself to enunciate so direct a contradiction of their faith. If he had turned to the most ignorant of those Catholic students who appeared before him, he would have learnt that to Catholics "faith is not a mere conviction of



the reason, but a firm assent,—a clear certainty, greater than any other certainty; and that this is wrought in the mind by the grace of God, and by it alone;” and that any one who deliberately thinks as he declared every one present must think, by that very thought puts himself out of the Church.

We pass by Sir R. Peel’s speech on the same occasion, in which, predicating *candida de nigris et de candentibus atra*, he declared that he was honoured by the confidence of the moderate men of all parties and degrees; that O’Connell, who denounced the colleges as godless, and Dr. Murray, who proclaimed them to be dangerous to faith and morals, were their supporters; and that “all the talents, all the education, and he might say almost all the religion of the country, united in giving their support to the system of education of the Queen’s Colleges;” while, in fact, with all the influence of the government at his back, he could only induce five Catholics to subscribe to his project, and while he knew that in the single county of Limerick more than two thousand pounds had been subscribed in one month to the Catholic University.

Such undisguised misstatements do no harm in Ireland. They are only laughed at there. But on our side of the Channel it is necessary to meet them by a categorical denial, as we now do. The late Mr. Sheil met an American universalist at dinner, in 1845. This gentleman, having indulged at some length in those generalities which the abhorers of all dogma delight in, warmed to his subject, and attacked the Catholic Church with offensive bitterness. Up to this time, Mr. Sheil had been silent. Suddenly he interposed with the enquiry, “Pray, sir, what is your religion?” “I belong,” was the reply, “to that large and universal religion which looks down from the heights of charity with equal favour on all churches and sects, and condemns with equal abhorrence the pretensions of any to an exclusive possession of the truth.” “Are you acquainted,” Mr. Sheil said, “with the prime minister?” “I have not that honour.” “That is unfortunate; for you are just the man for a professor in one of his godless colleges.” If a fitting habitation was thus by anticipation marked out for the amiable Viceroy, where would the witty orator have placed the Chief Secretary, now a member of the University Senate? Not surely in any place of authority in an institution where a scrupulous exactness is included among the moral virtues, and accuracy is considered to be a necessary condition for the success of scientific investigation.

All these circumstances have tended to concentrate public interest in Ireland upon the question of academical education. The principles of the Queen’s Colleges are being examined



and sifted. And thus the Catholic University, the foundation of which had been silently laid by the greatest of our living writers or thinkers, has become generally known and appreciated through the petulance or prejudice of one of the most violent enemies of the Catholic religion. While we admire the growth of the institution over the commencement of which Dr. Newman presided, we cannot deny that for its development it owes a great deal to the intemperate and intractable Irish Secretary. He went forth to curse the work, and his curse has been turned into a blessing.

We proceed to explain in detail the system by which academical degrees in Ireland can now be obtained, and we cannot do so better than by availing ourselves of the information contained in the volumes of Father Perraud on Ireland which were reviewed in our last Number.

There are three Universities in Ireland. The first is the Dublin University (Trinity College), exclusively Protestant in its governing body and in its religious teaching. The second is the Queen's University, in which no religious teaching is provided for the students. Both of these were founded and endowed by the state; both have the power of granting degrees, but only to their own students. The third is the Catholic University, which was founded by the Catholics of Ireland, who have contributed to it, out of their poverty, more than a hundred thousand pounds; but which still remains without any power to grant degrees, and without state recognition or endowment. No one, therefore, can obtain a degree in Ireland unless he becomes a student either of Trinity College or of one of the Queen's Colleges. Trinity College was founded by letters-patent, granted by Elizabeth, in the year 1591. It was largely endowed with lands, of which confiscation had deprived the owners, whether lay or clerical. The rent of this property amounts now to 32,500*l.* per annum. The fees received from students and other resources amount to about as much more. Thirty-two livings, the income of which amounts in the aggregate to about 20,000*l.* a year, are presented to by the University, and generally are given to its junior fellows.

Since the end of the eighteenth century, Catholics have been admitted into this University as students; but the whole governing body must be members of the Established Church. Twenty-five out of thirty-three are Protestant clergymen. And, while no religious teaching is forced upon Catholic or Dissenting students, no religious teaching except that of the Established Church can be given to them. We do not complain of any want of liberality on the part of those who govern Trinity College. They could not deal much more liberally

with Catholics than they do, without ceasing to be a religious institution. But what is the condition of a Catholic student there? He receives an excellent *secular* education. At that period of life which separates boyhood from manhood, when temptation is most rife, when the character of the future man is being formed and developed, the University does no more to provide him with any training, moral or religious, than it would have done if Christianity had been discovered to be a myth, and the doctrine of original sin a fable. We had lately recalled to our minds the admirable description of a Christian teacher given by Rollin. "What, then," he says, "is a Christian master who is entrusted with the education of youth? He is a man into whose hands Christ has committed a number of children, whom He has redeemed with His blood, and for whom He has laid down His life; in whom He dwells, as in His house and temple; whom He considers as His members, as His brethren and co-heirs; of whom He will make so many kings and priests, who shall reign and serve God with Him and by Him to all eternity. And for what end has He committed them to the care of their instructors? Is it barely to make them poets, orators, or men of learning? Who dares presume to say, or even to think so? He has committed them to their care, in order to preserve in them the precious and inestimable deposit of innocence, which He has imprinted in their souls by baptism,—in order to make them true Christians."

It is clear that Protestant tutors and professors cannot discharge these duties towards their Catholic pupils; and yet, as we know, day by day, this high ideal of a Christian teacher is in its measure realised in our schools and colleges. It was the recognition of the unsuitableness of Trinity College for Catholics that induced the late Sir R. Peel to found, especially with reference to the supply of admitted Catholic wants, the second University to which we have alluded. In 1845, a bill for the establishment of the three Queen's Colleges received the royal sanction. These colleges were opened in 1849, and in 1850 were erected into a University, comprising the three faculties of arts, of medicine, and of law. The charter conferred the right of granting degrees to students who had followed the prescribed course of study in any one of the three colleges and passed a sufficient examination before the University Senate.

The fundamental principle of this University is, that it is open to students of every or of no religion; and it can itself give no religious instruction. It is alleged that the Catholics are themselves to blame for not having provided, in connec-

tion with it, a means of religious instruction for Catholic students. The charge is untrue, unless it can be maintained that the Catholic Church is bound to sanction, by the presence of her priests, institutions which even the intervention of those priests could not prevent from being dangerous to the faith and morals of her children. From the very first, the Catholic Bishops formally condemned the colleges as being thus dangerous, and their judgment was ratified by the Holy See. It has been said that this condemnation was carried at the Synod of Thurles by only a small majority. This was not the case. In 1845, Archbishop Murray had declared "that he could not give his approbation to the proposed system, as he deemed it dangerous to the faith and morals of the Catholic pupils." To the strong condemnatory language of the pastoral issued from the Synod of Thurles he and the whole of the assembled prelates gave their hearty consent; and the only question on which there was any difference of opinion was one not of principle, but of expediency. The Archbishop considered it unwise to prohibit ecclesiastics from acting as deans of the colleges. The majority of the Synod thought that, while the fact of a priest holding office in an institution might cause its danger to be under-estimated, he could confer but little benefit on students brought up day by day in an atmosphere from which religious influences were excluded. Experience has proved that even in this question of detail the majority of the Synod adopted the more sound conclusion.

Let us now cast a glance at this question from a financial point of view.

The Queen's Colleges and the Queen's University had up to last year cost the public exchequer 397,600*l.*; thus appropriated,—

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| The buildings and furniture . . . . .   | £100,000 |
| Repairs . . . . .   | 19,200   |
| Annual charge for twelve years on Consolidated<br>Fund, at 21,000 <i>l.</i> per annum . . . . . | 252,000  |
| Incidental expenses . . . . .   | 26,400   |
|   | <hr/>    |
|   | £397,600 |

To induce students to enter the colleges, 165 burses were founded, independent of prizes. In other colleges these advantages are an object of rivalry among the students; here the Royal Commission of 1858 informs us that the number of students up to 1858 had been 1209, from which number must be deducted 169, who, having each followed more than one course, appear twice on the books, making the real number



1040. The number of burses during the same period was 1326, showing an excess of burses over students of nearly 300. On an average, about 15 Catholics annually take their degrees in the Queen's University. The truth is, that the Queen's Colleges have done nothing except subsidise a few students, and feed a comparatively enormous number of presidents, professors, and officials, at an exceedingly large outlay to the public.

The result of this attempt to starve Catholics into submission to a system which they cannot accept without doing violence to their consciences is, that generally they go without university degrees. The Catholic population of Ireland consists of four millions and a half. The average number of Catholics that take degrees annually is less than 30,—15 at Trinity College, and 15 at the Queen's University. In Belgium, with a population of a little more than four millions, more than 1000 degrees are taken annually; in Scotland, with a population of 3,000,000, about 900 annually take degrees. In Ireland, there are a certain number who matriculate in the Queen's Colleges, but do not ever take degrees. A certain number also attend lectures without matriculating; but neither of these classes receive the advantages of a complete university course.

It would require too large a space to carry out an enquiry as to the character of the education which is given in these institutions, even to those who complete their university course; it is enough to say, that modern history is not taught, and that if it were, the religious sense of some of the pupils would infallibly be offended. Catholic youths could not be required to listen to Protestant versions of that period,

“When love first taught a monarch to be wise,  
And gospel truth looked forth from Boleyn's eyes;”

and the witness which history, impartially investigated, bears to the position and prerogatives of the Holy See could not be listened to by Protestant students without danger to some of their religious opinions. Some attempt, we believe, is made to teach moral philosophy. We do not envy the professor who approaches the sciences which have reference to freedom of the will, the law of duty, and the other subjects treated of by Locke, Clarke, Reid, Cousin, and those other philosophers to whose works reference is made in the examination-questions at the several Queen's Colleges, with a sincere desire to avoid every thing that can be offensive either to Protestant or to Catholic ears. In point of fact, the examination-papers appended to the reports of the presidents of the colleges show

that even controversial questions are not avoided. We give a single example: "Wherein did Anthony Collins and Jonathan Edwards agree, and wherein did they differ, as to freedom of the will?" Are the works of Jonathan Edwards suitable reading for Catholic students? They are preëminently controversial; and their end and object is to teach ultra-Calvinism. In one word, moral philosophy and metaphysics cannot be properly taught in mixed colleges, any more than history and theology. To abstract these sciences from education is to go against the authority of all ages, against the practice of all countries, and to take away the best and most effectual means of developing the intellectual faculties and forming the mind of youth. "*Infelix operis summa, quia ponere totum nesciet*," is the motto which ought to be placed over the gates of the Queen's Colleges.

In answer to the complaint that under the present system few Catholics obtain degrees, it is sometimes urged that the Catholic population in Ireland comprises but few of that class which desires to obtain university education. Fifty or sixty years ago this might have been true. The penal laws had done their work well. A great part of Ireland had been confiscated several times successively. The property and estates of Catholics had been given to Protestants, and the land was in the hands of English or Scottish adventurers, or of those few families of Irish or Norman descent which had preserved their possessions by apostasy. Catholics had not been permitted to teach or keep schools at home, or to send their children to be educated abroad. But when the barbarous penal laws were abrogated, it was found that the energy of the Irish race was not broken down. They raised themselves from their bed of torture, and rapidly began to acquire wealth. From year to year that wealth increased. The agricultural profits during the war with France enriched a number of the farming class. Catholics took the first place among the merchants in the principal towns. The learned professions became full of Catholic aspirants; and the annals of the Encumbered Estates Court show how largely the desire expressed by the late Sir James Graham, that the effect of that measure might be to throw landed property into Catholic hands, has been realised. It is not a fact, therefore, that the existing number of Catholics who, from their position, have a right to aspire to the highest education, is small; and from year to year that number is rapidly increasing. Putting aside then, for the moment, all considerations of justice and of liberty, we ask, Is it for the interest of the state to exclude this large class from that sort of education which is represented by university degrees? We freely concede to the

state the right to fix an intellectual standard for its degrees. But a degree represents that intellectual standard, and nothing else. Let it be fixed high. All we ask is, that it should be the same for all. Ought not as many as possible to be invited to reach it?

This consideration, deeply as it concerns the safety of the state, appears to have singularly eluded the attention of statesmen. Is it or is it not for the interest of the state, that as many as possible of those among its subjects whose social position entitles them to this privilege, without distinction of religious creed, should obtain it? There is no better soil for the production of agitators than that of half-educated wealth, or rather of wealth instructed without being educated, endowed with that superficial knowledge which puffs up, but not with that insight into the mutual relations of different branches of knowledge which sound education gives. More than half the discontent that exists in the world, apart from poverty, arises from this sort of half-knowledge. Some commonplace principle comes with all the freshness of novelty upon a shallow, ill-balanced mind. It is looked upon as the discovery of some new world of thought or action. Straight as a cannon-ball it is urged forward with an inexorable logic. No account is taken of existing institutions, of prescription, of ancient rights. There is no attempt to compensate, to reconcile, or to balance. Burke, quoting from Cicero, describes Cato as endeavouring to act in the commonwealth upon the school paradoxes which exercised the wits of the junior students in the Stoic philosophy. Such is the conduct of those quacks who have never made a diagnosis of the body-politic they prescribe for, and who generally consider that a process by which purgation is applied to the wealthier classes must to the mass of the people act as a strengthening draught. A very little study of Hansard's Parliamentary Debates would show that the description is by no means exaggerated.

But if, for these reasons, it is highly impolitic to prevent any class of her Majesty's subjects from getting more than that little knowledge proverbially so dangerous, it is no less so to retain any portion of the community in a condition of unjust inferiority. Injustice always produces, and always ought to produce, discontent. Discontent produces agitation. It introduces virulence into party struggles, and turns those divisions which must exist in every free country into feuds. These and many other evils must be the inevitable results of excluding Catholics from academical degrees except on the condition of their violating their consciences. For the sake of injuring the Catholics the state injures itself. In principle



there is no difference between this conduct and that of the state at an earlier time, which actively persecuted them, and excluded them from the acquisition of property or the enjoyment of political power. It prohibited the attainment of the end: we now exclude them from the means by which the end is to be obtained. The Catholic youth are forced to enter into the battle of life, and to contend with their Protestant fellow-countrymen, without being allowed the same preparation as their rivals possess for the conflict. And this is done by men who call themselves liberal statesmen, and in the name of liberty. Thirty-four years after Catholic emancipation, twenty-nine years after the grant of a university charter to English Dissenters, Irish Catholics ask to be allowed to obtain degrees for their children on the condition of their attaining a certain intellectual standard which they are willing to allow the state to fix; and this request is refused. The prime minister cries "priestcraft," though in the Catholic University twenty out of twenty-five professors are laymen; while he supports the Protestant University of Dublin, where twenty-five out of thirty-three of the governing body are clergymen. In Belgium this fight was fought. It cost the King of Holland a throne; but it gave the Belgians liberty of education. In France this battle lasted for many a long day. Louis Philippe and his ministers rejected just demands; his success was his ruin. Another generation was educated without those religious principles which are the sole foundation for political order; and when his throne was upset, liberty of education was to a great extent established in France. In Austria the Protestant minority has every educational advantage which is enjoyed by the Catholic majority. In Prussia the Catholic minority are not less favourably treated. Yet Irish Catholics are expected to submit to an injustice almost without a precedent in the existing state of Europe.

They are expected to yield. Let us explain in a very few words why it is impossible for them to do so; and we will not put the reason in our own words. "The one object which every Christian parent is bound to consider as one to which every other object is second, is to train up his child in the knowledge and love of God. No parents can disguise from themselves that, with whatever advantages their children commence their course, in spite of their baptism, in spite of the most careful home-training, still the great multitude of them require present and continual succour to keep them, or rescue them, from a state of mortal sin. Taking human nature as it is, we cannot be ignorant that left to themselves they would relapse into a state of sin, whatever latent principles

of truth and goodness might remain in them, and whatever consequent hope there might be of a future revival. Just as the one work of the Church towards her many millions of children is, year after year, day after day, to be raising them out of the mire, and when they sink again to save them again, and so to keep them afloat as she best may on the surface of that stream which is carrying them down to eternity,—so the one object of the Christian parent, to which, just in so far as he is Christian, he will sacrifice every other, is to preserve the soul of his child unspotted from evil, to watch over him with anxious care in those moments when temptation is most rife, to support his trembling feet, to raise him if he falls, to make him feel that it is a bad bargain for him to gain the whole world and to lose his own soul.”

This is the dictate of the natural conscience. Even the heathen Quintilian makes his decision clear, that, no matter how excellent a school might be for cultivating the intellect, if it was dangerous to morals, no parent ought to send his child there: “*Si studiis quidem scholas prodesse, moribus autem nocere constaret, potior mihi ratio vivendi honeste, quam vel optime discendi, videretur.*” But to those who have before their eyes that clear vision which revelation gives, the responsibility of parents for their children’s souls is among the most penetrating and influential of moral duties. Many a man careless or even vicious himself shrinks with horror from exposing his children to temptation. It is idle therefore to expect that parents so constrained by the voice of conscience will, as a general rule, consent to send their children to institutions where their faith and morals must be endangered. It is useless to attempt to persuade those who believe in original sin, that institutions where no moral and religious training is provided for their children are not dangerous both to faith and to morality. The decision of the Holy See on this point was but the echo of the conscience of every Christian. When parents see no danger for their children’s bodies in the insufficient food of “Dotheboys Halls,” they may perhaps be persuaded that spiritual starvation will not be injurious to their moral natures.

In one of Napoleon’s conversations at St. Helena, recorded in M. Thiers’s last volume, the emperor said, “There are fewer traitors in France than you think; on the other hand, there are a greater number of weak persons conquered by circumstances a hundredfold stronger than they are themselves.” No one who has studied human nature can doubt that this saying is true not in France only but every where. Those must indeed estimate their children by a false standard

who imagine that they can breathe without danger an atmosphere from which religious teaching and example are excluded.

It is needless to insist further on this point. Admit the Catholic, or even the Christian premiss, and the conclusion necessarily follows. The Catholics of Ireland would be unfaithful guardians of the heritage "they from their fathers had in trust," if they consented to any transaction in this vital matter. Deny the premiss; admit faith to be superstition and morality unattainable, and then there can be no objection to colleges which neglect both the one and the other. Those who approve of godless colleges must, if they are consistent, approve also of godless families.

In order therefore that these colleges may succeed, Catholic faith must become dim in Ireland. Ignorance or weakness or worldliness, quarrels with the clergy, narrow circumstances,—these things will always furnish a certain number of candidates for scholarships and prizes, and prospects of future advancement in government departments. But the more the problem of education is studied, the louder will conscience reproach those who for material advantages hazard the best interests of their sons. To such as shut their ears against warnings, experience will speak trumpet-tongued. We could recount many histories even already which justify our conclusions; but we wish to avoid every thing that can give pain to individuals. And it is the less necessary to refer to examples at home, because the experience of other countries, where the mere secular system has been longer tried, establishes unmistakeably the conclusions of *à priori* reasoning.

The case of Belgium is exactly similar to our own. Just one year after it had been handed over by the treaty of Vienna to the king of Holland, on the 25th of September 1816, a royal decree instituted a new system of university education. Three universities were established at Liége, Ghent, and Louvain. No one could obtain a degree except by graduating in one of them. The system of education was secular and godless, just as that of the Queen's Colleges is. The President of the Cour de Cassation, the highest appellate tribunal, in his history of Belgium from 1814 to 1830, gives us the result of this experiment: "When the Dutch government desired thus to penetrate into the family-life, it had against it not only all the fathers but all the mothers in the kingdom, and certainly their instinct did not deceive them. More fortunes were destroyed, more illustrious names dragged through the dirt, by the bad education of their children, than by all other misfortunes that befall families. The true remedy, the only mode in the



present state of affairs to counterbalance the movement that was reducing and overwhelming us, was religious education, which by means of liberty has been reëstablished among us." The new system introduced in place of this destructive scheme of education was a very simple one. A supplementary body was formed, capable of acting in harmony with the several universities of Belgium, while it interfered with the special system of none. This "juri central," as it is called, had the power of appointing examiners and granting degrees to all students who exhibited a certain defined amount of intellectual proficiency. Thus the students of the Catholic university of Louvain, of the infidel university of Brussels, and of the government universities, go up for examination together. There are no religious or civil tests. It is obvious that the central examining body must exercise considerable influence over the subjects and character of instruction. Its constitution therefore has led to much dissension, and has been frequently altered.

But it is to France we must look for the results of state education tried on the largest scale and for the longest time. From the moment when the revolution of 1791 swept away the ancient educational institutions, efforts were made to frame a new system of national education. In that very year Talleyrand drew up a report on the subject, and submitted it to the Constituent Assembly. In this report it was maintained, that as every one has a right to receive, so every one has a right to give, education. Every privilege, he says, is in its nature odious; any educational privilege would be odious and absurd. This report was printed just before the Assembly was dissolved. The Legislative Assembly that succeeded it adopted the principles of Talleyrand; but before it could give effect to them, the reign of the Mountain and the reign of Terror began. Then it was that the right of the state to prescribe to parents the manner in which their children should be educated was first asserted. In 1793 Lebon advocated the establishment of a national system of education, which should substitute for the authority of fathers and mothers the authority of the state; and in 1794 Danton, amid the acclamations of the blood-stained Convention which had just converted the cathedral of Notre Dame into the temple of Reason, cried out that it was time to establish the great principle, that the republic has a right to her children, prior to the rights of their parents. It was decreed that every one who refused to send his children to the national schools should be deprived of all rights of citizenship. It would occupy too much of our space if we attempted to describe the various changes which fol-

lowed; and it is the less necessary because we have the results of their practical working given to us by no less an authority than Count Daru. In a speech made by him in 1802 the following passage occurs; and we need not remind our readers that he spoke without sympathy for the Catholic Church, or indeed, if we may judge by some of his expressions, without sympathy for any form of Christianity. "To replace," he said, "the old system, a new one has been created, mixed in its principles. Its schools were but slowly organised, not because France could not furnish schoolmasters in a sufficient number; it was the supply of scholars that was deficient. Public opinion, stronger than any laws, was hostile to the system. Why was it so? I cannot be deceived in attributing this hostility to religious opinions. It was in vain that Fourcroy had attached burses to his colleges. He had not conciliated the confidence of the fathers of families, and his establishments, *occupied only by the holders of burses*, were deserted; while the flower of the French youth were educated in private schools at a considerable expense to their parents." Such was the state of public education when the Revolution was stayed by the strong hand of Napoleon. He reorganised the whole system, and established schools and colleges of all sorts, by the decree of 1802, over the whole country; but he made no provision for religious instruction in the colleges. In 1806—we are quoting from M. Victor Cousin, the ablest defender of state education—the happy and always increasing progress of the religious spirit in France brought the conviction to Napoleon's mind, that schools without religious instruction did not fulfil the true end of a national institute, which ought not only to instruct but also to educate, and that colleges were not to be tolerated without regular religious services. He determined, then, that there should be no college without religious instruction—Catholic, as the majority of the French people were Catholic. So there was no college without a Catholic chaplain, appointed by the bishop, being attached to it, whose duty it was to give religious instruction to all the Catholic students. Protestant students received religious instruction separately, according to their own belief; but the Catholic religion was dominant in the colleges. Thus was established the famous educational system of Napoleon. The governing body was the council of the university. That council was appointed by the government. The council appointed professors and teachers to all the different colleges and schools; but, as we have shown, far greater guarantees were given for religious teaching than have been offered to the Queen's Colleges in Ireland.

What was the result? Were the religious guarantees sufficient to neutralise the dangers of an educational system essentially and helplessly in the hands of the state? The answer to this question goes far, not only to justify us in our opposition to the Queen's Colleges as they now are, but also to vindicate the wisdom of that majority of Bishops who, at the Synod of Thurles, prohibited Catholic priests from filling the office of deans to the several colleges. We will cite the best authorities on this subject;—among others, the Count de Gasparin, one of the most eminent men among the French Protestants, and the Count de Montalembert, the most illustrious of French Catholic laymen. Both, be it observed, had themselves passed through these government colleges, and were therefore unexceptional witnesses to the results they describe. "The youth," says Monsieur de Gasparin, "who comes up to Paris to give himself up to serious studies is forcibly driven into scepticism. I remember, with horror, what I was when I had completed my own education. I remember what all those of my fellow-students whom I was acquainted with were. *Nous n'avions pas même les plus faibles commencements de la foi et de la vie évangélique.*" "Let us not deceive ourselves," said Monsieur de Kératry. "The presence of an ecclesiastic, however excellent, in our colleges on a fixed day does not suffice to produce a religious spirit among the students. That spirit can be acquired only by continuous teaching permeated by the divine law." We need hardly remind our readers of Monsieur de Montalembert's emphatic declaration, that not one in ten of his fellow-students was a believer in Christianity when he had passed through the ordeal of a college course.

But even more remarkable than the testimony of these illustrious witnesses is a report from the chaplains of the colleges situated in one of the French dioceses to their bishop. They say that they are in a state of profound discouragement, on account of the absolute fruitlessness of their ministry, although they have spared no pains in the discharge of their duties; that the good sentiments the students bring with them from their homes soon disappear; that they speedily become disinclined to religious exercises of any kind. Those, the report continues to say, among the students who remain faithful try to hide their religious practices. Out of ninety or a hundred in the higher college classes, not more than seven or eight perform their Easter duties. They see nothing of Christianity except within the walls of the chapel. We will not offend our readers by describing the moral condition of the students. Can we wonder that every thing that was Christian in France rose up against this destruction of the faith



and morals of her youth? Can it be wondered at that facts such as we have quoted roused the French nation to a sense of the danger to which it was exposed, and that one of the first acts of the republic of 1848 was to restore liberty of education to France, as the revolution of 1830 had restored the same blessing to Belgium?

We have now shown the natural tendency of the principles, at once irreligious and servile, on which the Queen's Colleges are founded. We have verified our conclusions by appealing to the results produced by those principles on other countries. There and here human nature is the same. The end proposed to be attained by Belgian and French statesmen was the same as that which our ministers seek to attain:—to extend the influence of the civil power, to detach its subjects from an authority which is independent of it, to limit the dominion of conscience, and to get rid of the inconvenience of religious differences by diminishing as far as possible the power of religion on the mind.

This, and not proselytism, is the end which state education such as we are considering aims at. It is therefore no mere outwork of Christianity that we are defending. The blow is aimed at her heart. The statesmen who aim it are unconsciously destroying the stability of the state by destroying the influence of religious principle. They are destroying the dignity of the state by exhibiting it in the odious character of a seducer. They are destroying the freedom of the state by withholding the basis and security of all liberties, the liberty of conscientious opinion. Those who value above all earthly treasures the faith and morals of their children, cannot send them to institutions where reason and experience show that both their faith and their morals are exposed to the most extreme danger.

One subterfuge, however, of our opponents we cannot pass over altogether in silence, as it exhibits in a remarkable manner both the weakness of their position, and the eccentricity of their moral principles. They are not able to question the accuracy of statements such as those we have made with regard to France and Belgium. These facts have so constraining a force, that they seem to conclude the question. Driven thus into a corner, the advocates of secular education have alleged that the warm faith and ardent piety of the Irish people will preserve them from dangers such as those to which the Belgians and French had at one time succumbed.

The argument that because a people are religious, there is no necessity for giving them religious education, sounds certainly strange to Christian ears. An individual so con-

fident in himself as not to pray against being led into temptation, will surely fall; and moral bankruptcy must infallibly be the lot of a nation which lives upon the religious capital accumulated by former generations. But the very hypothesis on which it is attempted to build up this conclusion, at once most unphilosophical and most unchristian, cannot stand the test of examination. True, the Irish people are earnestly religious; but so were the Belgians, upon whose faith and morals the colleges founded by the King of Holland made such lamentable inroads. And if state influences and tyranny in the first place, and afterwards revolutionary principles, had caused the lamp of faith to burn but dimly in many a French heart, it must be remembered that the youth who, now delivered by educational freedom from those dangerous influences to which their fathers were exposed in government lyceums, throng the free Catholic colleges of France, are second to those of no other nation in self-sacrificing piety and uncorrupted faith. What they are, secular education prevented their fathers from having been; and the very contrast between the fathers and the sons would, if sufficiently enquired into, force every fair mind to accept the conclusion at which, from other considerations, we have arrived.

Let us now sum up and apply these conclusions. We have shown that there are two grievances which imperatively demand a remedy:

I. The constitution and functions of the Queen's University do not provide for the case of those who desire to obtain academical degrees, and who, at the same time, conscientiously object to a system of education which does not care for the faith and morals of the students.

II. The large sums liberally granted by Parliament do not provide, as they were intended to do, collegiate education for the Irish Catholics. To use Count Daru's words, the supply of scholars is deficient, because public opinion, stronger than any laws, is hostile to the irreligious system on which these colleges are carried on. In vain have burses been attached to the colleges; they have not conciliated the confidence of the fathers of families; and these great establishments, occupied only by the holders of burses, are deserted and shunned by the great majority of the Catholic body.

Are these real grievances? Would they be endured for one year by Protestant Englishmen? Would they tolerate for their own children a system which refused them degrees except on the condition of their passing through either secular colleges or the Catholic University? Would they

allow moneys voted by Parliament for their relief to be exclusively applied to colleges to which they could not conscientiously send their sons? The answer to this question is to be found in the recent educational history of England, and in the pages of Hansard. Few of our readers can have forgotten the zeal with which the battle of a religious education was fought in England; the determined opposition with which the Protestant clergy and laity withstood both the secular principle and that of state domination, even as applied to those classes of society which are most guarded against the temptations that proceed from vanity, empiricism, and materialism. The National Society, and the writings of Mr. Maurice, not generally counted a bigoted High Churchman, remain among the many records of this successful struggle. We will content ourselves, however, with a parliamentary authority. We give the answer to our question in the words of that great statesman, whose name is now unhappily borne by the Irish Secretary. Sir Robert Peel, in 1830, in a memorable speech, used the following words: "But with respect to the Established Church, I hope that rather than consent to any plan from which ecclesiastical authority is excluded, it would separate itself altogether from the state on this point; that it would take the education of the people into its own hands,—that it would not shrink from insisting on the publication of its own peculiar doctrines, but that it would demand that the highest respect should be entertained for its power, by its being inculcated on the minds of children that religion formed the basis of all education."

Would the removal of the grievances that press so heavily on Irish Catholics take away any thing that is now possessed by any Protestant individual, or any Protestant establishment? Do we ask that the constitution of Trinity College should be altered by one hair's-breadth? Certainly not. Do we seek to force its authorities to provide for the religious education of Catholics, or to furnish them with a college-chapel, or admit them to fellowships? Nothing of the sort. Trinity College is endowed with spoils taken from the Catholics in past ages. We leave it in the undisturbed and exclusive possession of those endowments.

It has been said that Catholicism dwarfs the intellect and enslaves the soul. Be it so; then Protestants need not fear to encounter Catholics on equal terms in the battle of life. If a religion is hostile to intellectual development, the more men are imbued with its doctrines and its spirit the less chance they have of successfully competing with those who do not belong to it. Why, then, is there any reluctance to grant



to Catholics the same privileges and the same choice, as regards education, which are enjoyed by Protestants?

If Catholics neither ask to take away from Protestants any advantages they possess, nor desire the state to grant them degrees except when they come up to the intellectual standard which Protestants must reach in order to attain them, why are they to be deprived of these academical honours? We have turned over and meditated upon, and looked through and about, the question, and we cannot discover any shadow of a shade of a reason for Lord Palmerston's conduct, unless, indeed, we suppose that he deliberately desires to deprive Irish Catholics of education, with the distinct object of rendering them intellectually inferior to the men around them. As their grievances, then, are obviously real, and as the removal of them can injure no one, we do not doubt that they will disappear when they are thoroughly understood and generally known. That vast majority of English Protestants who count religious education the inalienable heritage of their own children, never will knowingly condemn innocent Catholic youths to choose between ignorance and academical institutions where the very name of God the Father, the Redeemer, the Sanctifier, is never heard.

Those constitutional Liberals who, abhorring Continental centralisation, watch jealously every attempt of the state to outstep its proper and legitimate functions, will never force any portion of their fellow subjects to decide between the forfeiture of academical degrees and the seeking for them in a university where every officer, from the president to the lowest of the teachers, is nominated by, and holds his office during the good pleasure of, the minister of the day. We are therefore much more anxious to bring out fully the nature, principles, mode of government, and system, of the Queen's Colleges than to suggest any particular remedy for the grievances of which we complain.

*ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὄλεσσαν.*

They cannot stand the light of day. Let a Christian people see them as they are, and we believe our work will be accomplished. Any means by which Catholics can be afforded precisely the same educational advantages that Protestants enjoy will satisfy us. To give a charter to the unendowed Catholic University is perhaps the simplest mode by which this object might be attained. Thus would be realised a portion, in recent times not often adverted to, of the educational scheme propounded by the late Sir Thomas Wyse. The portion of that scheme relating to provincial colleges has long since been

carried into effect; but the scheme itself included a university system as well: and Sir Thomas Wyse insisted upon it that justice could in this respect be done only in two ways, one of them being, that Dublin University should be thrown open on *entirely equal terms* to Catholics and Protestants, and the other being the creation of a Catholic university, to which Protestants should be admissible on the same terms as those on which Catholics are now admitted to the Dublin University.

During the last session of Parliament another mode of attaining the same end was suggested by some of the most influential Catholic members. It was proposed to leave the Queen's University as a sort of centre of unity to the Queen's Colleges, and to transfer its power of nominating examiners and granting degrees to a body fairly representing the different classes and religions of which the students who were likely to seek degrees at its hands would be composed. This body might supply vacancies among its members by election. After a short time, when the graduates had reached a sufficient number, the election, in accordance with the principle which prevailed in the older universities, might be thrown open to all the graduates. The duties of this body would be of course limited to the appointment of examiners, the fixing of the subjects of examination, and the granting of degrees. All students who produced certificates of having completed their college course, whether at the Queen's Colleges, at the Catholic University, or at any other college, whether founded by Government or by private munificence, might be entitled to enter for examination, and if found eligible, to receive degrees. What the "juri central" does for Belgium, what the Imperial University does for France, what the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge do for the colleges belonging to them, this "juri central" might do for all Irish colleges, except Trinity College. It must be admitted that it would add to the symmetry of the plan if that also were included in it; but any such attempt would be no doubt distasteful to an ancient foundation which, whatever may have been its faults, deserves well of every lover of learning and intellectual development. The other grievance of which we complain might be removed with equal facility.

It is well known that the Government of Lord John Russell, anticipating the failure of the secular system, had seriously considered the expediency of bringing the Queen's Colleges into harmony with the principle upon which Trinity College is governed. There, as we have seen, the governing body is exclusive: all professors and fellows must be members of the

Established Church. They are not appointed by the state. No religion except the dominant one is taught within its walls; but there is no religious test for the students; and degrees, together with all honours and emoluments that do not admit to the governing body, are open to all, without distinction of religious belief. The plan which was considered by Lord John Russell was to make the Cork and Galway Colleges Catholic, and the Belfast Presbyterian, in the same sense as Trinity College belongs to the Established Church. The famine, and the disturbed state of Ireland and of Europe, diverted the minds of those who were responsible for the government of the country to other subjects. Lord Clarendon was too much occupied, and perhaps too deeply committed to the principle of secular education, to be friendly to any measure which would conciliate Catholics; and in fairness it must be added that the public mind, ill-informed as to what had happened in other countries, and without the experience of the working of the secular system at home, had no such firm or definite convictions on educational questions as it now has. We have paid a heavy price for this ignorance. Hundreds of thousands of pounds have been squandered; and the only benefit we have derived from their expenditure is to have discovered that no system of education that runs counter to the religious principles of our people can be successful.

It remains for us now to recur to the great principles of social equality and religious freedom which were put aside fourteen years ago. The same experience which has proved the principle of the Queen's Colleges to be unwise, has set its seal upon the wisdom of that of Trinity College. It is not so easy now as it was at an earlier period to apply it to those institutions. There are existing interests to deal with that must be respected. The professors have failed, because they were required to carry out a vicious and impossible system: it would be unjust to punish them for having performed the task that was allotted to them.

Yet we are convinced that a commission of able men, fairly constituted, and appointed for the purpose of carrying out the two definite projects we have sketched in outline, would soon overcome all difficulties, and would lay the foundation of a system which would largely extend the benefits of intellectual culture in Ireland.

Few will be prepared to deny in the abstract that Catholics should enjoy the same intellectual advantages as Protestants possess. Lewis XV. hesitated to appoint a gentleman accused of Jansenism to a post of honour; when he was found to be only an atheist, the king's conscience was reas-



sured. The school that would deal with Catholicism as this pious king dealt with Jansenism is limited in numbers and in influence. From their narrow bigotry we appeal to the virtue and intelligence of this great empire; we appeal to those whose own intellects have been strengthened and developed by the struggle of university life. We appeal to them with confidence, because we know that the comprehensiveness and flexibility of mind which high education gives can hardly coexist with narrow and selfish exclusiveness; and if we might without unfairness direct this appeal specially to any one man, we should address it to him whose political career is the flower of seed sown during his own brilliant university career,—we should ask for justice at Mr. Gladstone's hands. His educational principles have never been disguised. Only the other day he declared, that “no schools deserved the name of public schools that were not likewise Christian schools; or, if purporting to be Christian schools, they presented to the eye the phantom of an indefinite and shadowy Christianity.” Can he sit by in ignominious silence while men such as Sir Robert Peel or Lord Palmerston, in the name of the Government, enunciate and act upon principles directly contradictory of those he so eloquently maintains? His responsibility is great, for his influence in the cabinet is irresistible. It lives upon his genius and his power. Even were it otherwise, the cause at stake is great enough to demand a sacrifice. He has shown before now that he is not incapable of making sacrifices, even for the weak. He has been severely just in his financial treatment of Ireland. Let him insist in fairness upon the extension to her of that equality, as regards religion and education, of which in finance he has been the successful promoter; and we venture to believe that by doing so, he will acquire a title to enduring fame, higher and nobler than financial triumphs, however important, can give. It was for the reconciliation of two hostile races—for the knitting together of two nations whom centuries of cruel oppression on the one side, and suffering unprecedented on the other, had divided—that three of our greatest modern ministers laboured; and if the bigotry of their age and the narrow-mindedness of a feeble sovereign defeated the efforts of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox,—if the cold hand of death left the aspirations of Sir Robert Peel without complete realisation, it cannot be a task unworthy of the foremost of our public men to preserve what they have achieved, and to perfect what they have left incomplete. A government which calls itself liberal seeks to destroy in Ireland the work which, at great sacrifices, and with steady, continuous, persevering energy, the Liberal

party has in a series of years built up. It not only, as in the matter we have been discussing, refuses to develop the principle of religious equality, but it is notorious that it encourages religious animosities, as if in the endeavour to resuscitate the dead bones of Protestant ascendancy. Are these things to be? To use Mr. Gladstone's own words, "Are we going to spend the decay and the dusk of the nineteenth century in undoing the great work which, with so much pain and difficulty, our greatest men have been achieving during its daybreak and its youth?" The Tory party, to whom the principles of privilege and ascendancy adhere, like the cloak of Nessus, may well rejoice to see the dirty work of which their statesmen are ashamed done for them by their opponents.

It may be that the evil spirit of religious hate, recklessly reawakened at the period of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, may achieve a temporary triumph, and may leave to the next generation the inheritance of a religious war. Can it be for the interest of any sect or of any party that these things should be? Can any triumph of ascendancy, in this age and in this country, be permanent? That statesman will deserve and will obtain immortal honour who stays the plague,—who saves the religious liberties we have already attained from danger, by developing the principles of equal justice on which they rest, and who removes religious questions from the arena of party strife, by establishing in its fulness the reign of religious equality.

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THE MATERIAL REVIVAL OF SPAIN.<sup>1</sup>

WE often hear of the youth or the old age of a State; and the phrases correspond with actual phenomena of which history has preserved the record. There are epochs when the political society inhabiting this or that country exhibits a juvenile vigour and an exuberance of force which give it, and sometimes long preserve to it, a remarkable power of expansion. Afterwards a time comes when the nation is at its apogee, and has attained its culminating point. From this moment, perhaps, events disclose an era of decadence. Year by year the nation seems to draw nearer to its end; and, at last, the day dawns when the vessel of the State, which for years has floated only through habit, is upset by some little gust, which in happier times would only have swelled her sails, and sent her skimming over the deep. Ancient history has told us of many such shipwrecks, without recording a single instance of the sunken ship being raised and floated; and we are apt to conclude that there is no Medea's caldron to boil old nations young again,—that a society in its decrepitude can no more be reinvigorated than an old man with one foot in the grave. If we look at Turkey, the spectacle will not reassure us. The old foundations and massive pillars on which that varnished building rested are taken away, and it must soon crumble to ruin, unless something be put in their place. The conclusion holds good in the case of ancient States, and of modern ones which are not Christian. But Christianity has breathed a new life into politics; and Christian civilisation can bring about the resurrection of a nation, even after a lengthened sojourn in the grave. Hence Vico, and after him Herder and others,

<sup>1</sup> Anuario estadístico de España, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861.

Memoria elevada al Exc. Sr. Ministro de Fomento por la direccion general de Agricultura, Industria y Comercio, &c. en Octubre de 1861.

Cuenta general del Estado del año de 1859, &c.

Estadística general del Comercio exterior de España, &c. &c. en 1859.

Estadística general del Comercio de Cabotage, &c. &c. en 1860.

Ordenanzas generales de la Renta de Aduanas, 1861.

Memoria redactada por la Asesoría general del Ministerio de Hacienda, &c. en 1858.

Ley hipotecaria, Reglamento general para su ejecucion, &c., 1861.

Memoria acerca del Estado de la Enseñanza en la Universidad central y en los Establecimientos de su distrito, &c., 1860, 1861.

Revista estadística, 1862.

Derecho administrativo español por el Doctor Don Manuel Colmeiro, &c. Madrid y Santiago: D'Angel Calleja. 2. edicion.

Bevölkerung Spaniens und Portugals nach den Originalquellen in ihren wichtigsten Verhältnissen statistisch dargestellt von Dr. M. Block. Gotha: Perthes, 1861.



have shown that our civilisation has its low and high tones, which alternate with each other, and that it oscillates like the rising and falling of the tide. Thus, from 1710 to 1789, France was at the lowest point of her decline, and the waves would have swept her away if she had not been founded on the rock. Italy has had her period of obscurity, as Sweden and Portugal have had their epochs of glory; and only a few years have passed since Spain, once an empire on which the sun never set, was lying low and almost forgotten in the silence of apparent death.

Among the causes of her decline, we must first reckon the discovery of America, though it had only an indirect share in bringing about the result. Rich colonies are a cordial, like wine, which, taken in moderation, rejoices man's heart, while an overdose destroys at once the intellect and the physical power. Sensibly weakened by the efforts necessary for her conquest of that vast continent which stretches from one end of the Atlantic to the other, Spain had afterwards to keep, and put to use, the dominions which it had cost her so much to get. The whole force of the nation was directed to this object. All her men of energy and enterprise emigrated to seek their fortunes in the American provinces and Philippine Islands, while her wars in Europe consumed another considerable portion of her male population. In such a situation, with an Eldorado on the horizon,—a land where a man had only to stoop to pick up the gold under his feet, where he might get up poor, and go to bed rich,—and in a warm climate where Nature does not want much to support it, the Spaniards naturally grew disgusted with the slow, plodding, and apparently thankless labours of husbandry and manufacture; and they are now the example quoted by the political economist to prove that heaps of gold and silver, and galleons freighted with the precious metals, cannot enrich an indolent people, as the British empire is his stock-instance to show how industry alone can produce material prosperity. But the American colony could never have exhausted Spain: it would have done no more than excite a healthy activity in the mother country, unless she had chosen to amuse herself with the destruction of her own muscles and sinews. The banishment of Jews and Moors took out of the country some hundreds of thousands of her most active and laborious families. Such gaps are not soon filled up; and a loss of population like this must have been felt all the more when a drain like America was drawing all the best blood of the nation. The next causes of decline are political: on one

side the suppression of the parochial and municipal liberties; and on the other the despotism of the Inquisition, which weighed on the nation like a covering of lead, and crushed its efforts and aspirations. In the eighteenth century no one any longer dared to think; no one dreamed of engaging in any enterprise; no one would take the trouble to labour; and the current opinion among the common people was that earthly goods were not worth the pains it would cost to get them. After obstacles of such magnitude in the way of progress, it is perhaps hardly worth while to refer to the *latifundia*, such as, in the words of Pliny, were the ruin of Italy. There is good authority for saying that two-thirds of the soil of Spain was in the hands of the nobility and the clergy. These proprietors never sold land, and they were far too careless of lucre to stimulate the industry of their tenants. With this distribution of property we must take into account the system called the *mesta*, which dated from the thirteenth century, and which it is the glory of Jovellanos to have destroyed. The *mesta* consisted in making the flocks of sheep migrate from the plains to the mountains, and back again, according to the season. While the sheep were in the plains, all agricultural operations were suspended. And the mountains themselves, which delivered the husbandman from this trampling and devouring plague, were not without their own inconvenience; they made communication difficult, and, by isolating men, stayed their progress, one necessary condition of which is facility of communication and access.

When all these causes are added together, it will perhaps appear that Spain during the last two centuries has been in a state of stagnation rather than of decline. She has appeared so backward, mainly because other nations have been pushing forward so quickly and so far. What, then, has broken the charm, and associated her once more with the course of European progress? The answer to this question does not require many words. Every event which has helped towards the establishment or reestablishment of liberty in the country has at the same time enabled the nation to shake off the torpor which held its mind in prison; and every event which has tended to withdraw the people from their solitude, and put them into communication with the rest of Europe, has also added speed to their advance. Hence the Revolution of 1789, with its direct and indirect consequences, must be considered as the first occasion of the material revival of Spain. The consequences it has involved for her cannot all be estimated; but it is certain that the good in them immensely outweighs the evil. In the Constitution of 1812, the nation

accomplished its first avowed work; and if it has since suffered some temporary relapses, it has little by little achieved a position which secures to it the progress it has made.

There are two kinds of liberty, each of which is the object of the desires and aspirations of a different class of men. First, there is the liberty of the unenlightened man, which consists in the power of doing whatever the caprice of the moment dictates, and in the suppression of every check upon the passions. When such a man is rich and powerful, the enjoyment of this kind of liberty is fruitful in violence and crime; when he is poor, he sells his liberty for a mess of pottage as soon as he feels the pangs of hunger. The civilised and enlightened man has a very different notion of liberty. For him, it implies his personal dignity, his freedom from subjection to the arbitrary caprice of another man, and his submission to the laws only. Doubtless, it also means his right and power to choose his profession, his freedom to perform the rites of his religion without hindrance, and a great many other things which are practical fruits of liberty. But though freedom thus becomes a material good, it still necessarily remains also as an idea and a principle in the intellect. Now, a people always begins in an unenlightened state, and only emerges from that state as education and comfort are extended. Sufficient account is not always taken of the influence of material prosperity upon education. In our civilised societies the poor man is not necessarily unenlightened; for a thousand means of instruction and intelligence have been provided for him,—some by the social machinery itself, some by the charity of individuals, and some by the state. But when the whole nation is poor, education is only attainable by a few privileged individuals; and as these individuals are far in advance of their countrymen, they stand by themselves, isolated, misunderstood, and powerless. In Spain, as we shall show farther on, wealth is increasing very rapidly, education is being extended and improved, and the number of those who can appreciate the real value of liberty is increasing every day. They already form a phalanx sufficiently compact to withstand the revival of despotism; they know that they may reckon for support on various important interests; and the government itself is aware that it has nothing to gain by throwing the country back a century, even if it could succeed in the attempt. There is no need, however, to prove that the influence of freedom is favourable to progress. We only propose to give an account of the material advance which Spain has already made, and to examine some of the facts which form its best measure.



We begin with the population. It is the population by which, and for which, every thing is done, which suffers in times of distress, and is happy and contented in times of prosperity, and on which good and evil leave the impressions of their passage. Hence some persons have drawn the conclusion that the increase of population is a sign of material comfort. The deduction is reasonable and satisfactory enough; and yet there are materials for a contradictory induction. Thus, the families of the poor are often more numerous than those of the rich; many princely or noble houses die out; the life habitual among many of the rich classes of the Continent is said to be as hostile to the increase of population as the moral restraint of Malthus; and there are even writers who satisfy themselves with the logical figure *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, and pretend that there is a physiological law which prevents men who live in abundance and luxury from seeing their names handed down in a numerous progeny of descendants. But here a fundamental distinction must be made. We must place on one side the countries which are stationary in their poverty, and on the other the countries where comfort is progressing. In the former, the population will not increase; and perhaps, if all the inhabitants of such a stationary country were rich, the effect would be the same. In the latter, the increase of population will vary with the fluctuations of material progress. Where every body is poor, every body resigns himself to a life of wretchedness, as if it were the normal condition of mankind: men only strive against it when they have examples of success before their eyes.

Spain was for some time among the stationary countries; but she is now advancing, as the movement of her population shows. There are several authorities for fixing the number of inhabitants after the Conquest of Grenada, about A.D. 1500, at 9,320,691. We quote the exact number, because it seems to be the result of a census; we have even the details for each province as follows:

|                   |           |
|-------------------|-----------|
| Castille . . . .  | 7,500,000 |
| Grenada. . . .    | 400,000   |
| Aragon . . . .    | 266,190   |
| Valentia. . . .   | 486,860   |
| Catalonia . . . . | 326,970   |
| Biscaya . . . .   | 56,145    |
| Alava . . . .     | 60,696    |
| Guipuzcoa . . . . | 69,665    |
| Navarre . . . .   | 154,165   |

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Total 9,320,691

This number (unless it was exaggerated for Castille) had sunk in 1715 to 7,625,000. According to another census which we find in the *Revista General de Estadística*, the population in 1594 amounted to 8,206,791. According to the official *Censo de Soblacion en el Siglo XVI.*, compiled from the Archives of Simancas and published in 1829, it amounted in the year 1482 to 7,900,000, in the year 1541 to 6,990,262, in the year 1587 to 6,631,929, and in the year 1594 to 7,304,057. It is certain that there was a gradual decrease from 1500 to 1700. There is nothing impossible in the idea that, for quite other reasons, Spain was then undergoing an exodus similar to that which we have witnessed in the case of Ireland for the last twenty years. But, in any case, the emigration came to an end about 1750; for, in the census of 1768, the population had risen to 9,159,999; in 1797 to 10,541,221; and in 1857 to 15,464,310. We omit the intermediate estimates, some of which do not appear to be very exact. Those we have quoted carry their own confirmation on their face, as the following table will show:

|                 | 1768.     | 1797.      | 1857.      |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| Married men .   | 1,724,567 | 1,986,600  | 2,784,057  |
| Married women . | 1,714,505 | 1,982,895  | 2,790,485  |
| Bachelors }     | 2,809,069 | 3,003,832  | 4,521,455  |
| Widowers }      |           | 229,867    | 365,477    |
| Spinsters }     | 2,911,858 | 2,926,337  | 4,307,166  |
| Widows }        |           | 411,690    | 695,702    |
|                 | <hr/>     | <hr/>      | <hr/>      |
|                 | 9,159,999 | 10,541,221 | 15,464,340 |

In December 1860 the population was 15,673,481. In spite of all the objections to which we have referred, it must be admitted that these figures indicate a real progress in the comfort of the nation.<sup>2</sup> But if any doubts remain on this point, it is only necessary to glance at the position of the different branches of industry which produce national wealth, in order to dissipate them.

<sup>2</sup> We add the figures of the movement of the population for the last four years:

|              | Births. | Deaths. | Marriages. |
|--------------|---------|---------|------------|
| 1858 . . . . | 546,158 | 433,931 | 113,443    |
| 1859 . . . . | 556,323 | 449,037 | 112,903    |
| 1860 . . . . | 573,453 | 428,967 | 126,496    |
| 1861 . . . . | 611,609 | 417,786 | 130,731    |
|              | <hr/>   | <hr/>   | <hr/>      |
| Average      | 571,886 | 432,430 | 120,893    |

These figures are very favourable; they give 1 birth to 27 inhabitants, 1 death to 36, and 1 marriage to 129. This proves a considerable degree of comfort. We are sorry to add that the number of illegitimate children was 1 in every 6 born in 1858 and 1859, and 1 in every 5 in 1860 and 1861, showing a very large increase.

And first of agriculture. The question whether large properties, or rather large farms, are more profitable in proportion than small ones, has been often discussed. In England the preference has always been given to extended cultivation; in France, on the contrary, small farms are liked best. The example of Spain shows us that the true solution depends on purely local considerations. The vast mountains of that country, with their scanty crops of grass, can only serve for pasture-grounds, and, as such, can only be utilised in great masses; while, on the other hand, in the fertile plains, under the hot sun, where the irrigation is good, the small farmers always make proportionately higher profits. At present the small and moderate-sized farms predominate.

Of the 3,426,083 assessments of the property-tax, there are 624,920 properties which pay from 1 to 10 reals;<sup>3</sup> 511,666 from 10 to 20 reals; 642,377 from 20 to 40 reals; 788,184 from 40 to 100 reals; 416,546 from 100 to 200 reals; 165,202 from 200 to 500 reals; the rest, still sufficiently numerous (279,188), are charged from 500 to 10,000 reals and upwards. In 1800, the number of farms was much lower, viz. 677,520, in the hands of 273,760 proprietors and 403,760 farmers. Probably in this census the very small farms were omitted, whereas the tax of 1860, of which we have given the assessments, touches every one. If we subtract the 625,000 petty assessments, we shall still have 2,800,000 moderate and large assessments; and hence we see into what small portions the land must be cut up.<sup>4</sup>

It is not necessary here to discuss the question of the division of property. We need only remark, that in Spain—we do not say elsewhere—the provinces where the property is most divided are among the wealthiest. Our present object is to show the advance of agricultural productivity, which we may test by means of the land-tax. This tax, imposed in 1845, was estimated by government to produce 350,000,000 reals; the Cortes cut it down to 300,000,000, and in 1846 to 250,000,000; the actual produce, according to the financial minister's account, was only 238,246,081 reals in 1846, and 222,399,514 in 1847. At the present time the tax easily produces the 400,000,000, to which the Cortes have raised it for some years past. It would be difficult to say exactly what share the different agricultural products have each had in this increase of revenue. The only information to be obtained on

<sup>3</sup> The real is generally reckoned at  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ , or 25 centimes (a quarter of a franc); its true value is 27 centimes, or  $2\frac{3}{4}d.$

<sup>4</sup> We are informed by one writer that out of 3,400,000 farms of all sizes, about 750,000 are cultivated by tenants, and the rest by proprietors.



the subject consists of estimates, more or less skilfully made; but, as the authors of these estimates are the Spaniards who are reckoned the best authorities on the matter, we will lay them before our readers.

According to writers who flourished in the beginning of the present century, the production of grain in Spain amounted to nearly 38,000,000 hectolitres; whereas the present production, calculated on the basis of the excise, is estimated at about 66,000,000.<sup>5</sup> If this estimate, which is probable enough, is true, production has advanced more rapidly on the south than on the north of the Pyrenees; and England is the only country which has made a more rapid progress than Spain.

We have just mentioned the excise. The collection of this tax displays a great difference in the consumption of bread in different towns. Thus at Segovia, Salamanca, and Orense, the average amount consumed by each inhabitant is 2·39 lbs.,<sup>6</sup> at Burgos 2·43, and at Leon as much as 2·89 a day; whilst at Jaen it is only 0·92 lb., at Oviedo 0·87, and at Valladolid 0·85. At Madrid the consumption is 1·70; and the average of the whole kingdom is 1·62. No one has yet given a satisfactory explanation of these differences.

In ordinary years Spain produces enough corn for her own consumption, with some to spare. But she is very seldom unable to export wine—not only the rich wines of Xeres, Alicante, and Malaga, which are so well known in England, but much commoner ones. In 1797 the whole production was estimated at 8,500,000 arrobas. It must now considerably exceed 9,500,000. The consumption of wine varies in different places even more considerably than that of bread. In Palencia each inhabitant drinks 83 litres a year, in Segovia 78, in Logroño 78, in Madrid 72; while in the Balearic Islands, Malaga, and Sevilla, each person is contented with from 7 to 8. The general average is 32·4 litres (nearly 56 pints).<sup>7</sup>

But the consumption of butcher's meat shows the greatest variations from province to province. In the case of wine, it is easy to suppose that more is drunk in the places where it is grown; but cattle, even if they are not uniformly distributed over the country, are a locomotive commodity, and can be driven. Yet provinces next door to each other show the greatest differences in the average consumption of each rural inhabitant. For Caceres it is 22·08 kils., for the province of

<sup>5</sup> We have seen an estimate which gives 92,000,000; but this is certainly an exaggeration.

<sup>6</sup> The Spanish pound is nearly the same as the English; the first equals 460 French grammes, the second 453½.

<sup>7</sup> These figures are from the unpublished statistics of 1858-1861.

Madrid 20·29, for Cordova 16·11, for Salamanca 12·14; while for Oviedo it is 4·12, Almeria 3·73, Murcia 2·98, and the Canary Islands 2·38. The other provinces give averages between these. For the towns, the proportions are quite different, ranging from 47 kils. for Madrid to much lower averages for the smaller towns. The general average of 1858-61 was 8·04 kils. for the rural districts, and 23·03 for the towns.

We may grant, *à priori*, that the use of meat has been increasing in Spain for a number of years; but this increase cannot have been proportionate to the growth of prosperity, for meat is not a favourite food in hot climates. This reasoning is confirmed by the census of domesticated animals for 1797, 1858, and 1861. The census for 1861 has not yet been published; but we are enabled to give its numbers in the following table:

|            | 1797.      | 1858.      | 1861. <sup>s</sup> |
|------------|------------|------------|--------------------|
| Horses . . | 139,717    | 268,248    | 382,009            |
| Mules . .  | 214,117    | 415,978    | 665,472            |
| Asses . .  | 236,178    | 491,690    | 750,007            |
| Cattle . . | 1,065,073  | 1,380,861  | 1,689,148          |
| Sheep . .  | 11,764,796 | 13,794,959 | 17,592,538         |
| Goats . .  | 2,521,702  | 2,733,966  | —                  |
| Swine . .  | 1,266,918  | 1,018,383  | —                  |

The Andalusian horses are still celebrated; but the Merino wool, once supreme in Europe, has lost its preëminence. It is not here, then, that we must look for progress. We must look for it either in agricultural products or in manufactures. Now the production of rice has risen from 71,000 to 198,000 quintals; that of beans, peas, &c., from 2,453,000 hectolitres to 5,000,000; that of hemp from 80,000 to 120,000 quintals; that of flax from 56,000 to 84,000 quintals; that of olive-oil from 774,000 hectolitres to more than double, 300,000 or 400,000 hectolitres being exported annually; and that of silk from 606,000 to a little over 1,200,000 kilogrammes.

Besides the general causes of this agricultural progress, we must not forget the special circumstances which have contributed to it; these are, the increased number of hands, and the improved means of communication.

The fact of the increase of population is patent. Some of this increase has, without doubt, been absorbed by manufactures, but the greatest part remains among the agricultural class. Moreover, certain trades which afforded a livelihood without labour have lately become more difficult. The trade of the brigand is now dangerous, that of the beggar shameful.

<sup>s</sup> It will be seen that the railways have not interfered with the rapid increase of beasts of burden, mules and asses.

Every able-bodied man is obliged to work. There is also a greater facility of marketing; and, though the agriculturist may send his produce to a distance, it is always an advantage to have a market close at hand. The neighbourhood of a great town benefits him, and the establishment of a factory in the country is as valuable to him as a rise in prices, not affected even by an abundant harvest. Now the Spanish cities are regaining their population. In this respect they are following the general movement of Europe, though on a smaller scale. The manufactories also are multiplying, and the railways increase the number of consumers.

These railways are only the crown of the system of communication, the base of which consists of the village roads. In order that the agriculturist may take advantage of the markets opened to him by the towns and factories, he must be able to transport his produce thither. Up to quite a recent period every thing was carried on the backs of mules or other beasts of burden; but the quantities which could be thus carried were very small, and the operation was both costly and tedious. But at the present time this state of things has been greatly improved. The roads, which were once entirely neglected by the government, are now the subject of increasing annual votes, and must be in the course of completion. An official table which we have before us informs us that, between 1840 and 1855, 254 leagues of high-road have been made, at an expense of 68 millions of reals; 205 leagues of secondary roads, at an expense of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  millions; and 108 leagues of provincial roads, at an expense of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  millions. In 1855, the three classes of roads together amounted to  $3054\frac{1}{2}$  leagues, or 10,575 miles, without counting those of Navarre and the Basque provinces. For these provinces we must add 1002 kilometres, 435 kil., and 895 kil., making 2332 kil., or 1449 miles, for the three categories of roads. We have no information about the village roads; but we have exact data for the length of the railways. In 1848, 29 kil. were in use; in 1852, 103 kil.; in 1855, 577; in 1858, 854; in 1860, 1960; and in 1861, 2362, not far short of 1500 miles.<sup>9</sup> If the village roads are neither so numerous nor so well kept as they should be, the railways will contribute to their amelioration, for every village will want an easy way of getting to the station.

<sup>9</sup> The receipts and expenditure of the railways for 1859 and 1860 were as follows:

|                   | 1859.            |       | 1860.             |
|-------------------|------------------|-------|-------------------|
| Receipts . . . .  | 82,569,680 reals | . .   | 131,337,300 reals |
| Expenditure . . . | 48,869,703       | „ . . | 76,580,330 „      |
| Profit . . . .    | 33,699,977       | „ . . | 54,956,370 „      |



Great credit is due to the Spanish government for the share it has had in developing the resources of the country. It is true that all serious, real, and durable progress depends on individual efforts; but in Spain that desire for wealth which is the great stimulant to make men set in motion all their means of production, has not attained its full strength. The class of men is by no means uncommon there who would thankfully receive whatever wealth chance might give them, but who could never muster up courage to win it for themselves. The new era which has dawned upon Spain found her embarrassed with a numerous population unprepared to take its share in the work of regeneration; wanting not only the material capital—which the state has not power to create—but also the intellectual capital of education, and the moral capital of confidence and enterprise. In circumstances such as these, it may well be the mission of a government to encourage, to advise, to stimulate, and perhaps even to help. One assistance at least in the present case it was able easily to give, by wiping out from the statute-book all the laws which were injurious to agriculture. Such was the Mesta, which was suppressed by the Cortes of Cadiz, restored in 1814, again suppressed in 1836, and not completely put an end to till the royal decree of 1854 organised a “general association of drovers,” and gave it only those rights which are compatible with modern legislation. Similar reforms have been made in the rural police, and especially in the system of irrigation, which of course has a peculiar importance in hot climates like those of India, Persia, China, Italy, and Spain. Putting aside Navarre and the Basque provinces, which still use their privilege of refusing to give any statistical information, there are in Spain 1,786,025 fanegas, or 4,465,062 acres, of irrigated land, against 39,431,113 fanegas, or 63,089,760 acres, of land not irrigated, but capable of cultivation (*seccanos*). Legislation is tending more and more to facilitate the employment of water in agriculture. A third reform begun, but not yet finished, consists in such a modification of the law of mortgage as would allow the foundation of an institution for advancing money on real property in the first instance (*crédit foncier*), and afterwards on agricultural produce (*crédit agricole*). We find in one official report no less than fifteen projects for such establishments, which a change in the laws would allow to be realised. Every one knows that credit is capital, and that capital means the raw materials, the machinery, and the labour, in a word, the whole circle of agents necessary for production. The priority of the mortgage bank for advances on real property to that for advances on bills is not by any means necessary; but there are many persons who would be

greatly shocked by the adoption of a different order. In France, for instance, the habit of confidence and credit is not sufficiently established to permit the existence of banks such as there are in Scotland; but this is no reason why Spain should not make the experiment. Every thing would depend on the organisation she adopted; and there are plenty of models to be followed, if she would for once stoop to imitate, and to choose, in an eclectic spirit, such a combination as would suit the habits of the nation. We must not forget to mention the steps taken by the government for the spread of agricultural knowledge. It not only does all it can to encourage the multiplication of "economical" or agricultural societies, but it founds professorships and schools of agriculture. Hitherto, indeed, there have been more good intentions than performances; but still several schools are in operation, and may become a focus for the radiation of the knowledge of new methods and discoveries. It is hardly necessary to add, that the government has not forgotten enclosures, agricultural colonies, the maintenance of stallions and bulls for breeding, the destruction of vermin, and the other more or less useful agricultural hobbies of continental governments.

We have devoted a large proportion of our space to agriculture, because it is the occupation of perhaps 75 Spaniards in every 100, and because, in a large country, no material progress is possible without a good system of agriculture. But husbandry never advances very rapidly; and in our day every thing which does not outstrip the locomotive, if not the arrow, hardly seems to move at all. Under such conditions, only manufactures can enter the lists; for the factory is not obliged to wait for the rain to swell the seed which the labourer has sown, or for the rays of the sun to ripen the grain. These are forces of Nature, which man has not been able to subjugate, which mock all his efforts, and defy all his calculations.

The manufactures of Spain are not yet entirely emancipated. Southward of the Pyrenees many objects are still made by hand which elsewhere are manufactured by machinery, and others are imported although the raw materials are found in the country. But Spain has no desire to lag behind. Her manufactures are multiplying; and since there are no existing interests to be considered, since the trades are introduced all at once, the best methods may be adopted from the very first. The most recent official documents furnish us with statistics on this subject; but they would be more useful if they were more complete, and especially if they contained materials for comparison with former years.

Spain was famous in ancient times for her precious metals. When men went to get gold at Ophir, they came to Tartessus for silver. Still, the statistical tables give 2332 silver mines; but some of them are very insignificant. There were also on the 1st of January 1860, 37 mines of antimony, 744 of lead, 31 of zinc, 26 of cinnabar, 156 of calamine, 270 of copper, 72 of iron pyrites, and 527 of coal,—not very productive, it may be imagined, when compared with the English coal-mines. With regard to the quantities produced, we find a report for the year 1780 (published in 1797), and another for the year 1860. If they are correct, the produce of iron has risen during that period from 9,000,000 kils. to 41,137,800; that of copper from 15,000 to 2,704,700; that of zinc from 125,000 to 1,853,000. The produce of quicksilver has remained the same (900,000 and 903,726 kils.), while lead has risen from 1,600,000 to 82,498,400 kils. We need not enumerate the other metals, and the less important minerals; it is, however, to be regretted that we have no data for comparing the 1,420,124 marks of silver produced in 1860, with the production of former years. The progress in coal-mining is especially interesting. In 1858, the native produce was 1,985,150 quintals of 46 kilogrammes, and the imported quantity 6,330,553, which, without adding 594,000 quintals of charcoal, gives a total consumption of 8,315,703 quintals, or 382,522,338 kils. In 1860, the Spanish mines produced 3,217,734 quintals of 100 kils., and coal was imported to the value of 33,000,000 reals. In 1846, the importation was nearly 73,000,000 kilogrammes; and from that year to 1858, the imports rose 217,000,000 kils.; that is to say, they quadrupled in twelve years. The consumption of coal is justly regarded as a gauge of manufacturing activity; in Spain, then, this activity must have quadrupled, or even quintupled, within a very few years. The same results would be obtained from a survey of the production and consumption of iron, of which 6,359,000 kils. were imported in 1846, and 65,872,000 kils. in 1858, in spite of the great increase in native production, and in spite of customs-duties which in Spain are probably heavier and more protectionist than any where else.

Let us now pass to textile fabrics. According to official statistics, there were, in 1857, 751,877 spindles moved by steam or water power, and 31,408 by hand. There were also 17,425 hand-looms, and 7478 power-looms. In order to see what progress is being made here, we must refer to the tables of commerce. These tell us that the importation of raw cotton was 7,045,000 kils. in 1846, and 21,406,192



kils. in 1858; or, in other words, that the manufacture had tripled in twelve years. The principal seat of the cotton-trade is the town and province of Barcelona, where 680,726 of the steam-spindles, 29,698 of the hand-spindles, 15,823 of the hand-loom, and 5020 of the power-loom, are to be found. The woollen trade only employs 160,000 spindles, and 5494 looms. To judge by the products exposed in the International Exhibition of last year, the cloth of Spain is good; there is an evident improvement since 1851; but there are no data by which we can determine whether the production is extending. The same uncertainty exists with regard to the silk trade. We find, indeed, that in 1847 there were 916 reeling-machines, and 32,963 throwing-machines; but this is all we know. Yet the beautiful silks exhibited at South Kensington lead us to the conclusion that this portion of the national industry must have partaken in the movement of the other branches of manufacture. The tables of exports and imports will give us a little supplementary information. The imports were, in 1846, silk tissues of the value of 8,659,000 francs; and, in 1858, of the value of 9,000,000, besides 227,654 lbs. or 104,720 kils. of raw silk. The exports, in 1846, were 34,500 kils. of silk thread; and, in 1858, 92,874 lbs. or 42,722 kils. of silk thread, with tissues to the value of 1,300,000 francs. These figures seem to indicate some progress.

But for a clearer and more striking view of this progress, the commercial tables, to which we have already referred, must be studied. Instead of merely stopping at a few special branches, however important, these tables embrace every branch, including agriculture; and they take account of the unfavourable influences which happen to weigh upon any one of them.

Selecting 1843 as our starting-point, we find that, for that year, exports and imports together amounted to 786,516,000 reals. By 1860, they had gradually increased to 2,581,506,943 reals, which is an increase of 350 per cent in seventeen years. No other country can show such a sudden expansion; but it must in justice be remembered, that as children grow more rapidly than youths, and the sapling than the tree, so it is with nations. When they first begin to advance, and take "forwards" for their motto, their progress is much quicker than it is after a few years. The seven-league boots of fairytales seem reserved for such infantine legs.

The commercial tables are made up of imports and exports. The former represent the consumption of the country, and consist either of articles of food and luxury, such as coffee, sugar, and the like; or of reproductive materials, such as cotton,

coal, and the like. Taking both these constituents together, the imports in 1843 amounted to 457,400,000 reals, and in 1860 to 1,683,313,498 reals, almost four times as much. In the absence of documents connected enough for the analysis, we cannot tell with any great exactitude how much of the increase is in matters of food and luxury, and how much in reproductive materials. But the figures we have quoted for coal, iron, cotton, and silk seem to show that it is not the unproductive or luxurious consumption which exhibits the greatest increase. With regard to a few articles of this class, the tables give us the following results:

|                   | 1846.<br>Kilogrammes. | 1860.<br>Kilogrammes. |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Cocoa . . . . .   | 5,452,000             | 6,138,655             |
| Coffee . . . . .  | 745,000               | 984,295               |
| Sugar . . . . .   | 27,419,000            | 33,105,620            |
| Cinnamon. . . . . | 379,000               | 253,412               |
| Pimento . . . . . | 340,000               | 274,024               |
| Tea . . . . .     | 13,929                | 32,459                |

The year 1860 falls far short of 1858 and 1859 in these imports; but our object is to make use of the most recent documents. We may here add a table to show the average consumption of sugar *per head* for the following twelve years:

|              | Kilogrammes. |              | Kilogrammes. |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1849 . . . . | 1·629        | 1855 . . . . | 2·693        |
| 1850 . . . . | 1·533        | 1856 . . . . | 2·156        |
| 1851 . . . . | 1·671        | 1857 . . . . | 2·249        |
| 1852 . . . . | 2·366        | 1858 . . . . | 2·457        |
| 1853 . . . . | 1·799        | 1859 . . . . | 2·467        |
| 1854 . . . . | 2·039        | 1860 . . . . | 2·116        |

The exports were 329,116,000 reals in 1843, and 1,098,203,445 reals in 1860; that is, three times as much,—a result which is clearly to be traced to the progress in agriculture and manufactures.

Let us now turn to navigation. With her extensive coasts, her numerous colonies, and the recollections of her history, Spain ought, one would think, to have an important maritime trade. But it is impossible to say distinctly whether this trade was ever proportioned to the advantages of her position on the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, and to the reputation she enjoyed after the discovery of the New World. Indeed, position and reputation are not the only elements of maritime movement. It is not enough to have free access to the sea, and ships; it requires also an object, or, as ship-owners say, a freight. Now it is the producer, and after him the merchant,

who provides the cargo, or freight; and, consequently, the maritime movement of a country will increase and diminish with the products of agriculture and manufacture. This reasoning is based on the experience of all countries, and Spain in no way contradicts the rule. In 1843, her maritime movement was 9828 ships, and 1,050,448 tons of 1000 kilogrammes. Of these, 5206 ships of 579,475 tons entered, and 4622 ships of 470,973 tons left the ports. In 1858, the number of ships was 23,238 of 3,031,534 tons, without including the coasting trade; and even in the unfavourable year 1860 we find 19,224 ships and 2,526,508 tons. These figures are eloquent enough to require no comment. In 1860, the coasting trade included 48,932 voyages, carrying 1,825,721 tons, valued at 1,865,000,000 reals. In 1860, Spain possessed 3430, and in 1861, 3351 ships for ocean trade.

If we ask whether Spanish legislation has been as favourable to commerce as to agriculture, the answer will be either yes or no, according to the opinion of our informant on the respective merits of protection and free-trade. It might be supposed that the economical experience of the last twenty years had converted almost all the protectionists; at any rate it is a rare thing to find an Englishman, a Frenchman, a Swiss, a Dutchman, an Italian, or even a German, who openly avows himself a partisan of protective customs-duties. He conceals his weakness for protection under the cloak of a zeal for indirect taxation. It would therefore be superfluous in us to argue on economical grounds against the Spanish protective system. We prefer to argue the case on grounds which may be almost called psychological. *Temporary* protection is often recommended as an excellent means of establishing a manufacture in a country. Now this manufacture is either of products long known, or of products quite new. In the first case, there are probably material or moral impediments which have hindered the introduction of the manufacture, or have prevented its being profitable. In the second case, our psychology comes into play. Can the dearness of a product be a quality apt to extend its use among the people? Inventors often lose the fruits of their patent by fixing the price of their fabrics too high. Purchasers are attracted chiefly by cheapness. Now Spain ought rather to encourage consumption than to check it by high tariffs. This she ought to do, not so much because enjoyment partly depends on consumption;—though this reason is somewhat, for why should not a people have its share of the good things which God has created?—or because, by multiplying wants, we excite men to labour for the means of satisfying them; or because labour in



itself is a virtue,—a proposition which is open to contradiction; but because that degree of comfort which labour gives is favourable to the health both of body and mind, prolongs life, gives opportunities for the cultivation of the intellect, for the completion of education, and for every kind of progress. It is, then, in a country which has been long lagging behind, that the government ought most carefully to avoid any measure calculated to raise the price of mercantile products. The protection of the producer, by thus raising prices, becomes an oppression of the consumer.

In a backward country, which is trying to make up for lost time, there is another danger to avoid—the excess of interference and regulation by government. Leave every one at liberty who wishes to be free. Why, for instance, increase the stringency of the laws on mercantile agency, when every where else the tendency is to diminish it? There are, perhaps, other similar measures for which the administration is to be blamed; but in justice we must declare that there is more which is praiseworthy,—such as the development of chambers of commerce, the establishment of consular courts, the regulation of all that concerns exchange, trade-marks, commercial partnership, fairs and markets, and weights and measures—which last are now identical with those in use in France.

The legislation on commercial partnership is useful in proportion to its favourable influence on the establishment of financial and manufacturing companies holding a just relation to the demand for them. At the present time, according to an official table for 1861, there exist in Spain the four following classes of companies:

|                               | No.             | Capital (in reals). |                | Total.        |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|----------------|---------------|
|                               |                 | In shares.          | In debentures. |               |
| For credit<br>(banks, &c.)    | 3 <sup>10</sup> | 140,000,000         | „              | 140,000,000   |
| For manufac-<br>ture . . .    | 46              | 383,943,606         | „              | 383,943,606   |
| For discount<br>and insurance | 13              | 404,000,000         | „              | 404,000,000   |
| Public works .                | 23              | 2,211,474,000       | 2,076,085,700  | 4,287,559,700 |
| Totals . . .                  | 85              | 3,139,417,606       | 2,076,085,700  | 5,215,503,306 |

These figures are nothing very considerable, but there must be a beginning. Partnerships and companies, however, do not seem to thrive in the south as they do in the north of Europe; and after all, a sum of upwards of 52 millions sterling is something.

<sup>10</sup> Two of these banking-companies are at Barcelona, and one at Madrid.

The improvements we have enumerated could not have taken place without a marked effect on the financial situation of the country. Our readers must remember the want of confidence which was felt in the solvency of Spain a few years back. No one would buy her consols at any price. The disorder which had become familiar to her finances had increased the debt to a fabulous amount; and this amount looked more monstrous because the insignificance of the unit by which it was calculated (the real) exaggerated the sum, and the payment of interest beyond the strength of the country to provide was necessarily suspended. There was a real bankruptcy. But things are in quite a different state now. Not that the debt is paid: part of it, indeed, was thrown behind the fire, and a compromise was forced on the creditors; but there is an attenuating circumstance to be noted—all the liabilities incurred were not for services done. A liquidation of the debt on a vast scale has been commenced. Confidence is already returning; the 3 per cent funds have passed the price of 51; and the interest paid is thus a trifle under 6 per cent. This improvement results in part from the order which has reigned in the financial department ever since the reform introduced above fifteen years ago, and maintained by the constitutional watchfulness of the Cortes. This regulation, it is true, does not prevent a rapid increase of expenditure, but it puts a stop to all speculation. In itself, the increase of expenditure is not always a bad thing for a country; and there are some investments of money which pay usurious interest. It has occasionally happened that the Cortes have voted more than the government asked.

Expenditure, however, must not be considered apart from receipts. While these naturally increase with the increase of wealth, the government can either diminish the taxes, as in England, or make the expenditure rise with the progressive rise of income, as in most continental states. The first alternative is like putting-by one's savings, or accumulating capital in domestic economy. The second is the habit of the rich man who lives up to his income. When he stops there, no one has any right to blame him, for he commits no fault; and empirical and short-sighted economists who have not studied the matter scientifically will even maintain that his profusion is good for trade. But prudence has much to say upon the subject. If prudence had to give counsel to Spain, it might be shown, in favour of spending up to her income, that many things are still disorganised, and many institutions still to be established; that there are roads and railways to be made, and the mistakes of former years to be repaired,—all which costs

money, and much money. Against this high expenditure it might be argued, on the other hand, that it would be most advantageous to facilitate the accumulation of capital in the hands of the people who appear to make so good a use of it. In old times savings were buried in the earth, as they still are in Arabia; and the treasures only profited the lucky finder, sometimes years after the hoarder's death. In our days men buy funded property, or debentures; they subscribe for shares; they invest in speculations. Why not, then, reduce the tax which weighs most heavily on commercial transactions, namely, the customs-duties, especially since these duties have the strange quality of producing a larger income the more they are reduced in amount? But whatever becomes of these arguments, it is certain that the growing prosperity of the nation has produced an increase in the receipts; and hence the comparison of the revenue at two given periods may, to a certain extent, indicate the degree of progress made in the interim. Thus, the budget for 1850 amounted to 1,199,901,368 reals; ten years later the amount was 1,892,344,000; and the budget for 1862 presents a revenue of 2031 millions against an expenditure of 2021 millions. When there is a real surplus many things may be done.

The comparison between the income of two given years only becomes really instructive when made in some detail. Let us, then, take the years 1850 and 1859, the last for which complete accounts have been published. In 1850, the direct taxes produced 350,980,000 reals; in 1859, 587,661,784. These sums contain several items. One is the property-tax, amounting, as we have seen, to between 300 and 400 millions; another is the tax on trade and commerce, which produced 32,500,000 in 1850, and 70,000,000 in 1859. The indirect taxes consist of customs, excise and octroi duties, tolls on roads and bridges, dues for registration and mortgage, and the like. Between 1850 and 1859 the customs went up from 176 to 225 millions, excise and octroi from 142 to 159½ millions; figures which seem to indicate a reduction in the duties. The totals of indirect taxation for the two years were 340 millions in 1850, and 502 millions in 1859. The registration and mortgage dues are not included in these totals, as the Spanish budgets reckon them among the direct taxes. We have been obliged to allow for this, in order not to derange the order of the Spanish tables. We have only to add that these taxes brought in 17 millions in 1850, and more than 30 millions in 1859. This increase shows an advance in the value of real property, houses and land.

We now come to the civil services, the great administra-



tive institutions, some of which are simply for the good of the public, others primarily for that of the treasury, whose revenues they collect in the most convenient and productive manner. In this class, which comprises the ancient "farms," or *estancadas*, we must reckon first of all the stamps. They produced in 1850, 19,550,000 reals gross, and 17,805,930 reals net. In 1859 the stamps brought in more than 51 millions, besides several items,—such as the police-papers (documents of *vigilancia*), including passports, licenses to bear arms, licenses to shoot, to fish, and the like,—which altogether produced 5 millions; postage-stamps (21,906,520 reals), newspaper-stamps (525,415 reals), and some others; making a total of 22,678,800 reals; and law and other stamps, of nine different kinds, amounting to 1,933,549 reals.

The following is a comparison of the products of other sources of revenue for the two years in question:

|                     | 1850.       | 1859.       |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Tobacco . . . . .   | 127,092,000 | 274,109,000 |
| Salt . . . . .      | 84,160,000  | 117,167,000 |
| Gunpowder . . . . . | 11,084,000  | 19,201,000  |
| Lottery . . . . .   | 22,272,000  | 138,884,000 |

Here the increase of the figures does not always indicate a real progress. It does so, however, in the case of salt, and also in the case of gunpowder, the chief portion of which is used for blasting in the mines. The average consumption of tobacco for each person for 1858-60 was 226 grammes (not half a pound), and the average consumption of salt for each person for 1850-60 was 6·50 kils. Of the other sources of revenue, we will only mention the post and telegraph offices: in 1859, the post-office (exclusive of the sale of stamps) brought in 5,469,000 reals, and the telegraph 4,804,000 reals. The circulation of letters is one of the criterions of the condition of a country. To write a letter supposes a certain degree of education, and indicates also either sentiment or business. The more letters there are, therefore, the more education, and the more sentiment or business there must be. In this respect Spain gives remarkable results. We have before us the reports of a whole series of years, but we will only give the results of the first and last. In 1846, there were 18,459,491 inland letters, 51,161 from the colonies, and 321,280 from foreign countries. In 1861, there were 54,224,049 inland, 1,888,908 colonial, and 2,968,101 foreign letters. The increase has been constant, and much more rapid for the few last years.

Our analysis of the Spanish budget would not be complete if we were not to give a list of the principal heads of expendi-

ture. For some of these we will compare the budget of 1862-63 with that of 1850-51, as follows:<sup>11</sup>

|                        | 1862-63.<br>Reals.  | 1850-51.<br>Reals.        |
|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| Civil list . . .       | 49,350,000          | 45,900,000                |
| Senate and Cortes . .  | 2,057,215           | 1,161,868                 |
| Public debt . . .      | 385,981,445         | 100,136,956               |
| Private loans . . .    | 15,450,113          | —                         |
| Retiring pensions . .  | 147,696,380         | 175,399,040 <sup>12</sup> |
| Statistical office . . | 9,391,937           | —                         |
| Foreign office . . .   | 16,188,266          | 10,565,372                |
| Law, worship, &c. . .  | 208,721,119         | 175,668,800               |
| War office . . .       | 381,232,293         | 315,157,576               |
| Admiralty . . .        | 125,037,617         | 68,161,964                |
| Home office . . .      | 102,451,631         | 47,993,240                |
| Board of Trade . . .   | 94,781,354          | 61,229,408                |
| Treasury . . .         | 482,295,310         | 193,367,104               |
|                        | <hr/> 2,021,135,680 | <hr/> 1,194,741,328       |

We will not enquire whether all the augmentations shown by this comparative table are justified by any absolute necessity; but at least they have been voted by the freely chosen representatives of the people.<sup>13</sup> The payers have consented to the taxes, and that is enough. But there is one increase which may be frankly praised even by those who know nothing of Spain—that for the interest on the public debt. For many years Spain did not fulfil the duties of a debtor. No interest was paid on the greater part of her debt. But in 1850-51 the matter was taken in hand; since that time the old arrears have been in course of liquidation; and in this case every augmentation—not of the debt, but of the interest paid—brings a corresponding increase of credit. The debt also has been increased by loans, among which is one the Spaniards are proud of—the “million for public works.” A million of reals is not much more than 10,000,000 sterling; but this is a sum which would make some show even in the budgets of England and France; and for Spain it is something very great. It represents an act of financial heroism, for the sum was employed in productive works—roads, rivers, and ports.

An equally useful increase of expenditure is that set down for public instruction. Here the sums have been less im-

<sup>11</sup> The Spanish financial year is from July 1 to June 30.

<sup>12</sup> A reduction of 6,694,650 reals has been made under this head; changes which were at the same time made in the internal organisation of the services have caused some transpositions of figures.

<sup>13</sup> The provincial and communal expenses have increased in proportion; for 1860 the receipts were 189,697,486 reals for the provinces, and 311,485,456 reals for the communes.

portant, but the government only bears the smaller share of the expense. The communes, and especially the parents, pay directly for the education given to the children; and different official publications prove the fact, that the benefits of the schools are more and more acknowledged. Thus in 1797 only 393,126 children attended the primary schools, which were themselves very imperfect. In 1812, the Cortes tried to introduce some modifications. But the attempt was in vain; for while a nation is struggling for its independence against a mighty adversary, it can scarcely succeed in making a radical reform in its popular education. Fresh efforts were made in 1820 and 1825, but still without much success. The law of the 21st of July 1838 was a real step in advance. Since that time the laws have been several times amended, especially in 1847 and 1857 when the masters were subjected to examination, schoolrooms built, and different scholastic institutions founded. The result was, that in 1848 there were 663,711 pupils, and on the 1st of January 1861, 1,046,558 pupils, of both sexes. While the number of scholars has been thus increasing, the number of "incomplete" schools has been diminishing, so that the education has been improving and extending at the same time. Still it is to be regretted that there should be so great a disproportion between the boys and girls at the schools. There are about nine boys to every four girls. This inferiority of the female sex is contrary to the spirit of Christian civilisation, which proclaims the moral equality of the woman with the man. Besides, as the first teaching must come from the mothers, the girls ought to be first taught for the sake of the coming generation. We generally find that in all countries education goes hand in hand with prosperity and wealth; for it is only with leisure and comfort that intellectual wants begin to be felt, and that time can be found for education. Now since manufacturing countries are generally richer than those which are purely agricultural, the number of schools often increases in the ratio of the multiplication of manufactories. This coincidence may be seen in Spain; Catalonia alone seems an exception to the rule. Middle-class education is given in 58 public colleges by 757 professors to 13,881 pupils. If we add to this number those who are in private schools, or are taught at home, we obtain the sum of 20,149 pupils. The number seems rather small, but it is a great improvement on that of former years. As to first-class education, the number of law-students appears large—3755 in 1859-60, divided among 10 faculties. There are 10 faculties of literature and philosophy, with 224 students; 7 faculties of sciences, with 141 students; 4 faculties of pharmacy, with 544; 7 faculties of medi-



cine, with 1178; and 6 faculties of theology, with 339 students—in all 6181 students.

For the criminal statistics of Spain documents are not wanting; but they do not reach far back, and it is difficult to make an abstract of them without giving previous information on the criminal law. For the words "crime," "felony," and "misdemeanour," or their equivalents, have not the same meaning in all places, and the use of them is apt to give the reader a different idea from that intended by the writer. The two following tables, however, the figures of which are still in part unpublished, will probably be understood. Prisoners in Spain are divided into two categories; those who are condemned to "infamous punishments," and have thereby lost their civil rights; and those who are condemned to lighter punishments, and in general preserve those rights.

1. Number of criminals of the first category in the Spanish prisons in the five years 1856-1860, classified according to their offences:

| Years. | Forgery. | Crimes against public order. | Crimes of public functionaries. | Crimes against property. | Crimes against liberty and security. | Crimes against the person. | Crimes against honesty. | Crimes against honour. | Civil crimes (marriage, &c.). | Vagabondage and mendicancy. | Gambling offences. | Imprudencia temeraria. | Military crimes. | Total. |
|--------|----------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|------------------|--------|
| 1856.. | 64       | 27                           | 6                               | 1387                     | 10                                   | 182                        | 33                      | 10                     | 10                            | 11                          | „                  | 5                      | 1                | 1746   |
| 1857.. | 80       | 36                           | 8                               | 1473                     | 9                                    | 185                        | 21                      | 9                      | 8                             | 6                           | „                  | 3                      | 1                | 1839   |
| 1858.. | 72       | 24                           | 8                               | 1576                     | 12                                   | 186                        | 18                      | 15                     | 7                             | 9                           | „                  | 1                      | „                | 1928   |
| 1859.. | 66       | 20                           | 15                              | 1635                     | 16                                   | 189                        | 28                      | 14                     | 2                             | 8                           | 3                  | 1                      | 1                | 1998   |
| 1860.. | 56       | 16                           | 13                              | 1634                     | 176                                  | 67                         | 16                      | 1                      | 13                            | 1                           | 1                  | „                      | „                | 1994   |
| 1861.. | 62       | 21                           | 11                              | 1626                     | 14                                   | 227                        | 31                      | 6                      | 4                             | 10                          | 4                  | 3                      | 2                | 2021   |

2. Number of criminals committed for *délits* to the Spanish prisons in the five years 1857-1861, classified according to their professions:

| Years.    | Agriculturists. | Manufacturers. | Traders. | Liberal professions. | Unknown. | Total. |
|-----------|-----------------|----------------|----------|----------------------|----------|--------|
| 1857..... | 9,741           | 6930           | 321      | 639                  | 616      | 18,247 |
| 1858..... | 9,758           | 7117           | 366      | 603                  | 601      | 18,449 |
| 1859..... | 10,840          | 7210           | 369      | 903                  | 621      | 19,939 |
| 1860..... | 10,496          | 7410           | 397      | 967                  | 710      | 19,940 |
| 1861..... | 10,992          | 7723           | 364      | 981                  | 839      | 20,099 |

Whether the number of criminals has really increased, or whether the increase in the figures is only the effect of greater strictness in the administration of justice, and greater vigilance and activity in the police, it is difficult to decide; in the interests of civilisation let us hope that the latter alternative is the truer one.

In 1859 there were 198 suicides in Spain; 141 men and 57 women. In 1860 there were 235; 165 men and 70 women. Out of these 235, the motives of 74 are unknown; of the rest, 39 cases are attributed to poverty, 16 to debts, 42 to insanity, and the others to various motives. There were also in 1859 30 attempts at suicide, 17 of men and 13 of women; and in 1860 there were 52, 42 of men and 10 of women.

With regard to ecclesiastical affairs, it does not come within the scope of this article to say more than that in the beginning of 1862 there were 2806 prelates and priests of cathedrals and colleges, 33,881 priests with parochial cures, and 3198 regular priests without cure of souls.<sup>14</sup> We need not say that the Church property was confiscated by the state during the revolutionary epoch. This confiscation was never entirely revoked; and the principle of it was conceded and settled in the Concordat of 1851. But we cannot now enter on this very complicated subject, which is not even yet practically and completely arranged.

Many of our readers may think that we have been too prodigal of figures. Here, therefore, let us pause. We have endeavoured to supply some of the premisses of a conclusion which, as far as it is received, is generally taken for granted. The civil war which so long desolated the Peninsula is over, and we cannot find any elements likely to rekindle it or to add fuel to it. The recent progress of the Queen through the country has been a real triumphal march. Moreover, the laurels which other nations have gathered have awakened the emulation of the countrymen of the Cid. They have proved in Cochin-China, and also in the presence of their hereditary enemies the Moors, that the old Spanish courage has been preserved unsullied. Other events, such as the resumption of St. Domingo, have attracted the attention of Europe, and have made men hear without astonishment that Spain was once more claiming her rank among the "great powers." The practical decision of this point has been adjourned; but in any case it is a simple question of dignity. Spain must not com-

<sup>14</sup> The total number of secularised religious (*regulares exclaustados*) was 6822 in 1858, 6323 in 1859, and 6072 in 1860. Of this number about 3000 assist the secular clergy, and the rest make up the 3198 religious without cure of souls.

plain too much of the delay ; for the honour she seeks is costly, and will oblige her to make many sacrifices. That which gives weight to the opinions of a power, which secures its influence over neighbouring nations and over the destinies of Europe, is not the number of guns or bayonets it can throw into the scale. Neither should Spain forget the consequences of her geographical situation. The Pyrenees damp the sound of her voice ; and if she could change places with Belgium or Holland, she would be listened to with greater respect.

But there are other glories than those of victory, and other business in the world than to have a finger in the affairs of one's neighbours. It is no small thing to effect a radical renewal, a real regeneration, of a country. Spain has done much in this direction ; and the other nations of Europe applaud the energetic efforts she is making, and gladly acknowledge her success. Their hope is to see her persevering in this way, striking off whatever fetters may impede her moral, intellectual, and material development ; and on this condition they are ready to give her a constantly growing share of their respect and sympathy.

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PÉRIN'S POLITICAL ECONOMY.<sup>1</sup>

[COMMUNICATED.]

ALTHOUGH many of the greatest writers on political economy in France and Italy have been Catholics, they have generally pursued their inquiries, not in a particular religious spirit, but as seekers after truth, who regarded the field in which they laboured, like that of the naturalist or mathematician, as perfectly independent of confessional differences. Those who form an exception to this general rule have been hitherto little noticed in the history of literature. During the Middle Ages, the scholastic divines, together with the canonists, were the principal authorities on economic science; and it is not unusual to find their somewhat confused systems of ethics, politics, and political economy, incorporated, like their metaphysics, in the treatises of dogmatic theology, as in the case of Gabriel Biel, the last of the medieval scholastics, at the close of the fifteenth century. In the treatise on penance the question was commonly raised, how far restitution for an injury inflicted by the penitent was essential to the efficacy of the sacrament. In this place, not only the subjects of usury, rent, and taxation, but all questions regarding property, trade and its prices, the wages of labour, money, and currency, are considered; and the mode of treatment, though always from a strictly ecclesiastical point of view, is simple and ingenuous; for it was an age when the sciences had not yet emancipated themselves from their common mother the Church and her theology.

This was necessarily altered later on, when the antagonism between Protestants and Catholics, and between traditional knowledge and modern enlightenment, was ever present in the thoughts of men. Since that time there have been especially two considerable attempts to give a distinctively Catholic tone to political economy. The first was made by Giammaria Ortes, during that lowest ebb of the tide of Catholicism which is marked by the suppression of the Jesuits, and the French Revolution; the other, by Adam Müller, belongs to the first twenty years of the nineteenth century, when the flood-tide of the Catholic revival was setting in.

Ortes was a Venetian monk, who not only wrote separate treatises to defend mortmain, entails, &c., against the ordinary

<sup>1</sup> De la Richesse dans les Sociétés Chrétiennes. Par Charles Périn. Paris: Lecoffre-Guillaumin. 2 vols. 1861.

objections of the eighteenth century, but put himself in opposition generally to the whole spirit of political economy as it prevailed in his day. Whilst his contemporaries were, with few exceptions, persuaded of the indefinite perfectibility of mankind, his ruling object was to point out the bounds of human progress. He may be considered in many respects as the predecessor of Malthus. Thus he taught that agriculture cannot be extended so much as trade, and that the growth of the population is beneficial only up to those limits within which the increasing numbers are able to support themselves with freedom and security. He considered that it is essential for a nation to possess sufficient land to produce the commodities required for its own subsistence, and that when the population has reached its proper proportions, celibacy is as requisite as marriage, in order to maintain it at that level. He also anticipated Malthus, in teaching that the presence of many unemployed persons is a necessary consequence of the existence of many who are employed, and that the wealth of a nation cannot be increased by giving employment to the *disoccupati*, or diminishing the number of holidays. The principle of a most perfect stability every where underlies his opinions. He supposes that, although particular commodities may vary in price, their value collectively remains always the same; that one nation cannot be richer *per head* than another, but that in that which appears richer wealth is so distributed as to be more largely accumulated in a few hands; and that there is never either excess or deficiency in the national income. All these ideas are simply caricatures of Malthus's proposition, that the amount of the demand regulates the amount of production. Where Ortes endeavours to show the reasonableness and necessity of inequality of property, or of unequal wages, he indistinctly perceives the true reason; but his argument is generally a variation on the idea that what is must be so, and could not be otherwise than it is. He justifies the immunity of the clergy from taxation by a glaring exaggeration of the doctrine of the natural transfer of fiscal burdens, alleging, that as every tax, in its ultimate effects, distributes itself equally over the whole community, all in like manner ultimately participate in the benefit of the immunity. In his book *Dei Fedecommissi* (1784) he labours to prove that entails are unavoidable for the nobility, the clergy, and the people,—the latter represented by the work-houses! These, he says, are all the essential elements of the state. If the practical influence of this remarkable writer has not been considerable, it is due, not to any want of originality or power in his ideas, but to his monastic ignorance of life,

and to his style of writing, which is extremely fatiguing for the reader, and yet deficient in precision.

The unquestionable achievement of Ortes in the history of the science, is to have anticipated on so many points the views of the great English economist Malthus. The merit of Adam Müller lies in the ingenious consistency with which he insisted on the organic nature of political economy, on its necessary combination with politics generally, and on the essential connection between the past, the present, and the future in either science. On all these points he was strongly opposed to the atomic views which prevailed amongst his most eminent predecessors, though he did not escape some of the errors to which such a system as his is naturally exposed, as when he calls definitions "the poison of science." The character of his mind was thoroughly medieval. The whole present age he considered "a period of transition, during which the natural but unconscious economic wisdom of our fathers is passing through the self-sufficiency of their children, to arrive at an intelligent recognition of that wisdom in the third generation." He praises Adam Smith's system of non-interference, as a protest against the modern notion of the functions of government; but he accuses the illustrious Scot of having contemplated, "not the real positive freedom of the several states within the state, but merely the arbitrary selfishness of the prevailing slavery to wants and wealth." Like the later medieval writers, Müller never speaks of peasants, but only of the clergy, of the nobles, as representing real property, and of the burghers; and he supposes himself to discern in the mercantile class the commencement of the fourth estate. Full of aversion for payment in money, he delights in feudalism, tenure by service, in entails, and in every custom and institution which treats the individual as the transient representative of immortal families or corporations, and the temporary occupant of permanent possessions. The Middle Ages are in his eyes "the unfolding (*Ausbau*) of the Person of Christ, from which later ages have apostatised, seduced by money, property, and the recollections of pagan Rome. To deplore this apostasy, is the part of noble spirits; to heal it, would be the sign of a divine spirit." His hopes for the future rested principally on a union of nations, which he calls the Church; and he wrote one of his best books to inculcate the necessity of a theological basis for all political sciences, and for political economy in particular. Like all men of a medieval tone of mind, who are really religious, and resolved to follow their principles to their results, Müller, who was a Protestant by birth and education,



joined the only church which had any existence in the Middle Ages.

Considering the great popularity enjoyed at the present day by the study of political economy, and, in a different sphere, by the revival of the hierarchical power, it might be expected that an effort would have been long since made to construct a system of political economy on specifically Catholic principles, and to carry out the design of Ortes and Müller with the aid of the historical and statistical resources of recent science. The combination is not indeed an easy one. The Catholic religion is deeply interwoven with the phenomena of medieval society, whilst political economy, with its peculiar problems and observations, stands manifestly on modern ground. Hence the majority of such attempts exhibit a thoroughly unpractical character, and are either phantom-like or quixotic. But the most recent work of the kind, that of M. Charles Périn, is in no degree open to this objection. The author is unquestionably at home in his subject. Without any new materials of his own collecting, he has not only consulted but mastered the best, and many of the newest, books on the science. He thinks so clearly and writes so well, that many of his chapters might be inserted in any other good system of political economy; and there is no lack of new and important theorems proceeding directly from his principle, which exhibit a real and most satisfactory advance of the science, at least in comparison with the majority of contemporary economists. At the same time, other consequences of his principle are completely erroneous; but he is nevertheless so distinguished by ability, learning, and consistency, as to be a fair exponent of the idea.

Inasmuch as Christianity is the pure and living truth, the attempt to associate a science with it may at any time succeed; and if it fail, the failure must be attributed to the incompleteness of the science or the incompetence of its teachers. But, in so far as Christianity is mingled with ingredients foreign to its nature, with heathen or Jewish reminiscences, with historical or geographical peculiarities, with political motives, or the passing influences of a particular age, the truth viewed through such impure glasses will be distorted or obscured. The Catholic religion has not professed to avoid or to resist influences of this kind; and Catholics, like other men, are not always competent to distinguish the essential and enduring truth from that structure of human ideas and expedients which is so often identified with religion, and has been the occasion of so much

controversy. They cannot discern it without reference to the test of practical life; as, on the other hand, the problems of history and society cannot be understood without the light of religion:—a circle in which, as in all inquiries of this kind, the solution can be obtained only by that patient and conscientious study which gradually assimilates the mind of the student to the nature of his subject.

M. Périn divides his treatise into seven books. The first treats of wealth and material progress in general; the second, of production; the third, of exchange; the fourth, of the limits of industrial development, including the theory of population; the fifth, of the distribution of products in rent, wages, interest on capital, profit, and taxes; the sixth, of prosperity and destitution; the seventh, of the relief of the poor.

In nearly all the great leading questions, such as the productive combination of the forces of nature with labour and capital, the results of division and association of labour, the formation of capital, the theory of money and credit, and the laws which regulate the distribution of income under the influence of free competition, the author's statements agree generally with the views which prevail among economists throughout Europe. He neither allows himself to be led astray in the question of rent by the mistakes of Bastiat or the unhistorical dreams of Carey. He refuses to be called a Malthusian; but he does not believe, with many recent writers, that the increase of population must under all circumstances lead to at least an equal increase of production. In opposition to the Socialists, he dwells earnestly and intelligently on the inseparable necessity of property and freedom. "Oter à l'homme les biens qui sont le fruit de son travail, ou du travail de ses auteurs, c'est atteindre la liberté dans le passé et constituer une sorte d'esclavage rétroactif. Lui ôter la certitude de jouir, par lui ou les siens, des fruits de son travail, c'est détruire la liberté dans l'avenir en la privant de ses conditions naturelles de développement. D'un autre côté, priver un homme de la liberté, c'est-à-dire lui ôter la personnalité en laquelle la liberté se résume, et sur laquelle repose tout droit, c'est du même coup lui ôter la propriété, qui ne peut exister là où il n'y a plus de propriétaire. La liberté et la propriété sont donc deux forces qui s'appellent et se supposent l'une l'autre. Unies dans leur principe, elles le sont aussi dans leur effets sur l'ordre social. C'est par les mêmes mobiles qu'elles sollicitent les volontés, et leur impriment cette activité qui se manifeste dans l'ordre matériel par un mouvement ascendant de richesse" (i. 283).

In the same spirit, he terms free competition an absolute requirement of our time (i. 365). Much as he desires that labour should group and organise itself in corporations, yet he says decidedly that the reign of the guilds, so far as it depended on monopoly and the control of labour, is at an end. He judges in the same manner the patronage and protection of the lower classes by the higher. "La liberté a plus de périls, mais elle a aussi plus de mérites et plus de ressources. Elle est aujourd'hui la seule loi de toutes les relations sociales, et la condition fondamentale du succès de toutes les œuvres sociales" (ii. 372). Whilst thus recognising free competition, he makes nearly the same allowance as M. Chevalier in favour of a transient system of protection for the purpose of educating a nation. In discussing taxation in general, the respective merits of large and small farms, of domestic industry and factories,<sup>2</sup> he represents the received and well-established views of modern science; but he falls short of them a little in his vehement attack on the productive character of what are called personal services. This attack is apparently made with the design of vindicating for offices such as those of the priesthood a position altogether distinct and separate from every other remunerative service. So, too, the assertion that Christian life inclines rather to agriculture than to industry (ii. 551) betrays more false conservatism than sound theory.

The noblest feature of the work consists in the importance to which it every where exalts the moral and intellectual bearings of political economy. According to M. Périn, the material order exists only for the sake of the spiritual; it is moral forces that animate and develop material resources (ii. 555). "Il faudra, pour juger sainement de l'action du renoncement sur l'élément scientifique de la production, remonter jusqu'aux parties les plus élevées de la science humaine" (i. 254). The saying of Leibniz, that we cannot engage seriously in any science except mathematics until we have ascertained how it stands towards God, is evidently present in M. Périn's conviction. In God he finds the reconciliation of the conflicting interests of the individual and of society. "Les rivalités égoïstes que soulèvent les prétentions aux biens temporels ne sont plus possibles quand il s'agit de la possession d'un bien infini qui, en se donnant à tous également, reste toujours lui-même, et de la plénitude duquel tous peuvent jouir sans que la possession d'aucun s'en trouve réduite"<sup>3</sup> (i. 93). Speaking

<sup>2</sup> Here, however, he is guilty of the exaggeration of placing *les ouvriers de l'industrialisme moderne* on a level with the *servitude des travailleurs de la Grèce et de Rome* (i. 321).

<sup>3</sup> This is, strictly speaking, the common character of all ideal goods.



of the position of a father towards his children, he says: "Dieu, en lui conférant la dignité paternelle, lui a donné quelque chose de cette providence bienfaisante par laquelle Il pourvoit à la conservation et au perfectionnement de toutes choses" (i. 268). Wealth is not an end but a means. "C'est une arme dont on ne peut se passer, mais à laquelle il ne faut toucher qu'avec défiance, car souvent elle blesse la main qui s'en sert" (i. 32). The passion for riches not only degrades the moral dignity of life, but is fatal to wealth itself at last (i. 6). The real energy of labour depends entirely on the morality of the workman (i. 200). It will always flourish in proportion to the capacity of association, which depends on two things,—strength of the individual will, and power of submitting to the will of another (ii. 550). The great and undeniable evils which are connected with the present system of open competition proceed not from competition or freedom itself, but from the want of true intelligence, morality, and charity in its exercise (i. 367). M. Périn considers that the arrangement best suited to advance agriculture is a sort of hierarchical gradation of large, small, and intermediate properties; but he hopes for this desirable balance not from laws so much as from custom (i. 403, 410). At the same time, like most reactionary writers, he represents the results of the subdivision of property in France as much worse than they really are. For the abuse of credit in the modern banking system he seeks a remedy, not in the mere improvement of technical forms, but in the awakening of an earnest, patient, and laborious spirit, in the sense of honour, and in simplicity of taste (i. 463). Commercial panics can be successfully avoided only if confidence becomes really general, under the influence of a restored commercial honour (i. 465). The causes and symptoms of destitution reside in the moral rather than in the material world (ii. 85). The chapter on the causes of pauperism concludes with these words: "A toutes ces causes de misère qui tiennent à l'état général de la société et aux dispositions intérieures des âmes, les lois ne peuvent presque rien . . . On ne peut rien attendre ici que des mœurs. Ce n'est que par une réforme de la vie morale dans ses principes mêmes, qu'on pourra arrêter les progrès du mal" (ii. 189). Of charity he says: "Opérer la réforme morale du pauvre, telle est la première condition d'efficacité de la charité" (ii. 436). On the duties of the rich there is the following beautiful passage: "Ces biens, les riches ne les posséderont point pour eux-mêmes; affranchis de la pauvreté obligée, ils resteront soumis à la loi, plus difficile peut-être à pratiquer, de la pauvreté volontaire. Par les devoirs rigoureux que la morale chrétienne leur impose, les

riches rentreront dans la condition générale de la vie pénible et pauvre. La société profitera de leurs propriétés autant qu'eux-mêmes"<sup>4</sup> (ii. 538).

These are opinions which M. Périn desires to put forward as a Catholic, but which Protestants can also hold. They belong to the common ground of Christianity; and even economists who are not Christians, if they are not at the same time positively irreligious, could not overlook the same considerations without exhibiting ignorance of human nature and of the conditions of practical action. The same thing may be said of many historical statements by which M. Périn illustrates the unquestionable truth that in the Middle Ages the Catholic Church, the only religious authority which existed at that time in civilised Europe, rendered important services to almost every department of political economy. Thus the dignity of labour, which was treated by antiquity as the office of slaves,<sup>5</sup> was first proclaimed by the Apostles and Fathers. Later on, the Benedictines presented the most attractive examples of the practice of this precept (i. 234, 337). In the early Middle Ages the growth of capital was greatly promoted by the sagacity and self-denial of the clergy, especially of the monks (i. 272). The statement, "Tout le monde reconnaît aujourd'hui que c'est l'église catholique qui a détruit l'esclavage" (ii. 543), is a hyperbole as it stands, but is true in respect of those times. The religious foundation of most of the medieval associations is well known; but M. Périn ought not to have been unacquainted with the researches by which the origin of the guilds has been traced back to the pagan period of German and Scandinavian history. Commerce,—that is, the division of labour,—was also assisted in its early stages by the unity and the charity of the Church; especially at first by the pilgrimages, afterwards by the fairs and markets, the ecclesiastical protection of the highways, the Truce of God, the missions, and the crusades. Even the discovery of America, which opened out the globe, and widened to the utmost the sphere of commercial operations, is attributed by M. Périn to the inspiration of religion.

Every scientific Protestant yields a ready assent to the truth of these words.<sup>6</sup> It is, however, a great exaggeration

<sup>4</sup> A few lines farther on, the assertion that *la splendeur qu'il prête aux cérémonies du culte* is the principal Christian use of wealth, is an instance in which the ideas of one sphere are transferred to another to which they do not belong.

<sup>5</sup> Though not without some exceptions, as in the best days of Athens. Thueyd. i. 70.

<sup>6</sup> M. Périn himself points this out. But when he cites Hurter, together with Guizot and Macaulay, it is hard to understand how he could forget that the conversion of Hurter deprives his previous testimony of that particular kind of value for which he invokes it.

to assume only religious motives in the crusades and the great maritime discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. "On court aux croisades, sous l'empire d'un enthousiasme de sacrifice et d'amour qui touche au délire, et par les croisades un nouveau monde est ouvert à toutes les expansions de la civilisation chrétienne" (i. 153). We must qualify this extreme statement by the sober statement of Sybel, that greater masses of men were never more miserably commanded or more foolishly sacrificed in an enterprise more incapably designed than in the crusades. No great event in history can be explained by single motives. The crusades were encouraged by the ambition of an almost sovereign aristocracy, and by the commercial spirit of the rising middle class. The conquest of America is characterised by the significant name given by Cortes to the first city which he founded, *La villa rica de la Vera Cruz*. How the love of adventure in a declining chivalry, the pride and cupidity of the new soldiery, the thirst for gold awakened by the rise of the mercantile system, and the desire of conquest that belonged to the absolute monarchy, mingled in the hearts of the *conquistadores* with zeal for the conversion of the heathen, may be seen on every page of their history, and most clearly in the famous address of Pizarro's chaplain to the Inca Atahualpa. The heroic adventures of the Portuguese are strongly tinged with piracy: they sought by captivity and torture to discover hidden treasures, which grave writers afterwards represented as the reward for sufferings endured in the service of God. Even Columbus, in the letter which appeared at Rome in 1494, ends by describing the capture of slaves as one of the chief advantages of the discovery of a new world.

Many statements in which M. Périn is perfectly right are true in a more comprehensive sense than as applied to Catholicism or to Christianity. It has not escaped him, for instance, that in Greece the early ages have a more deeply religious character, and are more to his taste, than the later (i. 117). Of nearly all nations it may be said, that the first seeds of civilisation were sown by priests; and the political authority of the priesthood, which we find in the middle age of almost every people, is a consequence of it. That power continues as long as superior knowledge is confined to the clergy, or is principally in their hands; and this explains, what all experience shows, that the real priestly aristocracy promotes the rise of national cultivation, but carries it only to a certain point, after which it endeavours to arrest further progress. This universal rule has not been clear to the mind of our author. He uses terms of vague generality in



celebrating the aid which orthodoxy affords to science. "Que faut-il à l'esprit humain pour s'avancer en toute sécurité au milieu de cet océan de faits divers, compliqués et obscurs, qui constituent le domaine des sciences naturelles? Il lui faut, avant tout des données générales et certaines, des principes sur lesquels il n'ait point à s'arrêter, de façon qu'il puisse, dégagé de toute préoccupation au sujet de l'ordre supérieur et général des choses, porter toutes ses forces vers l'observation et la coordination des faits particuliers" (i. 256). In claiming for orthodoxy the merit of having assisted the progress of modern science, he fails to distinguish between the true knowledge of revelation, which always assisted, and the so-called orthodoxy, which often retarded it.

M. Périn quotes nearly as many historians as economists; and the question arises how far he is a historian to whom we may apply the words of Cervantes, *La historia es la madre de la verdad*. It is easiest to distinguish the true from the pseudo-historic method at those points where the facts of history begin to contradict the personal inclinations of the writer. There are two preliminary questions which as a historian M. Périn was bound to answer, and which he has entirely overlooked. One is, how far did outward tutelage of the nations by the Church necessarily decline in proportion as the division of labour penetrated to intellectual pursuits, and mankind advanced to maturity? The other is, how far did the measures actually adopted by the Church realise their ideal purpose? M. Périn says of the Church: "En elle réside l'autorité la plus haute et la plus religieusement écoutée, puisque c'est l'autorité même de Dieu. Mais cette autorité s'adresse à la conviction de ceux à qui elle donne la loi, et elle tire sa force de la liberté même" (ii. 570). This conveys no solution to those to whom these questions have ever occurred as questions. M. Périn draws no distinction between the social action of the Church in the Middle Ages and in later times. He says, "C'est par l'église que s'est accompli tout le progrès de la civilisation moderne" (i. 145). She promoted freedom not only in the Middle Ages, but in all ages alike. "Elle a toujours su dispenser aux peuples la liberté, dans la mesure de ce que leurs mœurs pouvaient en porter" (ii. 5). We may gather his notion of freedom from his statement, that celibacy is a liberty, and not a restraint (i. 647). Catholic workmen, he says, are *cæteris paribus* superior to Protestant (i. 201); and he supports this view by the accidental circumstance, that in the well-known work of Leplay certain Catholic families are described more favour-

ably than their Protestant neighbours (ii. 284). No government, he tells us, encourages marriage so much as the Roman (i. 645); and the best models of trade-associations are to be found in modern Rome (ii. 344). He thinks the Catholic schools are the best (i. 261); and he is an ardent admirer of education by religious orders (ii. 69), which he terms the highest power of the Christian spirit (i. 237).

Of Protestantism he speaks in a very partial tone. When he accuses the Reformation of harshness towards the poor, he shows that he is acquainted with that chronic destitution which proceeded in the sixteenth century from causes entirely independent of religion, but not with the measures taken in the period of the Reformation for its relief. He accounts for the moral and material prosperity of certain Protestant countries by saying, "*En sorte qu'au sein de l'hérésie elles ont conservé, dans leur vie politique et industrielle, beaucoup du caractère et des habitudes des époques catholiques*" (i. 383). So completely does he ignore the existence of Christianity beyond the pale of the Catholic Church, that he regards Protestant countries as Christian only so far as they coincide with Catholicism, and he accordingly uses the words "Catholic morality" in cases where he really means only "Christian morality."

We may always infer the particular character of a consistent man from the period of history which he has most at heart. M. Périn's ideal is the thirteenth century. "*Par la prédication de la croisade, l'esprit de Dieu souffle sur la société et lui donne un accroissement de vie morale qui aura ses conséquences naturelles dans la vie matérielle*" (i. 486). The thirteenth century is emphatically the classic age of labour (i. 252). Our author adopts the opinion, that in those days the population of France was at least as dense as it is at present, but he cites as if it were an authentic statistical report the boastful amplifications of Joinville: "*Le royaume se multiplie tellement par la bonne droiture, que le domaine, censive, rente et revenu du roi croissait tous les ans de moitié*" (i. 630). He goes on to say, that there is a perpetual succession of ebb and flood in history; that each great spiritual revival of the Church leads to greater material comfort; that this again provokes sensuality and presumption, and a materialism which would terminate in its own destruction if the Church did not always come to the rescue at the moment of the greatest need. Thus, he thinks the golden age of the Church and of France followed the Albigenian war, and the Reformation called forth the Jesuits and the Council of Trent, which prepared the way for the seventeenth century,

“qui, par les grandeurs de la France catholique, nous console des erreurs et des crimes de la réforme” (ii. 562). He expects something similar for our time. “Des seules doctrines de l’église catholique, franchement acceptées et résolument pratiquées dans toute leur rigueur, peuvent sortir cette restauration sociale, et ces splendeurs nouvelles de la civilisation auxquelles aspire notre siècle” (i. 175).

It is interesting to trace to their source the errors in M. Périn's system. The idea which was often expressed in the eighteenth century, that human society, and especially political economy, can be reduced entirely to the effects of selfishness, has long been abandoned by the better class of economists. This extreme, a very natural reaction against the theological exaggerations of earlier writers, was opposed chiefly by English philosophers, who could not fail to recognise the influence of public spirit in the political progress of their own country. Hume was of opinion, that interest in others is in most men stronger than self-interest. Hutcheson speaks of an original desire of the happiness of others. Man, he maintains, is not complete by himself; he belongs partly to his own person, partly to his family, to his country, and even to mankind. According to Ferguson, the sense of union is often most powerful where least advantage is to be derived from association; and it is weaker, for instance, in highly cultivated commercial communities. Adam Smith, it is well known, refers every thing to self-interest, in his *Wealth of Nations*, just as exclusively as he does to sympathy in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*; and Mr. Buckle is probably right in conjecturing that he was conscious that the two partial truths completed each other. More recently, Hermann has termed self-interest—which is composed of the love of gain and the love of saving—and public spirit the two motives of economic life; and he bases the theoretical part of political economy on self-interest, and the practical policy on the principle of public spirit. Bazard understood nearly the same by the contrast of *antagonisme* and *association*, and Chevalier by that of *liberté* and *centralisation*. Roscher, in the first edition of his *Nationalökonomie* (1854), pointed out that self-interest (which is distinct from selfishness, by which we understand self-interest degraded by sin) and public spirit are neither coördinate nor exhaustive contrasts. Some self-interest lurks in all forms of public spirit. The patriot loves his country, the father his family, not because it is the best, but because it is his own. The only really fundamental contrast is that of self-interest and conscience. These two agents exist as a germ, or as a relic, in



every human breast, and ought to correspond like the body and the soul. Conscience holds self-interest in check, prevents it from degenerating into selfishness, and elevates it into the human intelligent instrument for the attainment of the eternal ideal objects of conscience. As in the system of the universe the opposite tendencies of centrifugal and centripetal force effect the harmony of the spheres, so in human society conscience and self-interest combined produce public spirit. On this public spirit, as the sense of social duty, as patriotism, or as charity, the life of the family, the commune, the nation, and the human race, respectively rest. Through its influence alone does conscience become really practical, religion active and moral, and self-interest really safe and permanently useful.

M. Périn places at the summit of his system the principle of self-sacrifice, *le renoncement à soi-même, à sa propre vie*; and he supports it by the well-known passages of the New Testament, Mark viii. 34; Luke ii. 23, xiv. 26, &c. He treats the whole science in such a way as to bring out in every problem the contrast between the Christian solution by sacrifice, and the heathen solution, which is by sensuality and vain-glory (i. 167). In a merely logical formal point of view, it appears questionable at first sight to establish a science on a purely negative principle. The notion of abstinence is not coincident with that of conscience, which is a most positive thing, being the voice of God within us. That voice doubtless often requires the sacrifice of acts and enjoyments which would be physically possible; but the moral worth of the sacrifice does not necessarily consist in its being a sacrifice and a trouble,—for a man of a more highly disciplined morality may make it more easily than another; but it depends on the ungodly, and therefore unnatural and pernicious, character of the thing renounced. To abstain from something at once divine, suitable, and really salutary, would be not virtue, but folly and sin. On the other hand, morality does not consist in omission only. Our author appears sometimes conscious of this inadequacy in his principle, and he accordingly gives to the term *renoncement* an arbitrary extension: “Ce n’est qu’à la condition de se vaincre, de surmonter l’aversion naturelle qu’il a pour la peine, que l’homme applique son esprit à la science. Tout progrès scientifique est donc subordonné à un renoncement de la volonté, semblable à celui qu’exige le travail producteur de la richesse” (i. 255). The negative character of the principle becomes apparent when the author is speaking of the Benedictines, who were not contented with the sacrifices of

ordinary labour. "Les contrées les plus sauvages et les plus désolées, les territoires les plus ingrats et les plus malsains, auront toutes leurs préférences" (i. 151); as if the sweating brow and the horny hand, the cost of labour, were themselves its object. Thus he tells us (i. 47), that the sources of health for individuals as well as for societies are *s'abstenir* and *s'endurcir*, whereas every body knows that fasting and privation, without copious and nutritious food, would soon be fatal. He always insists on the contempt of wealth as a moral principle, and the chief manifestation of his principle of *renoncement*. He evidently confounds the formula of a rhetorical protest against undue attachment to riches with a scientific principle. He says himself that wealth must be regarded not as an end but as a means. It is ethically valuable and really useful to man only on the assumption of good objects to be attained by it. If two men pursue the same ends, *ceteris paribus*, the richest must do most good. Although M. Périn does not despise wealth when it is rightly employed, as in the decoration of churches, yet his principle of renunciation leads him into a panegyric on poverty, the opposite extreme (i. 84). He goes so far as to say of the poor, that they enjoy, "en ce qui touche les fins véritables de la vie, une position supérieure à celle du riche" (ii. 541), and he speaks of poverty as an actual blessing (ii. 420); as though it were the will of God that all men should be poor, or should voluntarily become poor. Thus he falls into the same error as the lovers of riches, at the opposite extreme, in making that which is morally indifferent the chief element in our moral existence. Those who denounce riches with their lips often cling to them in their hearts; and communism, with all its declamation against the tyranny of capital, is the worst worshipper of mammon. To say that beggars possess an actual mission to humble the pride of men, and impress on their minds the needfulness of poverty (ii. 511), is a singular inversion of the saying of Count Rumford, that the art of begging is nearly related to the art of stealing. M. Périn's exaggerations may be explained partly by a reminiscence of the mendicant orders, in which he confounds voluntary and culpable destitution, and partly by the fact that in all medieval societies, which have such attractions for him, beggars occupy a sort of recognised position, as messengers, fortune-tellers, mountebanks, and representatives of the minstrelsy and superstitions of the people. All who have any practical acquaintance with the relief of the poor, know how greatly those cases preponderate in which poverty may be traced to moral delin-

quency.<sup>7</sup> There is a fearful discrepancy between fact and ideal in the words, "Dans les sociétés chrétiennes, entre le riche et le pauvre, le respect, l'amour et la confiance sont réciproques" (ii. 508).

All practical economy depends on the harmonious union of self-interest and conscience. M. Périn, who considers the latter exclusively as *renoncement*, and therefore sees morality, not in the conscientious guidance, but in the suppression of self-interest, naturally supplies a very partial and unsatisfactory explanation of many important and common phenomena. Speaking of the creation of capital, he says that saving is not natural to man, and that Mr. Senior is wrong in deriving it from the desire of future gain. He explains it, on the contrary, by that habit of abstinence which Christianity confers on men (i. 266). In like manner, he supports and justifies the rights of property by the mission of the owner to do good (ii. 559). But the height of exaggeration is reached when he protests against the confounding of his principle of *renoncement* with what is commonly understood as self-control (i. 65). He even denounces the words *self-reliance* and *self-dependence* as deceptive names for a proud and jealous egotism, which three centuries of Protestantism and one of industrialism have substituted for the spirit of self-sacrifice (ii. 152). Thus, the principle of a profane science, which is coextensive with civilisation, and not the privilege of Christian societies, is borrowed from the notion of mortification, which has been so often practised by even pagan priesthoods. The general and ultimate tendency of such a renunciation of self is a more or less conscious pantheistic absorption of the individual in the Deity, instead of the Christian duty of developing to the utmost the true freedom and eternal welfare of the person. True independence, held by a conscientious self-control in the right position towards God and man, is assuredly a good thing, towards which men ought to be brought as much as possible. But M. Périn's view inclines, on the contrary, towards a sentimental self-deception, such as betrays itself in the words, "l'amour de la pauvreté conduit à l'amour du pauvre" (i. 86), where the love of a disagreeable abstraction, instead of the love of God, is made the basis of one of the chief elements of charity. Again: "La charité a sa source et sa condition la plus générale dans une force morale assez puissante sur la vo-

<sup>7</sup> At Hamburg, the philanthropist Baron Voght found, that out of 100 paupers, 25 had become destitute by no fault of their own; 18, unquestionably by their own fault; whilst the remainder were doubtful. In 1847, 733 persons were relieved at Osnabrugh, of which number 555 owed their ruin to themselves, and 56 per cent to drunkenness.



lonté pour déterminer l'homme à préférer le bien d'autrui à son propre bien" (ii. 435). But society is founded on the equipoise of the two motives; and Christ tells us to love our neighbour as ourselves, not more than ourselves.

The light and shade in M. Périn's work appear most distinctly in the characteristic passages in which he discusses the theory and policy of the increase of population. He proceeds from the idea that the productiveness of labour is checked by the resistance of the outer world. The doctrine that an increasing density of population implies an increasing facility of production is, he says, the necessary consequence of a philosophy which places the end of man in the unlimited multiplication of his enjoyments. In truth, political economy and Christianity agree in teaching that mankind may indeed increase up to an indefinite limit, but always with pain and suffering. The increase of population is at once a symptom and a cause of progress and of power. In the normal condition of society, the number of men and the power of labour must always grow in equal measure. Societies animated by the spirit of Christian renunciation actually accomplish this. While they continue subject to the doom of labour, which prevails since the Fall, the very necessity of the effort is the cause of the greatest progress. The periods of crisis which a temporary excess of population involves are surmounted by the moral force of Christian societies. Paganism is unable to achieve the same result. The mixture of pride and sensuality which governed the ancient world can prevent the excess of population over the means of subsistence only by those immoral expedients which hasten the destruction of nations. M. Périn illustrates this from the works of Plato and Aristotle, and by the notorious decrease of the population during the decline of Greece and Rome. The same immoral and ruinous consequences must, he argues, ensue from the sensualism of the present day. In this place he speaks of Malthus with great injustice. He not only represents him as a decided sensualist and utilitarian (i. 578), but misinterprets his profoundly true remark, that there are other vices besides unchastity, and that extreme poverty presents greater dangers than celibacy,<sup>8</sup> as if Malthus esteemed poverty the worst of vices (i. 582). True self-restraint being, in M. Périn's opinion, incompatible with self-interest, a society governed by the principles of Malthus would gradually perish through luxury, license, and egotism.

M. Périn is right in attacking the satisfaction with which Mr. J. S. Mill contemplates a condition of stationary pro-

<sup>8</sup> Nor, we may add, is misery a safeguard of purity.

sperity ; for, as mankind is actually constituted, a standstill is always the commencement of decline. “ Il faut qu’elles avancent, sinon elles tombent dans un marasme auquel, tôt ou tard, elles succombent ” (i. 583). “ Les sociétés antiques ont beau vouloir s’arrêter à l’état stationnaire et s’y faire une destinée commode ; tous leurs efforts n’ont qu’un seul résultat : tourner contre elles cette loi du progrès qu’elles rejettent, parcequ’elles redoutent la peine qui en est une inséparable condition, et les précipiter dans un progrès d’abaissement et d’appauvrissement continu, dont le dernier terme sera le complet anéantissement de ces civilisations si fières d’elles-mêmes ” (i. 621). Nothing, however, can justify a writer in accusing men like Dunoyer of leading us back “ aux plus infâmes pratiques du paganisme ” (i. 572, 588), because they recal the duty of not having a family which we cannot support. Extremes meet ; and M. Périn at this point ought to have taken warning from his agreement with Proudhon, to whom he refers. When he assumes in all relative over-population an impulse to the progress of industry, he affords an instance of a very common confusion of the indefinite with the infinite. Whatever we may hold concerning mankind generally, the particular nations are certainly not capable of unlimited development. Political and social institutions of former times have sometimes been maintained by the interest of powerful classes, when changes were required in order to accommodate a growing population ; and the refusal of timely reforms, for which alternate stagnation and explosion form no substitute, has brought on many a nation a sickness from which there was no recovery. Where over-population fails to act as an incitement to progress, it must inevitably depress and demoralise.—M. Périn believes that the Catholic Church alone possesses the spurs and the reins required for a flourishing growth of population. She preaches chastity in married life, which is either perfectly continent or unrestrictedly fruitful ; she recommends celibacy, labour, and economy ; and thus she at the same time urges the utmost increase of numbers, and provides food for them, and prevents the excess of the first over the second. Unfortunately, the effect of his argument on Protestant readers is destroyed by the contrast between his ideal and the reality in the classic instance of ecclesiastical government, the Roman Campagna.

## SCIENTIFIC ASPECTS OF THE EXHIBITION OF 1862.

NATIONAL and international industrial exhibitions are the expressions of some marked characteristics of the intellectual tendencies of the present times, and therefore have become developed into institutions the periodic advent of which may henceforth be expected with certainty. They occupy a considerable share of public attention, influence the social habits and movements of the people deeply, and are philosophically as well as industrially important. For these, and many other reasons, we cannot allow the recollection of the last one to pass away without saying a few words, if not upon itself or its contents, at least upon some points which arise out of the consideration of it.

The numerous aspects under which the subject of exhibitions may be considered crowd embarrassingly before the mind. Fortunately, the nature of this Review, as well as the limited space which could be given to a single subject, diminish considerably that embarrassment. We have to deal rather with generalities, leaving to other journals the special task of discussing the construction of the building, and the detailed study of its contents. Our field, though thus limited, is still wide enough, and offers matter not merely for an article, but for many volumes.

A survey, however general, of the Exhibition must have made upon every one who at all reflected upon the subject the impression that industry, which hitherto belonged exclusively to craftsmen whose empiric knowledge was a tradition acquired by a laborious apprenticeship, and to which some slight addition was made from time to time, had been invaded by physical science, and was fast becoming a strictly intellectual pursuit. Whence and how has this change come about, and whither does it lead? or, in other words, what are the relations, past, present, and future, between industry and physical science? Here is a topic within our scope, and that one which, to our thinking, is worthiest of serious consideration of all those which the Exhibition could suggest. It is no doubt a vast and difficult subject, and one which it must be hazardous to attempt to treat of in a few pages. We propose, however, only to delineate the outlines of the solution of the problem. Like all who treat a subject discussed before by others, we believe we have something new, however little, to say upon it. It may be that we shall only give the kaleidoscope a turn; but even old ideas in new as-



sociations and a new dress will not, we trust, be wholly un-serviceable.

Into the Exhibition building were gathered, from many regions, their raw materials,—mineral, vegetable, and animal; not only those which have already found their appropriate use, but likewise those which yet await a purpose. There, too, were to be found the products of the industry of each nation, affording a certain measure of the skill and ingenuity which they applied to convert their natural products to use. We had the whole history of human industry unfolded before us. And what striking contrasts it presented! Here, it was to be seen in its embryonic state, where the natural products (and of these only a few, and scarcely modified in form or in nature) were almost directly applied to use for food, clothing, or weapons: there, in its most developed state, where the natural products were most modified; where almost every mineral, vegetable, and animal, had contributed something; and where man, not satisfied with the raw materials spontaneously offered to him, even attempted to produce new ones of his own.

These industrial tableaux had a geographical as well as a historical meaning, and from this point of view suggested many thoughts. First, how small a portion of the world has reached a high industrial development; how large a portion is still little beyond its embryonic condition, or else crystallised into a state of hopeless industrial immobility. Again, it is curious to see how Europe still continues to be the seat of the highest development, and now, as in ancient times, levies tribute of raw produce upon the rest of the world. As in former times she borrowed from the Nile valley and the fruitful plains of Mesopotamia the cereal grasses; from Persia, the walnut and the peach; from Armenia, the apricot; from Pontus, the cherry; from Asia Minor, the chestnut and the vine; from Syria, the fig, the olive, and the mulberry; from Media, the lemon; besides many other plants from these and other regions, which she acclimatised, and which have deeply modified the food, the dress, and the occupations of the people;—so now, not content with acclimatising plants and animals from every region of the earth, she occupies great tracts in every continent in producing articles of food, drink, narcotics, textile and dyeing matters, which she could not grow upon her own soil.

What a revolution has been produced in the food, dress, and domestic life of Europe since the rise of the Roman empire; first, by the more general cultivation of cereal grasses, culinary vegetables, and the vine; and later, by the introduction

of sugar, hot drinks, the potato, tobacco, cotton, and silk. The millions of men now occupied in the manufactures of cotton, silk, paper, and products new to Europe, and even to industry,—such as caoutchouc, gutta-percha, alpacca,—the imports of tea, coffee, sugar, and other tropical produce, are the least measure of the change. How insignificant after all did the products of the East, from which a lady could supply her wants, seem when contrasted with the resources of European industry! The latter were in fact the realisation of the Oriental poet's fairy creations. Just as we rarely appreciate the changes produced by the slow action of common physical causes upon the surface of the earth, but are struck with the magnitude of the effects suddenly produced by a great flood or earthquake, so we are often led to attribute much greater and more durable effects to conquerors and noisy revolutions than to the slow action of thought. Doubtless there is more epic grandeur about the figures of Alexander or Charlemagne, but it may be questioned whether Columbus's discovery of the New World, and James Watt's discovery of the mode of producing continuous motion by the expansion and condensation of steam, do not far exceed in magnitude and permanence the effects of all the actions of those great heroes.

Historians have generally attributed too little importance to the action of scientific thought upon human history, even when they have not wholly ignored it. They have too often given only the floods and the earthquakes. Now this very subject of the causes of the position of Europe in the development of material civilisation constitutes the true basis of all European history. To sketch all the causes—religious, cosmical, physiological, and industrial—which have made it the centre of intellectual activity, would form the subject of a great work. Well done, such a work would extirpate many of the flippant theories which, like the seeds of parasitical plants, float about until they meet with a congenial soil.

It is to the action of this scientific thought that the contrast between the Oriental and European products of which we have just spoken is especially due. Among the products of India, and even of many nations less industrially advanced, were to be found objects not only rivalling but often excelling in beauty of form or colour, and delicacy of execution, the corresponding European ones. But those forms were more or less stereotyped; the articles themselves were not numerous; while, from the enormous labour necessarily bestowed upon them, they could only be used by a very limited number of the wealthy. The filigree was made with the primitive blow-

pipe figured upon the Egyptian monuments; the fine steel weapons and enamelled metals, by the simplest and most primitive furnaces; the fine shawls and other tissues, by a loom, which was fixed perhaps under a tree, and a drawing of which might serve as an illustration of the original instrument of the inventor of weaving. Every thing depends upon the skill of the operator. What the Indian workman does by skill of hand, it is the aim of the European to do by machinery. When the one has acquired all this skill, he reproduces what his master taught him; and though he may desire to excel him in the results, he makes no attempt to alter the means by which he produces them. The European, on the contrary, endeavours to modify every thing—material, form, processes, and tools. He is not satisfied with supplying wants; he creates them, that he may supply them. Hence that marvellous variety in modern products, which no multiplication of raw materials seems to satisfy. The characteristic of the one is immobility; of the other, motion. The interval which separates them appears trifling—merely the altering of a few machines; in reality it is immense. There is a gulf between them which it is possible indeed for a nation to pass at a bound, but which usually occupies centuries. What is the difference between them? Merely the recognition of the true law of physical progress, the study of physical science.

But physical science is itself but a development of industry; it has sprung from the empiric experience of the various crafts. Why, then, has it not arisen among the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Indians, whose industry is in many respects considerably advanced? This is owing to many causes; but one, and that perhaps the most important, alone concerns us just now. The sporadic existence of skilled artisans attached to courts or princes cannot develop science. There must be great centres of population and of trade, so that improvement may be stimulated by competition. There must be free intercourse and unrestricted commerce with other nations, so that diversity of products, of manners, and of ideas, may compel the mind to compare and enquire into the causes of that diversity. But all these, though they may make industry reach a certain degree of advancement, cannot of themselves engender science. There must, in addition, be complete physical and intellectual freedom. Perhaps pure despotism is not, however, the greatest barrier to the free development of the speculative powers of the mind, but rather routine and immobility in political institutions; these produce a complete lethargy, even where the government is paternal. Thus it was that the institution of caste withered the germs of a high philosophy



which are apparent in the early Sanskrit literature. So it is still in China, where a great industrial development has not produced a corresponding intellectual one; although that pancea for all administrative incapacity, competitive examination, has existed there for centuries. It is true not merely of the infancy of science generally, but also of the intellectual development of each nation at every stage of its history, that when, from any cause, the habits and ideas of a people get into a settled state of routine, science languishes; no amount of royal or aristocratic encouragement can make it infuse itself into the life of a people; and if it exists at all, it must be as an exotic which, though it may bloom luxuriantly for a time, cannot produce seed.

But liberty alone cannot engender science or develop it; it may be just as much an exotic in a free state without industry as in an industrious one without liberty. Learned academies may be created and supported by the popular will, but unless invigorated by the activity of flourishing industry, they will contribute nothing to the common stock of knowledge. Whenever industry or liberty decay in a country, traditional learning may continue to linger in its academies, but it will ultimately disappear, and they will become unable even to reflect the light received from without. Those alone who have attempted to pursue science in the bye-ways of the world can feel the difference between working there, and working where the whole atmosphere is full of intellectual life, and where industry excites the faculties even though its hum only reach the ear. It is an instinct of this difference, no doubt, which produces that centripetal tendency of intellect towards the centres of human activity, which in ancient times drew men to Athens and Rome, as in modern times to Paris, London, and other centres of civilisation.

This dependence of intellectual development upon that of industry and of liberty is fully established by history. We can only give a few of the great epochs in outline. Thus the glorious one from the rise of Greek philosophy to Aristotle is not a mere accident of happy circumstances. Greek science, literature, and art, were accompanied by an industrial skill of the highest kind. Not merely had Greece itself great trade and manufactures, but it was the centre upon which converged all the industrial traditions of human arts and material civilisation from their triple cradle. And it was the first industrial nation, or assemblage of nations, in which political life was freely developed.

Long before the time of Moses there existed a high degree of civilisation in the valley of the Nile. At this early period

arose those wonderful monuments the Pyramids, and many of the obelisks, temples, and palaces which even now excite our wonder, and attest the splendour, power, and mechanical skill of the people who erected them, and whose empire, under the twelfth dynasty of its kings, extended to the north-east as far as Sinai, and towards the south to Nubia. The soil of Egypt is still covered with the grand monuments of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, before and during the time of Moses; and the walls of Karnak, as Mr. Birch has shown, tell us of the conquests of one of its kings, Thothmes III. Syria, Mesopotamia, including Assur and Nineveh, and Arabia, the remote regions of Ethiopia, Damascus, and numerous other cities, figure among his conquests, or paid him tribute.

The Egyptians were a literary people; for, besides the prodigious number of inscriptions, we possess papyri consisting of calendars, treatises on medicine, legends, a historical poem, and books on moral precepts, like that presented not long since to the Imperial Library at Paris, which was written a thousand years before Solomon.

At this early period they knew most of our common metals; they dyed with indigo and madder, and knew the use of mordants, and consequently were acquainted with several salts. The colours of their dyed fabrics were varied and beautiful. Colourless glass was made at Thebes and Memphis long before the period of its reputed discovery at Sidon. They also knew how to stain it of various colours, and to imitate gems. They covered clay with enamel, thus anticipating the Fayence of Italy. The variety, beauty, and purity of their pigments still astonish us as we find them upon their mummy cases and other objects. The inside of their rooms was coated with a kind of stucco similar to that now in use; and they used wood-ashes in bleaching linen. All these things show that a considerable amount of empirical chemistry was possessed by this remarkable people, at a period which carries us back to the dawn of history. So likewise we might show that they were acquainted with much that grew later on into the sciences of geometry, mechanics, astronomy, and others.

The conquests of the Egyptian kings carried the arts of Egypt into Asia; and already, at an epoch which carries us back perhaps four thousand years, we find a great empire extending its power from the Indus to the Levant, from the shores of the Indian Ocean to the Black Sea, and exhibiting a degree of civilisation which could only be the product of long growth. Through the valley plains of Mesopotamia went the ancient route of commerce, by which the products of

the far East, India and China,—the spices, ebony, ivory, gold, pearls, gems, cotton, and silk,—reached the West. In this once fertile valley lay numerous cities, among them great ones like Nineveh, which equalled the greatest of modern cities in extent, and surpassed them in splendour. In these cities, as well as especially along the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, great palaces were built upon huge artificial terraced mounds, and surrounded by immense gardens. The buildings were artistically decorated; marble and alabaster stairs, and encrusted walls covered with inscriptions and bas-reliefs, full and pointed arches, showed the skill of their artists and workers in stone. Potters made vessels of various sizes and shapes, and coated them with a thin glaze, which was sometimes coloured of various hues. Even bricks were glazed and coloured, and had inscriptions incised upon them. The Assyrians incised the bulletins announcing the king's victories, the annals of his reign, the accounts of the various public works erected or restored by him, sales of land and other legal deeds, upon prisms of soft clay; the witnesses to the legal deeds affixed their seals to them; and afterwards they were carefully baked, and sometimes covered with a thin varnish of glass. Their various smiths were skilled in all kinds of metal-works; goldsmiths, lapidaries, and jewellers worked in marble, agate, cornelian, and other materials, with a skill rivalling that of our modern artists. And finally, from the workshops of the dyer and weaver came rich carpets, hangings, and garments. All these imply considerable knowledge of materials and processes, and a more minute study would show many of them to be remarkable examples of empiric chemistry.

Favourably placed with regard to the double cradle of human arts, that remarkable people the Phœnicians appear to have benefited by the civilisation of both. Among them we find the first evidence of an extensive naval commerce, which extended from the Persian Gulf to the shores perhaps of the Baltic and the West Coast of Africa. Tyrian pennants fluttered in the harbours of Britain and Ireland, and on the waves of the Indian Ocean. Such an extensive commerce could only exist in connection with an equally extensive manufacturing industry. And the accounts which have come down to us of the wares which were brought to the markets of the principal cities of Phœnicia, Sidon, and Tyre, even when they had already begun to decay, show that this was so. The bloom of Phœnician industry was in the time of King Solomon, who employed the skilled workmen of Phœnicia in building the Temple of Jerusalem.



Phœnician commerce spread the arts and civilisation of Egypt along the shores of the Mediterranean, and especially the knowledge of that greatest of all civilising agents, the phonetic alphabet, which, as M. de Rougé has proved, the Phœnicians borrowed entirely from the ancient cursive alphabet of the Egyptians, long before the time of Moses.

About the seventh century before the Christian era, and therefore immediately subsequent to the greatest periods of Assyrian power and Phœnician opulence, and while Egypt was still the seat of arts, and in the enjoyment of a comparatively unbroken tradition of all its empiric knowledge, a glorious civilisation was budding into existence in Greece, and along the Asiatic coast of the Ægean Sea. Its geographical position enabled it to take advantage of all the material civilisation which had been accumulating during long periods of time, developed first in Egypt, and then in Assyria and Phœnicia. We have many proofs of the deep obligations of Greek civilisation to the countries just mentioned. In the first place, there is the tradition respecting the Greek alphabet having been brought by Cadmus from Phœnicia. Then the existence of columns with deep flutings, a simple base, square capital, and entablature cut into true triglyphs, among the tombs of Beni Hassan,—which belong to the twelfth dynasty of Egyptian kings, and date therefore from a period antecedent perhaps to the advent of the Hellenic race itself into Europe, but which are, nevertheless, strikingly like the columns of the old Doric temples,—proves that Egyptian civilisation must have been universally diffused over the countries bordering the Levant before the rise of Greece. And if we did not otherwise know the influence of Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian civilisation upon the Asiatic Greeks, the occurrence of the first model of the Ionic volute upon Assyrian bas-reliefs would show that Greece was equally indebted to Asia.

Greece reached the height of its power and glory in the age of Pericles. Then, and for two centuries later, numerous temples, gymnasia, prytanea, academies, and other public buildings were erected in the Greek cities, such as Athens and Corinth, which were filled with the noblest productions of art. A high development of art necessarily implies great skill in handicraft; and among the Greeks we recognise most of our modern trades. The artisan class was chiefly, it is true, composed of bondsmen; but in Athens, free citizens, who might aspire to the highest offices in the state, worked at various trades. Rich citizens also conducted industrial enterprises; and even Pericles and Alcibiades erected and worked factories. The enormous extent of the trade of Attica alone at this period

may be judged by the sums which Pericles is known to have spent in the erection of public works.

That the materials of many of the physical sciences, such as geometry, astronomy, chemistry, and medicine, had accumulated in Egypt, and no doubt afterwards in Assyria, is certain. The traditions of the Greeks, which sent their earliest philosophers to Egypt as to the mystic fountain of all knowledge, of which so many traces are to be found in Herodotus, but which are older than his time,—for even in the *Odyssey* we find allusion to the skill of the Egyptians in medicine among other things,—appear to imply that something more than the materials existed there before the rise of Greek philosophy. But it is doubtful whether any thing strictly deserving the name of science ever evolved itself among the Egyptians or Assyrians. The moment liberty grew up in the wealthy commercial cities along the coast which formed a kind of fringe to the successive empires that arose in the Euphrates valley, the true foundation of science was laid. It is a striking example of the dependence of science upon industry and freedom,—and especially of the fact that all great developments of philosophy have been preceded and accompanied by corresponding developments of trade and commerce,—that Ionia, which may be said to have formed part of the Mesopotamian empire, and which was then much more wealthy and civilised than European Greece, should be the first cradle of philosophy, as it undoubtedly was of political liberty. When Thales asked himself:—How and why was all that exists produced? whence comes matter, and whither does it go? he laid the foundation of the spirit of free inquiry into the laws of the universe, the tradition of which, though partially interrupted by the destruction of the Roman empire, has never been lost.

However fanciful the first speculations regarding the causes of natural phenomena may have been, they must have been inductions, that is, they must have been attempts to explain the phenomena suggested by the phenomena themselves. It is no doubt true that every nation, in the early stages of its civilisation, attributes to direct and arbitrary supernatural influences all striking natural phenomena, and the invention of all useful arts,—a proceeding which is essentially deductive. But this is not the primary result of the judgment, which in all first attempts to pass from effects to causes follows a strictly inductive process, subsequently displaced by a deductive hypothesis which is more satisfactory to the mind for the moment, as it apparently accounts for every thing. Take for example the American Indian, who adopts without examination the tradition that the thunder, the aurora

borealis, the vegetation of seeds, the occurrence of certain rocks, and the outline of others, are the work of supernatural beings, because his habits of life do not compel him to enter upon a more minute investigation of the causes. But who is a more accurate observer of the habits of animals, the form of footprints, the influence of the sun upon the direction of the largest branches, upon the character of the bark on different sides of the trunk, and upon the disposition of the greenest and most luxuriant foliage? His wants compel him to study these matters very closely, and accordingly he follows the true process of the judgment, and frames a hypothesis by strict induction from the facts.

When the Indian sees footprints in the forest, he closely examines them to see whether they have the outlines of human feet, and if so, whether they be those of a youth, of an adult, of a warrior, of a woman, of a white or of a red man; and on the results of this examination, and other appearances around, he comes to a conclusion as to the character and objects of the person who has left the footprints. This would clearly be an induction from the particular to the general. The Indian, if the matter at all concerned him, would not let it rest here; he would predict certain motives and actions of the person whose footprints he had tracked. In coming to this conclusion, he would reason from the general to the particular, or deductively. By following up the trail, he would verify, or otherwise test, his hypothesis. The Indian trail-hunt is an example of the successive steps of the process by which the judgment, whenever it follows its own proper laws, forms its decision relative to all physical phenomena. When it departs from this method, and adopts hypotheses not founded upon previous inductions, it does so from a desire to anticipate the slow results of investigation without the labour.

In the investigation of natural phenomena, whether spontaneously offered to us by nature or artificially exhibited to us by experimentation, and of the causes of those phenomena, the scientific inquirer has no other method by which positive results can be obtained than the one just pointed out, that is than the natural process of the judgment itself. Our further argument requires that the successive steps of the method should be set out in a little more detail.

We have, first, the observation of phenomena; from such observations properly coördinated we frame an hypothesis inductively, to explain the causes of the phenomena. This hypothesis includes not only the particular phenomena upon which it was based, but many others not made the immediate subject of observation. If our hypothesis be true, we ought to



be able to predict that certain consequences ought to follow from it. And by putting our prediction to the test, we may determine the truth or error of our hypothesis. We have thus, 1, the observations; 2, the induction or hypothesis; 3, the prediction or deduction of consequences from that hypothesis; and 4, the verification of our deduction. If we infer a proposition to be true universally because we have found it to be so whenever and however we applied our test of verification, our induction or generalisation may be enunciated in the form of a law. This could, however, be regarded as an empiric one only, that is, as only an approximation to truth, so long as we should not have proved it to be true under all the conditions proper to it. The extent to which an empiric law must be verified before the exact limits of its application can be determined, that is, before we can look upon it as a natural law, is often very considerable. Such verifications are always attended with great difficulties, and may often be possible only after the lapse of ages, during which the discovery of new phenomena, or the establishment of analogous laws linked with it, may afford a clue to the solution of the problem. With each verification of a new deduction from an inductive hypothesis or theory, the probability of the truth of future predictions deduced from it increases. To be able to predict effects from their causes, is the final aim of all physical science; the latter as a whole, or any portion of it, is therefore advanced towards its goal in proportion to the extent to which it can anticipate experience by prediction.

Empiric laws are of various degrees of generality. One may link together a few phenomena, and be in its turn but a particular case of another still more general, and so on. The extent to which laws have been verified establishes another distinction between them. Deduction of consequences, and verification of them, are the only means by which we may distinguish between the mere creation of enthusiastic minds, founded upon perhaps the observation of only one or two imperfectly observed phenomena, and legitimate inductions from a sufficient number of carefully observed phenomena, which must always contain a certain proportion of truth. We may extend this distinction further, and look upon physical science as made up of four distinct elements: 1, facts or records of the observation of phenomena spontaneously presented by nature, or produced by experimentation; 2, hypotheses of causation which are proposed to account for the phenomena, and which remain either wholly unverified, or verified so imperfectly that any one of several similar hypotheses would equally agree with the facts; 3, empiric laws of more or less generality, and verified to a

greater or lesser extent; and 4, natural laws whose universality may be considered to be established beyond exception.

It must be obvious that these different elements are not of equal value. The facts, if carefully observed and truthfully recorded, are true for ever under the conditions in which the observations were made. Unverified hypotheses may be partially true,—for no hypothesis can be absolutely true as first framed,—or they may be wholly erroneous. The empiric laws are more or less true, according to their generality, and the extent to which they have been verified. The natural laws which, in the present condition of science, must evidently be very few,—if, indeed, there be any such yet established,—are of course to be looked upon as the highest expressions of truth. It is singular to find how rarely this distinction of the relative values of the elements of science appears to be recognised. One half of the misconceptions which exist with regard to science and its applications, and most of the controversies which arise upon scientific questions, are the result of not keeping this distinction in view. Of this we have striking examples in the discussions about the relations of geology and theology, and kindred subjects. The body of facts from which a science is constructed may be likened to the loose materials of a great building excavated from the quarry; the science itself to the building in course of erection, disfigured by scaffolding and heaps of unused materials. The scaffolding represents the hypotheses, which have served for a brief period to connect a number of phenomena until the true laws or plans are discovered, and which are then cast aside, having fulfilled the object for which they were erected. The heaps of unused materials represent the isolated facts, for which the proper place in the building has yet to be found.

It must be confessed that the building up of physical science by the method indicated is a laborious and tedious operation; and therefore it is not to be wondered at that the acute intellect of the Greeks, in which the exuberance of industrial activity and liberty had developed a remarkable power of generalisation, and of formulating ingenious theories, endeavoured to evade the apparently hopeless task of collecting materials for the construction of science, when with a few facts it possessed the boundless power of creating theories. It was the instinct of an artistic people, and the natural impulse of young, vigorous intellect, in the full enjoyment of personal and intellectual liberty, alike characteristic of individuals and of nations. Nevertheless many of the earliest speculations of Greek philosophy represented by the physical school were based upon inductions. Thus, when Thales answered his question by con-

cluding that water was the principle of every thing,—that all bodies were derived from water, which when condensed became earth,—that plants and animals were also but water condensed in different forms, were nourished by water and returned again to water;—or when Anaximenes substituted air;—we have unquestionably specimens of inductive philosophy as correct as many modern hypotheses.

The early thinkers endeavoured to establish a philosophy of nature by imperfect inductions upon a limited collection of isolated facts; but their efforts were gradually found to be barren in immediate results sufficient to satisfy the yearning of the Greek mind after a knowledge of causation; and thus succeeding philosophers devoted themselves more and more to studying the powers of the mind itself. But when, in the time of Philip and Alexander, a sudden and considerable accession was made to geographical knowledge, and consequently a wider acquaintance with natural objects was acquired, the study of natural phenomena again attracted attention. Aristotle had a perfectly clear conception of induction, and understood its value; and in his “Metaphysics” there is a luminous passage, in which he clearly enunciates the fundamental principle of the Baconian philosophy. His “History of Animals” and his “Parts of Animals,” in which he establishes the foundation of scientific zoology, show that, had sufficient material existed, other inductive sciences would also have been founded.

The fall of liberty in Greece, and the decline of its industry, however, paralysed the growth of physical science. Men thereafter thought only of borrowing, or of commenting upon the works of others. It was a learned age in Greece in which all philosophy had sunk to dialectics, and philosophers to workmen of words.

Commerce had, however, found a new centre; and there, after the breaking up of the Alexandrian empire, philosophy, such as it was, flourished. This centre was Alexandria. No place could have been more favourably situated for the continuation of the work of Aristotle: it was a new city, upon a soil of which every layer represented a dynasty, inhabited by a colony of refined Greeks, surrounded by a people who appear in the olden history in the full bloom of civilisation. Placed on the confines of two continents, at the points where civilisation had been most and longest developed, and in easy communication by sea with the then civilised parts of Europe, it became naturally the *entrepôt* of the commerce of three continents. Thither came the gold, jewels, pearls, spices, and fine woods of India, the products of the looms of Asia Minor, the



sculptures, paintings, and ceramic wares of Greek artists, and copies of the works of Greek poets, historians, and philosophers. In its markets mingled representatives of all the nations of the then known world, Egyptians, Jews, Greeks, Persians, Romans, Negroes, strange races from the far regions of Asia and Africa, believers in every form of belief, disciples of every degree of scepticism, Jews, fire-worshippers, Brahmins, believers in the mysteries of Isis. What a strange conflict of ideas, beliefs, and arts! Here too was gathered together the first library that combined not only all that was great in Greek literature, but also, as we have reason to believe, the chief works of every lettered nation then known.

There can be little doubt that as men grew wearied of mere dialectics, and found that metaphysical speculations solved nothing, the study of physical science would have taken its place in the Alexandrian schools, if a crisis in the history, not only of philosophy, but of the world, had not taken place, while yet its scientific school was in its infancy. The mere mention of the names of Euclid the geometer, Conon and Hipparchus the astronomers, and Eratosthenes the geographer, will suffice to show what in time might have been produced there. As Aristotle laid the first foundation of zoology, so, without prejudice to the labours of his predecessors, we may consider Hipparchus to have done the same for physical astronomy. The crisis was caused by the rise of a new religion on the ruins of ancient beliefs; a religion which was capable of affording a greater and more practical solution to many of the problems of mental philosophy than could ever have been given otherwise. Christianity in its struggle with Greek philosophy infused new life into it, and carried on the modification which it had already begun to suffer by the influence of Judaism. The fierce struggle waged at Alexandria between Neo-platonism and Christianity, the spread of the latter, the stagnation of commerce, and the gradually increasing symptoms of political and social decomposition, so occupied the attention of men, that no room was left for the investigation of nature.

Greek art, literature, and philosophy spread, as civilisation always does, by colonies, along the shores of the Mediterranean, and took root especially in Southern Italy, whither it had been preceded in Central Italy by Phœnician civilisation and commerce. In contact with, and upon, as it were, the ruins of both, arose, from very obscure beginnings, the greatest empire the world has ever seen. The Romans, an eminently practical people, aimed rather at political empire than intellectual greatness. When they conquered Greece physically, Greece conquered them intellectually. After the conquest,

all the higher education and art of Rome was Greek. Greek literature was the model upon which the Latin was founded. But Greek philosophy never took root in Rome; it was merely known there. Roman writers, as Lucretius, Cicero, and Seneca, were its mouthpieces in the Latin language; but it did not produce fruit.

This circumstance was perhaps due to two causes. First, the two nations only came into close intellectual contact when Greece was itself but the commentator of its older philosophy. And secondly, Rome, while enjoying liberty, did not develop great industry. It was only as its liberty declined that its population and wealth increased; and it attained the summit of its power and opulence just when Greek philosophy was passing away, and Christianity was coming into existence.

The conquests of Rome, however, gathered workmen to it from all parts of the known world; and then the improvements which had been made in Egypt, in Asia, and in Greece, and all the traditions of the various crafts, found their way to Rome. Handicrafts soon attained a degree of perfection proportionate to the greatness of the commerce of a city into which the wealth of the world flowed. To take one example, the manufacture of artistic glass at Rome must have arrived in the first century of our era at a degree of perfection scarcely equalled, and certainly not surpassed, by that of the present day. Even in the Exhibition of 1862 an imitation of the Barberini vase was among the best specimens of engraved cased glass. The common articles were not to be compared with those of our time; and this, as we have already remarked in the case of Indian manufactures, where perfection depends on the mere skill of the workmen, is the real difference between ancient and modern European manufactures, and is due, as we have pointed out, to the growth of physical science. There must have been something like our modern factory-system in imperial Rome; for we find mention made of manufacturers who employed many hundred workmen, and we are even told of one, Cecilius Isidorus, who had four thousand. Some were rich enough also to be able to afford to pay for public games for the people. Many, if not most, of the artisans were slaves, as in Greece.

Here was a proper soil for the growth of physical science, while there was yet a semblance of liberty, and before the seeds of decomposition of the empire began to develop, and exhibit themselves in the decay of all the old institutions, and the rapid growth of a new religion and a new society. That it began to rise, there can be no doubt; but it was soon checked by the causes alluded to. With all the faults of the writer, and

his many unpardonable errors, the *Natural History* of Pliny has always appeared to us to be a very remarkable book, and a strong evidence of the existence of a totally different scientific spirit from that which we find in any other previous writer—excepting, in some respects, Aristotle. No comparison can of course be established between Pliny's compilation and the extraordinary "*History of Animals*" and "*Parts of Animals*" of the great Stagirite, beyond this, that both are the prototypes of modern scientific books, each in its own way. Pliny's book is in fact the prototype of an encyclopædia of arts and sciences. Such a work could not have been written unless there existed among the learned of the time a disposition to acquire a knowledge of nature in our modern sense.

The successive waves of barbarians, belonging to nations hitherto almost unknown to the civilised world, which swept over Europe in the fourth and fifth centuries, completed that destruction of the ancient society which internal causes had commenced. Nearly all the knowledge and experience, nearly all the inventions and discoveries, which had been slowly accumulating for more than two thousand years, and which had been gathered into Italy, Gaul, and Spain, were lost, at least for that time. The spread of Islamism completed in the East the ruin of whatever of civilisation survived in Syria, Persia, and Egypt. And after the sack of Alexandria and the destruction of its library, only one dim light of ancient civilisation remained burning.

Soon after the overthrow of ancient society, the reconstruction of a new one began both in the West and in the East; more rapidly in the East, but also with less durable results. Under the Caliphs, the valley of the Euphrates became once again the seat of great commerce. Community of religion brought a large portion of Asia into connection with Bagdad. In the ninth and tenth centuries Arabian merchants visited China and the islands of the East-Indian Archipelago, and caravans penetrated the centre of Africa on the one hand, and the central regions of Asia, from Bactria to the sources of the great Chinese rivers, on the other. Under the more enlightened Caliphs, schools were founded, and philosophy began to be cultivated. Translations of the works of Aristotle and of other Greek authors were made; and at the epoch of the greatest political and commercial development of the Caliphate, about the beginning of the ninth century, we find that the first germs of many branches of physical science, such as astronomy, chemistry, and medicine, especially the knowledge of medicinal plants, were fully developed. Indeed, one Arabian philosopher of this period, Geber, still holds an



honourable place in the history of chemistry, as one of its true founders, being to chemistry in fact, according to some, what Hippocrates is to medicine.

Arab civilisation was likewise developed in Spain, where, under the rule of the Moors, the industrial arts attained a degree of perfection then unknown in the rest of Europe. Their cities were hives of industry, and their merchants were rich. Abundant evidence exists of their skill and scientific knowledge. Many of the learned Moslems of the East visited Spain, and thus introduced there the fruits of Arabic science.

The labour of the reconstruction of society, of civilisation, and of industry, was much slower in the West of Europe. This was due to several causes: first, the conquests of the Arabs were more rapid, and consequently the destruction of civilisation was less radical, than in the West, which was subjected to several successive waves of conquest. There was not the same unity of conquest in the West as in the East; and the adoption of Islamism obliterated all differences of race. In the West, on the contrary, feudalism grew out of the difference of race of the conquerors and conquered, as caste did in India, although it subsequently spread itself where no difference of race existed. Fortunately for the West, a new and powerful agent of civilisation was now at work, creating a new society out of various materials, and, although it contained many of the materials of the old society, it was nevertheless radically distinct from it. Art, science, and literature had, it is true, disappeared from those places where they had once flourished. But they had rather leavened the mass of barbarism which occupied the East of Europe than entirely perished. The growth of monasteries in the seventh and eighth centuries afforded a refuge for such traditions of letters as still survived, and from these centres civilisation again radiated. The forests were cleared, land was cultivated, and handicrafts revived. Population increased in such of the old towns and cities as still existed, and new ones sprang up, and these became the cradles of liberty.

Italy, Southern Gaul, and Spain, although overrun and conquered by the barbarians, were, it must be remembered, highly civilised before the conquest. The invading armies which conquered them must have been relatively less numerous than those which effected the conquest of North Gaul and other portions of middle, north, and western Europe; and as they were for some time in contact with a certain amount of civilisation before penetrating into the southern countries, the relative amount of the barbaric element which the south had to absorb was much smaller than in north and middle Europe. They also retained many Roman municipal institu-

tions, which must have greatly favoured the growth of settled government. As might have been expected, therefore, art and literature reappeared in Provence and Languedoc and in Italy before they did so elsewhere. Manufactures and commerce began to flourish, wealth increased, the towns emancipated themselves gradually from feudal fetters. Then again creative art and science began to develop themselves. We can trace the first germs of the latter to Greek and Arabian sources. We have said that monastic institutions formed the refuge of learning, and the centres from which civilisation again spread during the Middle Ages. To the Benedictines especially we are indebted for the preservation of much of the ancient learning, and for the revival of science and literature in Europe. In the beginning of the ninth century they were already established in the southern part of Italy, and almost in contact with the Arabs, who then had settlements in Sicily, and with the Greeks of the opposite shore. Thus arose the celebrated school of Salerno, the most ancient model of the faculties of medicine of Europe, and hence emanated translations of Greek and Arabian authors, which, with the commentaries upon them, spread over Europe from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. Again, many of those whose names first appear upon the records of revived philosophy actually got their knowledge direct from the Arabs. Thus the celebrated Gerbert d'Aurillac, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., studied at Cordova, which was the great seat of Moorish learning in the tenth century.

As liberty grew, and trade and commerce flourished, scientific speculation began to develop itself. If at this moment all tradition of Greek philosophy had been lost, mankind would have found itself just where the Greeks had begun. Fortunately for the world, the scholastic philosophy, which grew up in the monasteries and universities, partly by the study of the Christian Fathers, but especially through the writings of Aristotle becoming better known in Europe, had familiarised the minds of men not only with the problems which the Greeks discussed, but with much of the philosophy itself.

Scholastic philosophy has conferred another, and perhaps a greater service upon physical science, and therefore upon the world, but one which we do not remember to have ever seen recognised. The phenomena of the mind itself will always have, must always have, a higher interest for mankind than the phenomena of nature. This it was which, among other causes, led the Greek philosophers gradually to bestow all their attention upon the mind, to the almost complete neglect of physical science. The foundation of scientific theo-

logy, in which the speculations of philosophy were modified and limited by Revelation, checked to a considerable extent, just at the critical moment in the history of physical science, the absorption of intellectual energy in the perpetual restatement of problems that could not be solved, while it produced a separation of physical and metaphysical science, leaving the former free, and unfettered by the ideas and traditions of the latter, to follow its own proper law of evolution.

The complaint is made, that the experimental sciences, such as chemistry and medicine, which began to have a real existence when scholastic philosophy flourished, suffered from the influence of metaphysical ideas derived from it. This was inevitable; but the effect has been greatly exaggerated by the opponents of scholastic philosophy. Without the alliance of ancient philosophy and Christian doctrine, out of which the scholastic philosophy grew, we should certainly have had a new school, like the Neo-platonic, antagonistic to Christianity, which would have set no barriers to the imagination. The limitations which some of the greatest problems received in the schools turned the mental stream to the only other available field of enquiry, the investigation of the physical world. When unlimited metaphysical philosophy again started into existence, physical science was already free from the dangers of its infancy.

From the eleventh century onwards, physical science began to be cultivated wherever industry and liberty coexisted. Although the cradle of physical science was industry, and its first materials the accumulated experience of the workmen, it does not therefore necessarily follow that science is nursed and developed in the workshops themselves: the rule is indeed the other way. But although the observatories and laboratories of the natural philosopher are not the workshops of industry, they must lie on its highway, so as to feel the influence of its energy, be cognisant of its wants, and catch the fresh sparks of knowledge that are perpetually given off by it. Hence, although monasteries were usually the homes of those who contributed to the advancement of physical science from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, they were so, as a rule, only when placed in the midst of industrial activity, or when their inmates had felt its influence by travelling into those countries where it flourished, or at least indirectly felt it by association with those who had. It was at Cologne and Paris that Albertus Magnus earned the celebrated eulogium of "*Magnus in magiâ naturali, major in philosophiâ, maximus in theologiâ.*" It was in the convent of the Cordeliers at Paris that Roger Bacon devoted himself



with such success to the study of experimental science, as to have earned for himself the title of being almost its founder.

It was fortunate that such comparatively calm retreats existed in the midst of so much life at this period, where the first rough outline of science, the turning-point of its history, could be sketched. There is a kind of scientific self-sufficiency current in modern times, which endeavours to convert those monks who were the pioneers of science into martyrs who were persecuted for their opinions. Considering the state of society, the intense ignorance which prevailed regarding the laws of nature, and, above all, the fact, which should always be borne in mind, that monasteries were never intended to be schools or laboratories for experimentation, we should rather wonder at the enlightenment which permitted, nay, often encouraged and fostered, the scientific labours of monks. How often too are those same pioneers laughed at because of the quaint opinions which they held on many subjects! Do we sneer at the miner because, in the darkness of the mine, he is obliged to send the ore mixed with much dross to the surface, where a more complete separation can be effected? Why then should we sneer at the intellectual miner, because he was not always able to discern the ore of science from the dross? In looking down from the height to which the labours of our predecessors have raised us, we should remember that our only merit is, that we have come later. This scientific vanity is no doubt due to the almost total neglect of the history of science as a necessary element in the teaching of science. No one can have a true notion of the position of the theory of any science, and of the direction or rate of its progress, who is not acquainted with the history of its development.

We have now developed what we conceive to be the true law of evolution of physical science from industry and liberty. We have next to discuss how physical science affects the two latter, or rather, for the moment, what is its reflex action on industry? This is indeed the subject which we proposed to discuss when we commenced; but no satisfactory analysis could be made of the reaction of science upon industry, until we should have clearly shown the historical genesis of the former from the latter.

The study of natural phenomena shows us that the force or forces which produce these phenomena manifest themselves in different ways. In one class of phenomena we observe that force acts upon masses of matter at sensible distances, irrespective of their nature, and in proportion to their mass and distance. Thus, the planets revolve about the sun in

obedience to a force which appears to be universal, and to act at distances which are inconceivably great. In a second class we behold the action of forces still operating at sensible distances, where, however, the phenomena no longer depend upon distance and weight alone, but the arrangement or disposition of the molecules or particles of bodies exerts a marked influence. To this class belong the phenomena of heat, light, electricity, and magnetism; in the manifestation of which, the bodies subjected to the forces which produce them do not always undergo permanent changes. A third class of phenomena is the result of the action of a force which acts at insensible distances, or what appears to us to be contact, and under the influence of which the properties of bodies are profoundly altered; further, this force is not exerted between all bodies alike, and at first sight apparently not between bodies of the same kind; that is, it may be said to be elective. This class includes the phenomena which constitute the science of chemistry. And lastly, we have a class of phenomena which result from the manifestation of a force which is confined to a limited number of bodies, and under the influence of which matter arranges itself into organs that reproduce themselves, and in the highest state of development have the power of voluntary locomotion. This is vital force, which manifests itself in plants and animals.

If we follow this series of phenomena in the order in which we have just given them, we shall observe that they form a connected chain, in which the great natural divisions just pointed out are distinctly recognisable, although the exact limits of each cannot be sharply defined. As we proceed from astronomy to physiology, we observe a gradual increase in the complexity of the phenomena. The simpler they are, the easier will it be to establish laws; thus the law of universal gravitation, which governs the motions of the earth and planets, is grand and simple, and its dominion is perhaps co-extensive with the universe. In physics, taking that word in the sense in which "natural philosophy" is usually understood, the phenomena are much more complex, the laws less general and more difficult to be perfectly verified, especially as the phenomena approach in character to those which belong to chemistry. The phenomena of chemistry are still more complex, while in physiology we reach the highest degree of complexity. We may study the great laws of gravitation without even knowing that such a science as physiology exists. But as all chemical phenomena are accompanied by a manifestation of the physical forces, and are variously modified by their action, we could not properly study chemistry without

possessing a previous general knowledge of physical science. So, likewise, every physiological phenomenon is mixed up with chemical ones, and can therefore be understood only by those who are thoroughly acquainted with the principles of chemistry.

The consequences which flow from this highly philosophical classification, for the principles of which we are indebted to Auguste Comte, and especially the subordination which it establishes between the different sciences, are of great importance. In the first place it shows us that, as we recede from the grandest and as yet the most perfect type of a science, astronomy, the degree of perfection to which any particular branch of science has attained diminishes; and that, as the final end of all physical science is to enable us to predict effects from causes, our power of doing so must be greatest in astronomy and least in physiology.

The historical development of physical science as a whole, or of any branch of it, offers a kind of parallel to the successive steps by which a single investigation is conducted. The first stage is that of the accumulation of facts, that is, of empiric knowledge gained by experience. An attempt is made to pass from effects to causes; and this being unsatisfactory, they are attributed to direct supernatural agency. At a later period, the theological explanation being found unsatisfactory, attempts are made to explain them by natural causes; but, as true inductive hypotheses could only be framed after a careful study of many facts, fanciful hypotheses, often invented without the slightest reference to the facts they are intended to explain, are proposed. Then comes a period of laborious observation and coördination of facts, and the framing of hypotheses by induction, in order to arrive at the general from the particular. With this period commences the second stage. When a number of hypotheses have been so far verified as to enable us to establish a theory by which we may predict with a certain degree of probability, we may consider a branch of science to have arrived at the third stage.

These remarks apply further to the subdivisions of a branch of science; that is, every part of any given science is not equally developed. This is so evident, that we need not give any examples.

In this subordination of the different branches of physical science, and in the parallelism of the successive stages of an investigation and those of the historical development of a whole science, we have the key for determining the true law of the action of science upon industry.



We may assume that every branch of science cannot confer equal immediate benefit upon industry. Thus it is evident that astronomy can never have the same practical utility as chemistry or physiology. It is equally true that each branch of science must increase in utility as it progresses; so that we may consider the practical value of any branch of science to be in a ratio with its development. In its earliest stage, when it may be said to be in an embryonic state, in the empiric knowledge of some art,—as, for example, geometry in the art of the land-measurer, chemistry in the workshops of the smith, the glass-maker, the dyer, and the tanner,—it can confer no benefit upon industry; it is, in fact, synonymous with it. When, afterwards, metaphysical speculations are used to account for phenomena, it is not only still helpless, but may be positively mischievous. Its practical utility may be said to begin when it arrives at the second stage, or the careful observation of facts and their coördination. But that utility is small, being almost confined to the advantage which a more complete and more methodised collection of facts affords over the scattered and unsystematised experience of the useful arts. Even when it progresses to inductive generalisations, its direct utility is but slightly increased. Unverified hypotheses, many of which are founded upon too few facts to contain much truth, and which are often as groundless as the dreams of alchemists, cannot be safe practical guides. Such hypotheses often act as stimulants of industry, and, by leading to experiments and coördination of facts, frequently give rise to improvements in processes, and even to the discovery of new branches of industry; but they are as frequently decoys which injure trade and bring discredit upon science. When a science reaches the third stage, that is, has verified a sufficient number of its inductions to enable it to establish the outlines of a theory, it then becomes really useful to industry. It can thenceforward predict results with a gradually increasing certitude.

In these observations we have an extremely simple solution of the whole problem of the influence of science upon industry. Both have a common origin, but soon diverge, so as to appear wholly unconnected; a new relationship then springs up, which grows in proportion as science becomes more abstract, and different from industry in the spirit which guides it, until the latter at length becomes merely a practical application of the former.

We have now to consider the way in which this utility may be manifested. Sir John Herschel has so well summarised the various ways in which science can be useful to in-

dustry, that we cannot do better than follow him. It is useful, he says, first, in showing us how to avoid attempting impossibilities; secondly, in securing us from important mistakes in attempting what is itself possible by means either inadequate or actually opposed to the end in view; thirdly, in enabling us to accomplish our ends in the easiest, shortest, most economical, and most effectual manner; fourthly, in inducing us to attempt, and enabling us to accomplish, objects which, but for such knowledge, we should never have thought of attempting.

We cannot create or annihilate matter; we cannot create or destroy force; we can merely modify the arrangement of the material particles or molecules, and vary the direction or mode of action of forces. We can produce heat and light by chemical force, and the former by the latter; we can convert the motion of a stream or of the wind into heat, electricity, magnetism, light, or chemical action; or heat into the motion of the stream, or into that of other bodies. So likewise by the action of bodies upon each other, we can produce many new substances, which nature produces in the same or in other ways; we can even produce combinations of matter which perhaps never before existed in the universe, nor could do so until the conditions of their existence were artificially arranged by the chemist. All industry, from the hewing of a log of wood in the forest to the construction of the most elaborate automaton, or the finest woven and dyed fabric of silk, is but changing the form and combination of matter, and varying the direction and action of the forces of nature. Physical science is but the study of the laws according to which those changes of matter or force take place. To know those laws, then, is to know what changes are possible; what means are adequate to make them; what is the easiest, the shortest, most economical, and most effectual way to make them; and, lastly, to be reminded of useful changes which might be made, but which we could never have foreseen unless we had investigated the laws of nature.

It is when judged from the philosophical point of view that the International Exhibition of 1862 presents the greatest interest to the general observer. From their very nature, the results of pure mathematics, as the science of space and number, and of astronomy, could not be directly exhibited. But their influence was nevertheless traceable, more or less remotely, throughout every department. The very variety of the products from every region of the globe, which formed a prominent feature of the late Exhibition, was indirectly the result of the progress of astronomy, and of the application of the results to navigation. But it was in mechanics and the

application of the physical forces, in which mathematics and experimentation were combined as instruments of research, that the influence upon industry of a science in great part advanced to its third stage of development was strikingly exhibited.

The machinery department of the Exhibition of 1862 was perhaps its most remarkable feature; and yet, contrasted with that of 1851, there were but few new applications of power from sources hitherto unused, and few new applications of machines to perform work hitherto performed by the hand alone, or by the hand aided by some very simple machine. Of the former, we were most struck with Bonelli's application of electricity to do the work of the jacquard-loom; the application of the expansion of air produced by the explosion of a mixture of air and coal-gas; the application of gases condensed by the direct application of heat, such as ammonia, to produce intense cold. Of the latter, we may select, as examples, Johnson's type-founding machine, and Mitchel's type composing and distributing machines. That some of the first class may require improvement yet, before they can be practically and economically worked, does not detract from their value. In a new application of power, the idea is the chief merit; the improvements required to render it practically successful are sure to come afterwards. In the second class, on the contrary, the merit is obviously in their being practically successful; failing that, they can only have suggestive value.

But if the number of new applications of power and of labour-saving machines was small, the improvements in old machines was very remarkable. Those improvements were in general the direct result of the application of scientific principles: 1, to economise the production of the power; 2, to diminish the loss of the produced power during its transmission to the point of its application; 3, to modify the size and weight of the machines; 4, to economise power in producing a given amount of work; and, 5, to improve the quality of the work done. In the present condition of science these are obviously the true problems which this portion of physical science has to solve. A time is, however, approaching when industry will demand a profound modification in the whole mode of obtaining power; and the study of the correlation of the physical forces is therefore the scientific problem which will apparently most interest industry hereafter.

As may have been anticipated from the immense progress of chemistry, the improvements in the manufactures based upon it were very considerable. They consisted, 1, in the improvement of old processes of manufacture, and of the



quality of the commercial articles produced; 2, in the utilisation of several substances not hitherto used, or not hitherto obtainable in a form or in quantity to be practically useful; 3, in the production of several new bodies, and their useful employment. As examples of the first class, a very large number of the chemical substances shown might be cited. The improvements in the quality and appearance of the chemical products was as much a feature of the late Exhibition as the improvements in the machinery. They were general—that is, they were not confined to a certain class of manufactures; but we cannot avoid signalling the remarkable improvements in the production and manipulation of iron and steel. Of the second class, the most important were undoubtedly aluminium and its alloys, and paraffine and its associated products. Both are of course well known to the public; but this was their first appearance at a British International Exhibition, and indeed, so far as real utilisation, their first appearance at any. Of the third class, the Magenta dyes afforded undoubtedly the most striking example.

The economic artificial production of substances which hitherto were only formed by natural processes would form a fourth category of improvements. They would be the most important of all. Properly speaking, however, no example of this class was exhibited. A new era has begun for chemistry, by the frequent synthesis of organic compounds. Synthesis is the verification of the chemist's hypothesis, and no science offers a more complete or a readier method. And now that chemistry has arrived fully at the third stage of development, we may expect to find that the characteristic features of the next International Exhibition will be the exhibition of products belonging to this category, such as alcohol, grape-sugar, nay, possibly even cane-sugar. It would be an immense advance if such common articles of food could be made from coal, or other mineral sources of carbon. Another improvement would be the artificial production of diamond, or even of carbonado or black diamond, not for the purposes of ornament alone, but particularly as a grinding, boring, and polishing agent.

The production of this modification of common charcoal suggests another fertile source of future improvements—namely, new allotropic forms of bodies. We are now acquainted with several cases in which the same body can exist in states which give it wholly different physical properties. These different states are not the result of chemical combination with other bodies, but merely a change of arrangement of the molecules. We know phosphorus in an active and inactive condition—as common and red phosphorus; and one of the

most useful chemical improvements at the Exhibition was the safety-match made with the latter form; for it offers safety from fire in the transport and storage, and safety from the horrible disease to which the workpeople were subject in making matches with the common form. We know oxygen in an active form, but as yet no one has succeeded in obtaining it in any quantity. Were we able to convert large quantities of common oxygen into this form economically, we should have one of the most powerful industrial agents ever discovered; for we could bleach, and make nitre, and many other compounds. We only know nitrogen in its inactive condition. Could we obtain it economically in an active form, we might produce ammonia directly in immense quantities for manure, and perhaps many organic compounds which cannot now be artificially produced. Again, we only know chlorine in its active form; perhaps in its inactive condition it would possess many useful properties. And, lastly, there are the metals: is it not possible to have them also in allotropic states? Suppose we could get such beautiful metals as sodium and magnesium in a state in which they would not combine with oxygen directly at common temperatures. But enough of these speculations, which belong to the future.

We now come to the physiological division of the Exhibition. In this department there was an abundance of raw materials, but scarcely any products, if indeed there was one, in which the modifications were due to the action of vital force directed by the will of man. Woods, fibres, oils, and other substances derived from plants and animals, were there from every country; but any industrial modifications they had been made to undergo were only mechanical or chemical. We can hardly say that the vital force is under the control of man in the growth of seeds in a nursery or on a farm, at least not in the sense we are employing. Perhaps we ought to except the pedigree-wheat, improved by the method of *artificial selection* as distinguished from *natural selection*. And yet the agricultural part of the Exhibition was in every way remarkable; but as it did not exhibit any true physiological features, with perhaps the single exception just mentioned, it does not come within the scope of the present article. The absence of all true physiological results is not surprising; for physiology has scarcely entered upon its second stage yet, and parts of it are quite embryonic, and cannot point to a single inductive hypothesis of any value.

What a glimpse of the future the few preceding considerations afford! If physical science in its infancy has so profoundly modified the material condition of human existence,

what may not be expected from it in its mature age? When we shall have become so well acquainted with the laws of nature as to be able to predict physical, chemical, and physiological effects from their causes, with as much certainty as to-day we predict an eclipse, then undoubtedly physical science will be the legislator of the useful arts, and of every thing that concerns the material civilisation of mankind; and a knowledge of it will be a true source of power. To-day, the power of that knowledge is small; but it is an ever-growing power, and the rate of its advance is always accelerating.

If industry be thus destined to be absorbed by physical science, all future International Exhibitions should gradually develop the intellectual element more and more. The late one, following the example set by the national exhibitions of Cork and Dublin, and fully adopted in the international one of Paris in 1855, made an important advance in this direction by the addition of the Fine Arts. The next one should do more; it should set apart a portion of its space for the exhibition of the results, so far as they could be exhibited, of every discovery in pure science made during the decennium, or whatever other period may have elapsed since the last Exhibition.

Nor should the physical man be forgotten in his intellectual and material triumphs. The most intellectual nation the world has seen never forgot, during the epoch of its glory, the physical development of the people. It seems strange that in our days, when we possess the advantage of Christian morality, and when efforts are made to diffuse education throughout the land, an essential aid to both should be entirely neglected. It is to be hoped that future International Exhibitions will, like the old Olympic games, mark epochs not only in the intellectual and industrial progress of mankind, but also in the physical improvement of Man himself. By this means they will afford material aid to Religion, in diffusing the elements of true civilisation among the masses.

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## CHRISTMAS CUSTOMS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

IN the annual round of English commemorations, there is no epoch which appeals to so wide a range of human sympathies, or is blended so inseparably with our social life, as the season of merry Christmas. Year by year, as its kindly greetings are renewed, our homes are decorated with holly, ivy, and laughter-provoking mistletoe; our churches are adorned with evergreens; the Yule log burns on our hearths; the boar's head occupies its place of preëminence; due honours are paid to the noble "baron" and the ever-popular "sir-loin" of beef; the field, the forest, the river, and the sea, give up their choicest produce to gladden the heart of man. "Christmas pies" and abundant food are on the tables of the humblest classes; the waits sing their carols; the mummers act their parts; the children revel in their holidays, their new toys, and their wonted games; the old forget their age; the busy lay by their cares; scattered families are brought together; parted friends are reconciled; the weight of poverty is lightened, the scourge of oppression tempered; and a gleam of consolation finds its way even into the gloom of the prison-cell. For the great event with which the world is ringing has made all things new. It interprets the face of nature, so that the waste places rejoice and blossom as the rose; it strikes the key-note of the songs that are sung round the domestic hearth, as well as of the hymns that are chanted in the sanctuary; and, while it sheds a halo of unselfish joy round the last days of the expiring year, it lights with hope the doubtful future which stands waiting to unfold itself in the year to come.

The prophecy of this great event, given at first in Paradise, was borne out into the world as happy tidings that the reign of sin which afflicted the still virginal earth should cease, and that the grave should give up again to a new life those bodies which death had struck down in seeming decay, and consigned to apparent annihilation. The knowledge of it continued unimpaired to the time of Babel, and afterwards remained in its integrity with the chosen people; but among the scattered nations it lingered as a tradition, and in course of time became associated with wrong notions of religion, and connected with the fancied achievements of the false gods of heathenism. And hence, in considering the continuous celebration of Christmas, we must notice the commemorations by which the heathen retained a glimmering though obscured perception of the coming Incarnation, before we proceed to examine the

manner in which, during the progress of centuries, Christians fell into superstitious observances regarding it, and grafted on it the customs and peculiarities of various races and religions.

In the prophecies respecting the coming Messiah, it was said of Him, in Malachi, Zachariah, the Psalms, and Isaiah, that He was "the Sun of Justice," that He would "set His tabernacle in the Sun;" that He was "the Orient," that "the Orient" is His name, that when He was to appear visibly on earth, "a Light" should "shine upon us," and that "a sanctified day-path should shine upon us;" and the same idea was repeated by the father of St. John the Baptist when Our Lord was within a few months of being born,—"the Orient from on high hath visited us." Expressions can be quoted from the ancient Fathers sufficient to show that the coming into this world of the Redeemer was regarded as "the rising of the sun," that is, that He was to be to the souls of men as a sun, without whose light and influence their souls must be like this globe if deprived of the rays of the great luminary—inert, barren, dark, and desolate.

The misapprehension of this idea will be found in the practices of the false religions in which we are especially interested, those of the Celts, the Romans, and the Scandinavian and Teutonic races. In the religion of the Druids, this sun-worship is recognisable in their mid-winter sacrifices in honour of the mistletoe which bloomed upon a sacred oak of thirty years' growth, and before which, when discovered, *a triangular altar* was erected,—the mistletoe itself being esteemed as something divine, a universal remedy to its possessor against bodily ailments and a protection against evil spirits; not deriving its existence from the earth, but springing from a tree regarded as an emblem of the divinity, and bearing in its interior, as it was said, a semblance of the sun.<sup>1</sup> In the religion of the Scandinavians is discoverable a worship of the sun occurring at the same time of year as the mistletoe festivals of the Druids. It was named "Yule;" it was celebrated in honour of Frea, or the sun; and "the principal victim at it was a hog." By the Scandinavians the mistletoe was regarded with peculiar veneration.<sup>2</sup> In the "Saturnalia" of the Romans, also a mid-winter festival, the same veneration of the sun is recognisable. The Saturnalia were said to have been first instituted by Janus in honour of Saturn,

<sup>1</sup> Manet, *Histoire de la Petite Bretagne, ou Bretagne-Armorique*, vol. i. pp. 249-256, 274. (Saint Malo, 1834.) See also, as to the deity—Boul-Janus, Boulianus, or Voldanus—worshipped at Nantes, *Notice sur la Ville de Nantes*, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Mallet's *Northern Antiquities* (Blackwell's edition), pp. 110, 111; Thorpe's *Northern Mythology*, vol. i. pp. 22, 23, 72-74, 208, 209.

as a great benefactor of the human race; and of Janus it is said by Macrobius (*Saturnalia*, i. 17), "The Romans venerate the sun under the name and appearance of Janus, with the appellation of the Didymæan Apollo." The significance of the designation, as applicable to the present subject, is demonstrated in a passage of the same author in his *Somnium Scipionis* (i. 12), where, referring to the constellations of Cancer and Capricorn, he observes: "The philosophers call these two constellations *the gates of the sun*; for through these gates souls are believed to descend from heaven to earth, and to return again from earth to heaven: hence one of these is called the portal for men, and the other that of the gods. Cancer is for men, because through this is the descent to that which is beneath; and Capricorn is the passage of the gods, because through it souls are restored to the throne of immortality, and counted amongst the number of divinities."<sup>3</sup>

In the errors of paganism a particle of truthful tradition is discernible. In passing to the worship of Christians, we find great abuses mixed up with Christmas festivities, and strongly denounced by the Church. These, however, occurred not upon Christmas Day, but in relation to the sun-worship of the new year on the 1st of January.<sup>4</sup> In Brittany it is shown by M. Manet that a reverence for the mistletoe continued until a very recent period; and we learn from him that as a Catholic priest he had felt it to be his duty to describe and denounce the profane services that took place within the precincts of the churches themselves at the "Fête des Fous" and the "Fête de l'Ane," as well as unbecoming sports on Easter Monday and the 1st of May. Similar testimony is given by Polydore Vergil as to Saturnalian superstitions at Christmas time in Italy; and he corroborates the evidence of M. Manet as to the efforts of Popes and Councils to put an end to them.<sup>5</sup>

In all these scandals and abuses a similarity was to be found to customs antecedent to Christianity; but what we shall henceforward have to treat upon are notions and prac-

<sup>3</sup> For a full account of the Saturnalia, the mid-winter festival of the Romans, and of their similarity to the festivities of Christmas, see Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, p. 1009. Upon the Saturnalia generally, Alexander ab Alexandro, vol. i. pp. 461-463 (Leyden, 1673); Heineccius, Antiq. Roman. vol. i. pp. 473-476 (Utrecht, 1745); Athenæus, lib. xiv. cc. 44, 45.

<sup>4</sup> Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. i. p. 48, note 1 (Derby edition). In this note the author identifies the Saturnalia with the Druidical ceremonies of the new year, and points out how "infamous diversions among Christians are derived from the profanations on New-year's Day of the pagans."

<sup>5</sup> Manet, vol. ii. pp. 113, 115; Polydore Vergil, De gli Inventori delle Cose, lib. v. c. 2, pp. 236-238 (Brescia, 1686).



tices subsequent to the Nativity, and arising directly out of the celebration of Christmas Day. Upon that festival are engrafted various legends, as well as superstitions, which from time to time have evoked the earnest and strenuous animadversions of the Church.

Prudentius in his hymn commencing "*Vagitus ille exordium*," upon the birth of the Saviour, says: "The cry of that holy Child imparted to the earth a verdant spring: at its sound, a revived globe cast off its ancient slough, the land was covered with thick crops of flowers, and the dry sands of the desert became redolent with frankincense. With Thy birth, sacred Child, the hard stones were softened, and honey flowed from the rocks." This hymn was regarded in subsequent centuries as stating a literal fact; and the miracle of the appearance of the earth being changed on the first Christmas night was believed to be of constant recurrence at every Christmas. Herr Cassel, in his interesting work on Christmas, publishes a German acrostic specifying the names of the flowers that always bloom on that holy day.

In another old legend are the words:

"Natus in diversio (*sic*),  
Ponitur in præsepio,  
Cultu lectus pauperrimo,  
Bove calet et asino."

The tradition as to the ox and the ass being in the stable on the birth of our Lord is supported by the words of Isaiah and Habacuc. The first says: "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib." The accuracy of the tradition is maintained by Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, a. 1, § 3. There is another tradition to the effect that these animals not only recognised their Divine Master, but also worshipped Him. In one hymn it is said,

"Cognoverunt Dominum  
Christum regem cœlorum."

And the same idea is expressed in another hymn,

"Et a brutis noscitur,  
Matris velo tegitur."

In the hymn commencing "*Puer natus in Bethlehem*" are to be found the lines,

"Cognovit bos et asinus  
Quod puer erat Dominus."

Herr Cassel quotes Prætorius for the following verses, showing how other animals took part in the announcement of the Saviour's coming upon earth:

“*Vacca puer natus clamabat nocte sub ipsa,  
Qua Christus purâ virgine natus homo est ;  
Sed, quia dicenti nunquam bene creditur uni,  
Addebat facti testis, asellus : ita,  
Dumque aiebat : ubi ? Clamoso gutture gallus :  
In Betlem, Betlem, vox geminabat ovis.  
Felices nimium pecudes, pecorumque magistri,  
Qui norunt Dominum concelebrare suum.*”

Connected with the ideas expressed in these lines there are to be found many curious legends. One of these, almost universally believed, was that at twelve o'clock on every Christmas night the cattle bowed their knees. “It was once believed,” says Mr. Timbs, “that at midnight all the cattle in the cow-house would be found kneeling.” Mr. Brand relates, “that a Cornish peasant told him, in 1790, of his having with some others watched several oxen in their stalls, on the eve of old Christmas Day, and that at twelve o'clock they observed the two oldest oxen fall upon their knees, and (as he expressed it in the idiom of the country) make a cruel moan like Christian creatures.”

Another notion, which almost universally prevailed, was, that the powers of speech were bestowed upon animals on Christmas night. As an illustration of this, we take the following story from the *Schweizer-Sagen*: “On a Christmas night animals have the privilege of speech, and at that time can chat amicably together. A peasant, wishing to assure himself of the truth of this popular notion, crept slyly upon that holy and solemn night into the stable, where his oxen were quietly chewing the hay placed before them. An instant after the peasant had hidden himself, one of the cattle said to the other, ‘We are going to have a hard and heavy task of work to do this week.’ ‘How is that?’ asked the other: ‘the entire harvest is made up, and we have conveyed home all the wood required for the winter.’ ‘Yes,’ replied his companion; ‘but we shall have to drag a coffin to the churchyard, for our poor master will this week most certainly — die.’ Upon hearing these words, the terrified peasant uttered a loud cry, and fell senseless to the earth. The people of the house, hearing his shriek of agony, ran to the stable, took him up in their arms, and carried him to his bed. The next day he told his family what he had heard said in the stable; and some days afterwards the two oxen drew a hearse to the churchyard.” A similar tale is told in the book of Herr Cassel; the scene, however, is laid, not in Switzerland, but Swabia.

In many parts of Germany it is believed that only persons free from mortal sin can understand what animals say to one another on Christmas night; and in France the belief has

been that the cattle themselves were deprived of the faculty if those who had charge of them were in a state of mortal sin. In any case, it was believed that the privilege was lost to animals when once the hour of midnight had struck.

The influence of Christmas night upon animals is referred to by that wondrous poet whose penetration no sentiment that ever stirred the heart or illuminated the fancy of mankind seems to have escaped :

“ It faded on the crowing of the cock.  
 Some say, that ever 'gainst that season comes  
 Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,  
 This bird of dawning singeth all night long :  
 And then, they say, no spirit dares stir abroad ;  
 The nights are wholesome ; then no planets strike,  
 No fairy takes, nor witch hath power to charm,  
 So hallow'd and so gracious is the time.”

In connection with the supposed sympathy of animals with the Nativity, there has prevailed for centuries, in many countries, the custom of farmers supplying their cattle and fowl on that day and night with a greater abundance of food. In Schönen, we are informed, no one thinks of rising from the dinner-table without giving the house-dog a good hunch of bread. Amongst the Albanians it is the custom to distribute the first Christmas meal-cake in this manner : it is broken on the horn of an ox, and then shared amongst its companions. It will be seen further on, that a very similar practice prevails in some parts of England. In the whole of the northern part of Europe, it is the custom for every boor to erect before his door a perch, to which is fastened a sheaf of oats, “ in order,” it is said, “ that during the cold winter night the little birds may feel the benefit, and enjoy the blessing of the graces that are given to mankind on Christmas Day.” Frederika Bremer has drawn a very pleasing description of this kindly custom in one of her novels, *Streit und Friede* ; and a Swedish poet, Bjerregaard, has conveyed some idea of it in lines to the following effect :

“ The fields are froze ;  
 But at my door  
 There's corn in store  
 For birdlings dear.  
 Come, then, to me ;  
 To eat you're free,  
 And merry be  
 With Christmas cheer.”

In the legends of France and the sagas of Norway, birds are connected with other incidents supposed to have occurred



in the life of our Lord. M. Y. Marmier (in his novel *Hélène et Suzanne*, published in the *Correspondant*) gives the following as one of the legends of Franche-Comté concerning the robin redbreast: "When our Lord was suffering on Calvary, a redbreast was profoundly afflicted at His agony; and the good little bird wished it had the power to tear out the nails that transpierced His sacred hands and feet. At last, in the hope it might anyhow assuage one of His manifold torments, it tried all it could to pull away one of the bitter prongs from His crown of thorns; but all that it was able to accomplish by its generous efforts was to inflict a wound on its own breast. And then, one of the angels that were soaring around the cross said to it, 'Thou shalt be blessed for the pious work thou hast attempted; the stain of blood that has come from thy veins shall remain upon thy breast and upon that of thy descendants, as an emblem of thy courage. And as thou hadst pity upon the sufferings of the Redeemer, men shall, in the season of suffering, always feel pity for thee; and children shall be gladdened when they look upon thee.'"

It used to be a very general belief that not only animals, but all nature itself, testified in various ways its apprehension of the great event celebrated at Christmas. It was supposed that at the moment of the birth there had been a universal pause, that a profound silence prevailed over all the world, that birds rested in their flight, that the cattle ceased to feed, that man became motionless, and that then, when our Lord appeared, and whilst angels and shepherds joined in a hymn of praise and thanksgiving, the stars glittered with an additional sparkling lustre, and the sun itself twice bounded with joy; as it is believed in many places, that it still does, both on the mornings of Christmas and Easter Sunday. There are many very curious traditions still preserved in connection with the following passage of Suetonius, in the life of the Emperor Augustus: "*reverso ab Apollonia et ingrediente eo urbem, repente liquido ac puro sereno circulus ad speciem cœlestis arcus orbem solis ambiit.*" Herr Cassel quotes authorities to show that this appearance of the sun was a revelation to the Emperor of the first Christmas Day; and that Pliny's three suns shining in the heavens at the same time were an indication of the Saviour as well as of the Trinity.

Upon certain days in Advent these words of the prophet Isaiah are recited in the service of the Church: "Drop down dew, ye heavens, from above, and let the clouds rain the Just: let the earth be opened, and bud forth a Saviour: and let justice spring up together: I, the Lord, have created Him." Upon these words was based the notion, that to leave oats or

barley in the open air upon Christmas night, for the dew to moisten the grain, imparted to it a sanitary power most effective in cattle diseases. This was an ancient British superstition. In Germany it is still believed that oats saturated with dew on Christmas night are very productive. Herr Cassel says, that in Göttingen cattle feeding in the open air on Christmas night are considered to be much benefited; whilst in Hesse they expose to the dew the cloths with which horses are rubbed, in the belief that such cloths not only give the animals finely polished skins, but also make them stronger and fatter. Another superstition was to take a bundle of hay and carry it round a church three times on Christmas night; and this was done for the purpose of being able to make cattle fatten with a smaller quantity of food.

"A bit of bread," says De Nore, "which has been blessed on each of the three great festivals of Christmas is a preservative against tempests and hydrophobia; but if this bread be given to a dog in good health, it at once makes the animal mad." A like notion prevailed at one time in this country; and in Brittany it has been generally believed that bread baked on Christmas night would remain good for two years. In Germany, it was once supposed that the crumbs of bread gathered on Christmas night might be made use of by the person who collected them to discern evil spirits and to keep away bad thoughts. Another superstition was, that wherever the crumbs of such bread fell upon the earth, there sprang up from the soil the herb called "Motherwort." In Denmark, peculiarly great virtues were attributed to Christmas food. The bread baked at that time was kept till spring, and then crumbled very small, mixed with seed, given to horses, and eaten also by men. It was supposed to promote the germination of the seeds, and to have a potent effect in all sorts of maladies. In Silesia, the bones of the fish caught at Christmas time were put about the roots of trees, and considered to be very beneficial to them. In Poland, portions of Christmas food were given to cattle to protect them against witchcraft.

In the hymn used in Catholic churches on Christmas Day are these words,

"Fœno jacere pertulit :  
Præsepe non abhorruit."

In commemoration of the fact that the Creator of all things had, as an infant, lain upon straw, it was a practice at Christmas to strew the houses and churches with straw; and from this custom arose many superstitions, some of which are thus specified by Herr Cassel: "This straw," he says, "was preserved, and regarded as a wonderful cure for sick animals,

and a protection against pestiferous diseases—‘*mirabiliter sanativum brutorum languentium, et aliarum repulsivum pestium diversarum.*’ In Sweden, the houses as well as churches are littered with straw; and it is still believed, that if given to cattle when they are first sent out to pasture, it protects them from sickness; that if scattered over the fields, it aids in fertilising the crop, and tends to the production of an abundant harvest; and that if it is laid in the geese-trough, it guards the geese from the aggressions of the fox. In the Sclavonian districts there is another custom: they cover the floors of their huts with straw, and put bundles of straw in the corners of their rooms. By throwing up the straw in the air, they fancy that, from the manner in which the stalks fall, they can prophesy as to the future. In Lusatia, bundles of straw are placed under the table, and on it are set the feet of all those who are eating together their Christmas dinner. When dinner is over, each person carries out the bundle of straw on which his feet rested, and ties it round the trees, in the firm belief that it will be very useful to them. In Thuringia, it has also been the custom to tie bundles of wet straw upon Christmas night round the stems of the fruit-trees, for the purpose of having a good crop.”

Of “the Christmas tree” it is not necessary for us to say much. It is not of the native growth of England, although Mr. Timbs, in his *Garland of the Year*, affirms that something like it was introduced into one of the pageants of Henry VIII.; and a reference to such a tree is to be found upon one occasion in Stow’s *Chronicle*. Mr. Timbs compares it with the palm-tree of Egypt; for he says, “the palm-tree puts forth a shoot every month, and a spray of this tree with twelve shoots on it was used in Egypt as a symbol of the year completed.” Herr Cassel claims “the Christmas tree” as the fitting emblem of the Germanic nature, when impressed with the truths of Christianity; and he observes that the planting of the fir-tree—the material of which a true Christmas tree is formed—before the doors in his country, answers to the English practice of decorating mansions and churches with evergreens. He maintains that “the Christmas tree” symbolises at the same time the tree in Paradise bearing the forbidden fruit, and the real tree of life—the Cross. He next shows, from a variety of authorities, that the fruit of the forbidden tree was an apple, and clenches his argument with a German proverb more remarkable for energy than euphony:

“Der Apfel den Frau Eva brach  
Uns herzog alles Ungemach.”



An observance far more general than the lighting up and decorating of a Christmas tree has been the burning of "the Yule log" upon Christmas night. It has, time out of mind, prevailed amongst the Scandinavian, Teutonic, and Celtic races. It was the most cheering and "comforting" ingredient in the old pagan festivals of mid-winter; and it was not discontinued when those who had been idolaters were converted to Christianity; for amongst the incidents of the first Christmas night, the bitter, piercing cold of winter was remembered as one of the earliest sufferings of Him who had descended to earth to win through His afflictions eternal happiness for mankind. In one of the German Christmas plays, the Blessed Virgin is described as thus speaking of the agony caused by cold to the Divine Infant:

"O steinenes Herz! mein Kind schau an  
Wie blöd und schwach mein lieber Sohn!  
Vor Kälte muss sein Aeugelein  
Fließen herab die Zährelein."

A contrast to the sufferings of the Creator was to be the happiness conferred upon Christians through His coming. Hence it was a practice in the olden time to supply the priest with an abundance of fuel, in order that the poorest classes might, from him, obtain a good festival fire. A large block of wood was to be found on Christmas night in every home-stead. Amongst the Scandinavians it was "the Yule log;" with the Teutonic races it was "the Christmas block;" and, as it is stated by De Nore, amongst the Celts of France it was called in some places, the "souche de Noël," and in others, in honour of the Trinity, the "trefué." In Vienne of Poitou, the people sprinkled it with salt and water, as if consecrating it, before it was set on fire. In Provence, a libation of wine was poured upon it. The same practice prevailed amongst the Albanians, who also preserved its ashes, and scattered them over their vineyards. When it was first brought into the house, every one stood up, and hailed its appearance with affection and respect. "Welcome! welcome!" they exclaimed, "precious log! Come now and enjoy thyself with a good merry blaze." "Herrick," it is remarked by Mr. Timbs, "has this carol for the bringing-in of the log:

' Come bring, with a noise,  
My merry, merry boys,  
The Christmas log to the firing;  
While my good dame she  
Bids ye all be free,  
And drink to your heart's desiring.

With the last year's brand  
 Light the new block, and  
 For good success in his spending,  
 On your psalties play,  
 That sweet hock may  
 Come while the log is a-trending.'

As the servants were entitled to ale at their meals while the log lasted, they usually endeavoured to get as large a one as the fireplace would admit of. In some places, the log was bandaged nine times round; and as each bandage was burnt off, it was usual to hand round a service of ale mingled with spirits. At Ripon [and many other places], the coopers formerly presented their customers with a Christmas log. In Devonshire, the ashen fagot is cut with some ceremony: occasionally it weighs as much as 3 cwt., when the blaze upon the hearth is tremendous. A company of mummers, in grotesque dresses, appear during the evening, when the mirth culminates to its point." The practice still prevailing in the North of England is thus described in a very curious book, recently published, and entitled *The Dialect of Leeds*: "The 'Yule clog,' as it is called, is placed upon the fire during the fore part of the evening. The ceremony of lighting it with a brand saved from the previous year's one, of putting by a fragment of it, when it cools, to preserve the house from fire during the coming year, &c. is confined to the rural districts."

The burning of the Yule log, and the exhibition of the boar's head, at grand Christmas entertainments are, in England, the still existing proofs of the influence and spread of Scandinavian manners and customs amongst us. The solemn manner of serving up the boar's head at Queen's College, Oxford, is so well known that we do not feel it necessary to do more than allude to it. Abundant information is afforded by Herr Cassel with reference to the custom of feasting upon the boar's head. "Who is there," he asks, "that upon Christmas night will not have roast pork, of one description or another, upon his table? In ancient times this practice was still more rigidly adhered to. In the northern districts, where boar-hunting and swine-feeding universally prevail, it is still strictly observed. On every table there is exhibited, with the fitting magnificence that suits the Christmas night, a boar's head. In Sweden, it is the invariable rule to have a boar's head, and it is there named *Julhös*. In Uckermark it is indispensable to present the Christmas guest with cabbage, hog's-puddings, and a boar's head. In Silesia, they have smoked bacon and dried fruit. In the

Scandinavian countries, no one would think of a Christmas festival without swine's flesh; and whenever it is not possible to have it in reality, they have the figure of a pig baked in dough set upon the table, and it is called *Yulagal*."

But why was there this particular veneration for the boar amongst the pagan Scandinavians and Germans? Because, we are told by F. Nork, in his *Mythologie der Volkssagen und Volksmärchen*, "men swore by the boar, on account of its being the favourite animal of Freir and Freia (weil man bei einem Eber, dem Lieblingsthier des Freir und Freia, schwur)." If we were to pursue the inquiry a little further, we might be reminded of the *Ἀδωνία* of Greece, and of the conspicuous part assigned to "the boar" in that double festival of mourning and rejoicing. This, however, is not the place to pursue such an investigation.

We turn, then, from a custom tinged with paganism to one that is undoubtedly and purely Christian—namely, the practice of having in most Catholic churches, and all convents, a "crib" constructed at Christmas time, to exhibit the great event which has consecrated the 25th of December. In France, Germany, and Italy, it was the custom to have the crib behind the altar; and some of the ceremonies practised in the thirteenth century are thus described by Cassel: "The Blessed Virgin was represented by an image. A boy appeared as an angel, and announced the birth of Christ. Next came the shepherds, and sang, 'Peace on earth.' Then a dialogue took place between them. This was followed by the saying of mass; and songs were sung, to which the child in the cradle was rocked. There were not, however, the same customs every where. In many districts the priest was represented as seeking for, finding, and rocking, the child, and then showing it to the congregation." In an ancient manuscript of sacred melodies, the following directions are given: "Upon Christmas night is sung the joyous hymn 'A solis ortus cardine,' and then the child is rocked to the words 'Resonet in laudibus;' and then our Lady begins to sing, 'Joseph, lieber Neffe mein;' and St. Joseph answers, 'Gerne, liebe Muhme mein;' and then the choir sings another hymn." In a German Christmas ballad these words are sung by the Virgin:

"Sausa ninne, gottes minne  
Nu sweig und zu!  
Wen du wilt, so wellen wir deinen willen tun.  
Hochgelobter edler furst, nu sweig und wein auch nicht,  
Tüste das, so wiss wir, dass uns wol geschicht."

It is to be observed that the words *Sausaninna*, *Sausaninna*,



are used as a lullaby with mothers and nurses when rocking their children to sleep. "Upon a holy Christmas night," it is said by a person describing the manners of former times, "in the town of Hof, and at Vespers, it was according to an ancient custom to have 'the rocking' of the infant Saviour. When the organist played 'Resonet in laudibus,' then the choir sang the words :

'Help me, Joseph, good and mild,—  
Help me to rock the little child.'

This hymn was sung and played in dancing time. And then the boys and little maidens in the church stood up, and all began dancing together round the altar; and this they did in a merry manner, to express the joy that was felt at the blessed birth which had taken place that night. The name given to this dance was the 'Pomwitzer-Tanz.' In Saxony there was a practice which cannot but be regarded as associated with the exhibition of the crib. Upon a Christmas night, a rope was fastened from the high church-tower to the ground, and a boy dressed up as an angel, and bearing a cross in his hand, slid gently down the rope, whilst singing,

"From heaven, my home,  
To you I come."

This custom continued until an accident occurred by the breaking of the rope. Even so late as twenty years ago, it was a practice in Tübingen to commence at twelve on a Christmas night "to rock the child" for an hour. This was done upon the tower of the principal church. In a cradle, surrounded with lights, was a doll-child, and encircling it were the choir, who sang the "Gloria in excelsis," and were responded to by the multitude below in a "rocking-song hymn." As this custom gave occasion to some disorders, it was put an end to.

A different description of the old religious play of Christmas, as given by Herr Cassel, will be found in Timbs's *Garland for the Year*, p. 146. Connected with such exhibitions must be regarded the perambulatory representations, at one period very popular in Germany, in which "the Christ-child" and "an angel" were the principal performers. Of these semi-pious dramatic pieces many particulars have been collected. In some of them the "child-Christ" appeared as a visitor in the house, bringing presents for good children, and a rod for the naughty. The great attraction of such representations must have been the gifts distributed amongst the children of the family before whom the "Christkind" made his appearance. The gifts appeared to the young members

of the household as if they had been sent from heaven. Upon other occasions the Christmas presents came into the possession of children by an unseen and mysterious agency. The gift was received, but the donor remained unknown. A knock or tap (*Klapp*) was heard at the door or window, and the moment one or other was opened the Christmas donation flew into the room. In Scandinavian countries, this gift was designated *Julklapp*. In Southern Germany, children as well as poor persons went round to the houses of their friends and of the rich, and, knocking at the doors, sought for presents or alms. The nights upon which this occurred were called *Klöpfleinsnächte*. In Swabia, the carol sung by the persons engaged in seeking donations consisted of rugged doggerel and not very rational rhymes,—something like these :

“ A holy night for a world forlorn  
 Was that on which our Lord was born.  
 Then sing high  
 A lullaby,  
 And with your gifts bid us good-by.  
 The house, we’re told,  
 Shall have silver and gold  
 That pity has on the poor and old.  
 Angels now sit behind your door,  
 And of apples and pears they have a store,  
 To fling us a few, and to give us more.  
 Then hasten, hasten, for the night is weary,  
 And kindly treat us for the love of Mary !”

With these mendicant “knockers” may be compared the waits, who still perambulate many parts of London. But before passing from those who were either the recipients or the givers of what in England is still called “a Christmas box,” it is necessary to mention that other personages beside “the Christ-child” were introduced as their distributors. In the Netherlands, it was St. Nicholas on a white horse, who brought apples, sweetmeats, nuts, oranges, and cakes; and that saint is always represented giving loaves to little children. In many parts of Germany, the pleasing task is performed, not by St. Nicholas, but by St. Stephen, who was regarded as preëminently the patron of horses, for which reason his anniversary was a favourite day with young men and boys amusing themselves with horse-riding. This sport is designated in Germany, on account of the day on which it is enjoyed, *Stephansritt*. In some provinces, a terrific figure is made up, bearing different names, such as “Ashenclass,” “Bullerclass,” and, in Northern Germany, “Rû-class.” The costume varies according to localities. The sham Nicholas is dressed in one place in skins, the face begrimed and dis-

figured, with bells attached to the person, which tinkle with every movement, and announce the coming of the formidable visitor to the family he is about to call upon. He bears in one hand a basket filled with gifts for good children; and for the bad he has a sack of ashes, into which it is expected he will put them, and carry them away with him. In other districts this fearful stranger has the head of a horse, and in some of a goat, with a piece of wood and burning lights in the mouth. This last hobgoblin is said to be as old as the time of Julius Cæsar; because, when the Roman general had despatched messengers to the Cimbri demanding a tribute of horses from them, they sent him back, in mockery, the head of a he-goat.

Such exhibitions as these undoubtedly led to abuses. There is on record a proclamation of the Duke of Mecklenburg in 1682, and another of the King of Prussia dated 23 December 1739, prohibiting the perambulations of the pretended "Nicholas," "Christ-child," &c., and all other "mummers,"—*vermummte Personen*.

Of the English mummers, such as they are to be found in the North of England at Christmas time in the present day, the most authentic account will be found in *The Dialect of Leeds*, pp. 364-370.

The English mummers are, in our estimation, the modern representatives of the dissolute and disorderly individuals whose pranks in ancient times brought down upon them the severe reprehension of the Church. These persons have been described by M. Manet as rioters "who disguised themselves as deer and other animals, and going about the country committed all sorts of follies." Among the favourite disguises of these wild youths was the assumption of the character of "wolves," having a wolf's head upon them and being covered with a wolf's skin. The names given to them in some places were "Cervuli," and in others "Wehrwolf." Olaus Magnus describes these sham wolves as breaking into the farmers' houses, drinking all the beer in the cellars, and carrying away the drinking vessels. The Bishop Faustinus, in a New-year's discourse, expressed his astonishment, "how persons in their sound senses could practise such a game as the *Cervuli*, in which men not only appeared, but conducted themselves, like animals destitute of reason,—going about howling and raging, as if they really were beasts, and not men." These *Wehrwolves*, from their gross and criminal conduct, were regarded as being really and truly "servants of the devil." The least condemnatory mode of describing their proceedings would be to say of them, that "they behaved themselves indecorously,—*petulanter sese gerere*." Amongst others by whom



they were strongly denounced were the English saints Boniface and Aldhelm. A good deal of information respecting them will be found in Ducange, sub vv. *cervula* and *cervuli*.

There is no incident, connected with the festivities of Christmas, on which the German writer Cassel dwells with more apparent satisfaction than the abundance of cakes and sweetmeats with which it is celebrated. "Above all things that the people of Germany like," he observes, "are its Christmas dainties, and its gingerbread in particular,—I mean the confectionery for which Nuremberg has become celebrated. It was a truly Christian thought which thus made Christmas so relishing (*schmeckten*) to children. 'On Christmas night,' says the Pastor Gregorius Strigenicus, 'there are Christmas barley-sugar sticks and gigantic butter-rolls.' Cakes made with honey and butter are a most befitting and appropriate Christmas treat. In the prophet Isaiah, after the fourteenth verse of the seventh chapter has announced the birth of Him who was to be called Emmanuel, are the words 'He shall eat butter and honey, that He may know to refuse the evil, and to choose the good.' Hence followed the ancient practice, when a child had been baptised, to moisten its lips with a mixture of milk and honey. Hence, too, in Christmas plays offerings of pats of butter and flakes of honey were made to the infant. Hence, too, the great liking, at all times, for sweetmeats. In Styria, the favourite dainties were cakes of honey and poppies; in Moravia, of poppy-dumplings; in Silesia, of poppy-puddings; and in the northern countries, of sugared groats. It is, too, a very old custom to make in confectionery all sorts of ecclesiastical ornaments, symbols, figures of saints, as well as of animals, such as deer, horses, boars, peacocks, &c."

A more appropriate mode of celebrating Christmas than the distribution of confectionery is the ringing of the church-bells at midnight. The joyous peal breaking upon the stillness of night, announcing the wondrous day of God's appearance upon earth, is well calculated to arouse the thoughts of all to piety and gratitude. In Friesland, upon the first ringing of the bells at twelve o'clock, the custom is for all the people to assemble together, and sing hymns in honour of the festival. In Northern Germany, it was the custom for the choir to be collected on the church-tower; and then, accompanied by all the young persons of the neighbourhood, upon the ringing of the bells they began to sing psalms. By the sound of the Christmas bells, it was believed, the devil and all evil spirits were put to flight, and those who were possessed were at once relieved from the grasp of the demon. In England, bell-ringing

is universal on Christmas morning; and "at Dewsbury," as we are informed by Mr Timbs, "one of the church-bells is tolled, as at a funeral: this is called 'the Devil's Knell,' the moral of which is, that the devil died when Christ was born. This custom was discontinued for many years, but revived by the vicar in 1828." In connection with this practice, there are some curious legends as to the bells of churches which had been overwhelmed by the waves of the sea, or buried by land-slips, or through earthquakes, being heard to ring upon Christmas Eve. There is, for instance, the Netherlands saga of a place called Been, close to Zoutleeuw. It is now engulfed in the ocean. It was a lovely and stately city, but foul with sin, when our Lord descended to earth upon a Christmas night to visit it. All the houses were flaming with lights, and filled with luxury and debauchery; and as our Lord, in the guise of a beggar, passed from door to door, there was not found a single person who would afford Him the slightest relief. Then, in His wrath, He spoke one word, and the waves of the sea rushed over the cruel town. No one can ever see it more; but the place where it is immersed is known by the sound of the church-bells coming up through the waters on a Christmas night. There was another town in the Netherlands that has disappeared in the earth; but still, upon a Christmas night, its church-bells can be heard tinkling far down in the solid soil, beneath which it is buried out of sight of every human being.

The practice of ringing the church-bells to announce the coming of Christmas originated, no doubt, with the old rule of the Catholic Church, in having the first mass of the festival at midnight. "The practice of celebrating three masses on this solemnity," observes Bergier,—*"one at midnight, the second at the dawn of day, and the third in the morning,—is very ancient, and formerly took place upon other fêtes."* "Each priest," says Godescard, "celebrates more than one mass on Christmas Day. The practice, which is very ancient, was observed in several places upon grand festivals. We learn from St. Prudentius, that on the feasts of SS. Peter and Paul (29 June), the Pope used to say two masses, one at the Vatican, and the other in the Church of St. Paul beyond the walls. Benedict XIV. has shown that, according to ancient monuments, the Popes formerly said three masses on Christmas Day; the first at the Liberian Church, the second in the Church of St. Anastasia, and the third at the Vatican. What was practised by the Pope was afterwards imitated by all priests; and the usage has become universal, without, however, being a matter of absolute precept."

Connected with this custom of the Church, there is a strange story told by Bodius, in his work entitled *De Magorum Dæmonia*, to the effect that, "in the year 1276, there was a priest at Halberstadt, named Johannes Teutonicus, the greatest necromancer of his time, who upon Christmas Day said his first mass at Halberstadt, the second at Mentz, and the third at Cologne." This anecdote, however apocryphal, of a priest supposed to be a magician may lead us on to an account of certain superstitions practised at Christmas time.

There was at one period a very general belief that during the hour preceding the commencement of Christmas Day the devil had more than ordinary power; that, as the time for his usual influence being weakened was drawing near, he was especially active in making use of the last moments allowed to him of exerting it on behalf of those who had recourse to him. That hour beyond all others was one in which persons seeking to obtain a knowledge of the future resorted to various absurd and unhallowed expedients. One of these was, going between the hours of eleven and twelve upon the Christmas Eve to a well, where, looking down into its placid surface, the gazer expected to see the face of his or her destined wife or husband. This, it is maintained by Herr Cassel, was a superstition of Scandinavian origin, even though he has not overlooked the following passage in Pausanias: "Upon the borders of Lycia is the oracle of Apollo Thyrxeus, near to the rocks of Cyane; and there, if a person descends into a fountain, all things that he would wish to know as to the future will be plainly predicted to him" (vii. 21, p. 578). According to the same superstitious notions, if a maiden wishes to know whether or not she is ever to be married, she goes to the henhouse-door, and knocks at it, between eleven and twelve on Christmas night. If the noise she makes is responded to by the crowing of a cock, she will be married; but if her knocking is followed by profound silence, she is doomed to a life of celibacy. Another superstition is practised with salt. Twelve onions are hollowed out, and into each is put a particle of salt. Each onion is named after a month of the year, and it is supposed that there will be rain in every month corresponding to an onion in which the salt melts. The same use is made of onions to learn what death will occur in a family. Each onion with salt in it is called by the name of a member of the family, and the one in which the salt melts indicates the person who is to die before that time twelvemonths. There is another superstition with onions. Four onions, without salt, are taken by a maiden, and put in the four corners of her room on a Christmas Eve. To each



onion is given the name of an unmarried man of her acquaintance; and if any one of the onions throws out shoots before the 6th of January, she will be married to that person. A superstition borrowed from the Jews is also practised on the same night. A person covered with a sheet goes into an open space of ground on which the moon is shining. He then casts the covering away from him; and if his shadow appears without a head, he will die in the course of the year. A piece of "white bread," a roll, is bought on the 24th of December; one end is cut off, and placed under the right arm, and so worn all night; and during that night the wearer's future husband or wife, it is supposed, will be dreamt of. The power of animals upon a Christmas night to indicate future events has been firmly believed in many places. Men listened on the roads on Christmas nights to hear the neighing of horses, and, according to the noise they made, it was judged whether or not there would be war in that district in the following spring. Maidens crept into stables, and by the whimpering of the steeds they could tell whether or not they were to be married. In Poland, a girl went into the farm-yard at midnight, and from whichever side she first heard a dog barking, she surmised that from that quarter of the country was to come her future husband. Not fifty years ago it was a matter of universal credence in Oberberg, that not only horses but swine could predict the future. The manner in which this last superstition was carried out is alike curious and ludicrous. The head of the family took a little pig out of the sty, brought it into the house, held it between his knees, pinched it until it squeaked, and then addressed it with the following conjuration:

"Witch-thing! witch-thing!  
Tell me what is new,  
Tell me what is true,  
Or I'll pinch and switch thee, witch-thing!"

The future was gathered from the variety and intensity of the cries of the tortured animal. A superstition was also practised with small piles of meal; a delusion so very ancient that it is mentioned by Ælian, in the fifth chapter of the eighth book, "*De Animalibus*." In that chapter the old Greek author dilates "upon various modes of divination," and tells "how the Lycians foretell the future by means of fish." He declares that there are "some who can indicate what is to happen by meal, and sieves, and cheese." The "meal-divination," it may be remarked, must have been exceedingly popular, or else one of Apollo's epithets, *ἀλευρόμαντις*, "the meal-prophet," would never have been bestowed

upon him. A superstition practised in Germany at Christmas, and also in Ireland (but never except upon holy eve), is that called "melting lead," and is one so well known that it requires no description from us. A similar trick to the "melting lead" is that of "melting wax," upon Christmas night, for the purpose of fortune-telling. In referring to this last superstition, Cassel introduces an apochryphal saga, which we give nearly in his own words: "It is said of our Lord that, when He was seven years old, He was upon one occasion playing with children of His own age, who amused themselves in moulding out of soft clay the likenesses of several creatures, such as asses, oxen, and birds; and when they began bestowing extravagant praises upon one another for the manner in which they had performed their several tasks, our Lord, for the purpose of showing His power, inspired all the little figures made by His companions with the breath of life, so that the animals walked about, and the birds flew up into the air." This anecdote, conveying a child's impression of the life-giving power of the Son of God, was perverted by the Mohammedans into an expedient for disparaging the Saviour; for whenever a person in Constantinople became a renegade, and rejected Christianity to embrace Islamism, he was especially required to abjure as untrue the notion "that Christ, when a child, had made a bird out of clay, and then by breathing upon it endowed it with life."

Superstitions upon Christmas Eve have not ceased with the advancement of civilisation, nor have they been confined to the Continent. They linger still in England. A very earnest and zealous English Protestant author, Mr. Timbs, states that, "in the village of Offham, near Arundel, on the evening of Christmas Day, may be seen in an orchard, a crowd of people, young and old, dancing round a large apple-tree, and repeating a rude chant to words of this purport: 'God bless this tree to the use of the master. May it flourish and bring forth abundantly, enough to fill a hat, to fill a basket, to fill a cart, to fill a wagon,' &c. This is followed by rude uncouth singing, and the same ceremony is performed round every apple- and pear-tree in the orchard. In Devonshire, a certain apple-tree, as representative of the rest, is sprinkled with cider, or a bowl of it is dashed against the tree, or cakes dipped in cider are hung upon the branches, followed by an incantation, and a dance round the tree, and then home to feast. On the eve of old Christmas Day are lighted thirteen fires, twelve (Apostles) in a circle, and a larger one round a pole in the centre (the Virgin Mary). While these fires are burning, the farm-labourers witness the brightness of the

apostolic and virgin flames from some shed, into which they lead a cow on whose horns a large plum-cake has been stuck. The oldest labourer, taking a pail of cider, addresses the cow thus :

‘ Here’s to thy pretty face and thy white horn !  
 God send thy master a crop of corn,  
 Both wheat, rye, and barley, and all sorts of grain ;  
 And next year, if we live, we’ll drink to thee again.’

The cider is then dashed in the face of the cow, who, by a toss of the head, generally throws the plum-cake on the ground. If it fall forward, it is an omen of a good harvest next year ; if backward, that it will be unfavourable. This commences the feast, which is usually kept up till next morning.”

The same author tells, that, “ among the miscellaneous customs of England upon Christmas night were card-playing, chess, draughts, jack-puddings in the hall, &c.” Gambling upon Christmas night has long been denounced by the Church authorities. “ What custom,” exclaims the pious Gerson, “ can be more damnable than that of ecclesiastics, princes, and laymen carousing and gambling with dice upon Christmas Day, instead of devoting their time to meditation upon the holy mysteries of the season ? ” We quote this passage from Cassel, who adds to it a legend to show the evil of card-playing at Christmas. The legend itself, however, we prefer taking from another authority,—Bechstein’s *Thüringer Sagenschatz*,—where it is told much more circumstantially : “ During the high mass, there were three men in a beer-house, and all engaged in playing cards. They stood in need of a fourth to make up a new game, and they all began to curse and blaspheme most awfully because no person at such a time was to be found in the taproom. All the people of the village were better engaged ; for they were attending to their Christmas devotions. Suddenly a stranger stepped into the beer-house, and called for a glass of brandy. ‘ Will you play a game of cards with us ? ’ asked the three boors. ‘ Why not ? ’ replied the stranger, ‘ for there is no one so well suited to be a companion to the like of you.’ With this the stranger sat down at the same table along with them. Whilst one of the boors began shuffling the cards, another wiped the table, for the purpose of marking the game. In doing so, his elbow knocked the chalk off the table, and it fell into little fragments on the floor. He stooped down to pick up the largest piece he could find, but in doing so, one may easily guess how awfully frightened he must have been when he observed that the stranger whom he and his associates had invited to



play cards with them on a Christmas Day had not the feet of a man, but the hoofs of a horse."

One circumstance there is connected with Christmas which has characterised it at all periods, and in every land in which there were to be found believers; and that is, the care then especially bestowed upon the needy and forlorn. In one of the capitularies of Charlemagne it is ordered that relief should at this season be afforded to those who are in prison; and there is still extant the edict of an ancient council forbidding prosecutions from seven days before Christmas until after the octave of the Epiphany. The spirit influencing old rulers of the state in the promulgation of such regulations still exists, and is in no part of the world in more active operation than in England. Christmas here is not only a time of general hospitality, but the poor, the sick, the maimed, and the afflicted, are sought out that they may be assisted and consoled. Private benevolence contends with public munificence in the distribution of gifts. Who can estimate the sums expended in the city of London alone during the Christmas holidays? The prisons, hospitals, almshouses, and even the union workhouses, rejoice upon the day when He was born who came to convert sinners, to heal the sick, and to preach the gospel to the poor. Charity flows from many fountains; and men then act as if they were convinced of the truth of the Polish saga, "that on Christmas night the heavens are opened, angels descend, the Mother of God walks upon the earth, and celestial hosts gather around those who are in all their actions true and sincere Christians." It is in accordance with the belief in such a saga that, as we are told by Cassel, it is the custom in the northern countries to have in every house a table as richly decorated as possible, with a cross and lights upon it, and these lights attended to, so that they shall be burning from darkness to daylight. In other places, there are two lights to burn during the night, and along with them food and a quart of beer; and no one in the house must presume to touch these until the next day. In Styria, the cloth with food remains on the table all night, in the hope that angels may come and partake of the family fare. In Transylvania, the master of the household sits on Christmas night at the head of his well-supplied table, wishing that our Lord and one of the Apostles may appear beneath his roof. When taking his seat, he repeats these lines:

"This night two guests I hope to see,  
And both, I'm sure, shall welcome be;  
With me, I trust, they'll deign to rest,  
And of all I own they'll have the best."

In Brittany, it is stated by De Nore, the richest dainties procured for the Christmas repast used to be left upon the table during the night, with the expression of a fervent prayer "that the Blessed Virgin might enter the dwelling and taste them."

The subject we have been discussing is far larger than the space we can bestow upon it. We must leave untouched many more strange notions, as well as various points of antiquarian, if not of higher, interest connected with the customs and superstitions of Christmas. We must refrain, for instance, from saying any thing about "the golden rose," and we cannot refer to the great events in mediæval ages associated with Christmas Day. The same silence must be observed as regards the different modes of keeping Advent; the connection between the 25th of March and the 25th of December; the further connection between those days and the creation of the world, and the fall of man; the connection as well as contrast between Eve and Mary; the marvels of the number six, and their connection with the 6th of January, the old Christmas Day of the Eastern Church; and the various mysteries combined with the festival of the Epiphany. These topics must be passed by altogether; and as regards Christmas Day itself we will add only one more remark. It was fitting that the great feast of the rising of the Sun of Justice should occur in the depth of winter, to show the excellence of hope over enjoyment in this world. The feast of the Precursor takes place in the blaze of summer, in the brightest period of the year and its most enjoyable season: the festival of the Messiah's coming is held amid the dismal darkness and cold fogs of winter, just after the solstice. But to him who remembers the words of the Precursor, "He must increase, but I must decrease," even this is not without a meaning. It is the sanctification of hope, the preference of reason to sense, of the future to the present; a feeling perhaps which made our pagan ancestors regard night as the mother of day, darkness of light, summer of winter, and death of renewed life.

## CONFESSIONS OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.

THE political testaments of monarchs and statesmen often explain not only their own conduct, but also the policy of the successors whom they aspired to guide. The men who have impressed their own characters most deeply upon the state, who have been the creators or leaders of new systems of government, or who have altered the course of their country, have naturally desired to convert their example into precepts, and in vindicating their own acts to insure those of their successors. And those successors, in their turn, have found that authority is easily preserved by the same arts by which it was obtained, and have been willing to accept their policy from the hands from which they had received their power. These testamentary bequests have occasionally been given to the world. Sometimes they have been preserved among the *arcana imperii* until the vicissitudes of war or revolution brought them to the light; and the secret has then been divulged long after it had lost its efficacy. To the historian these are the most valuable, because they are the most sincere. Public statements of policy may be intended to influence opinion: secret directions are meant to control action.

From the time when Augustus bequeathed to the Senate the narrative of his reign, to be graven on tablets of bronze at the entrance to his tomb, many of the greatest among the rulers of men have left behind them an exposition of their art. "Abiturus e vita," says Richelieu, in the unpublished dedication of his *Testament Politique*, "loquor veritatem eo momento quo nemo mentitur . . . . Ostendi orbi præterire ætatem Hispaniæ, et redire sæculum Galliæ." Lewis XIV. wrote directions for his grandson in the government of Spain, as well as reflections on the profession of a king, in which Voltaire considers that he is too severe to himself. In the present century his memoirs have been collected and published, and they exhibit his most intimate ideas; but, as Chateaubriand truly says, they betray nothing ignoble, and reveal none of those shameful secrets which the human heart too frequently covers. The policy of the Russian emperors, is traced out for them in the political Testament of Peter the Great. And Washington's Farewell Address, conceived in the spirit and almost in the words of Hamilton, recommended to the United States, as the condition of their existence, those principles of federalism on which their constitution as well as their independence was founded.



Neither the system of the French, nor that of the Russian, monarchy is as worthy of study as the philosophic absolutism of the second half of the eighteenth century. Burke has thrown the mantle of his incomparable eloquence over the governments of those days; and thousands whom his rhetoric has dazzled have taken its figures for historical realities. Others are tempted to conclude, from the prodigious violence of the uprising against it, that the old régime was a system of unmitigated oppression. But whilst the apostles of enlightenment were contriving the subversion of the State in France, their principles were adopted and put in practice by the governments themselves in Austria and Russia, in Spain and Portugal, in Naples and Parma. Modern liberalism, like the philosophy of the eighteenth century, has taken the princes of that age under its protection. If they were stern upholders of the dignity of the crown, at least they were enemies of the priesthood. They were despotic; but they used their power against the aristocracy, not for the oppression of the people. They were intolerant of resistance or popular control; but they believed in the greatest-happiness principle, and their strength was founded on material resources, not on that reverence for authority which is an inheritance of feudal and religious ages. Their greatest enemies were those which the Revolution attacked; their chief strength was in principles which the Revolution proclaimed. The substitution of democratic for feudal monarchy was in progress before the democracy took it in hand, and the revolutionists could fraternise with kings who understood sovereignty so differently from the believers in Divine right. According to the profound observation of Donoso Cortes, monarchy is the revolution conquered, while the empire is the revolution crowned; and the monarchies of the eighteenth century, under the influence of the public opinion of the day, were rapidly putting off the traditional and conservative, and assuming the imperial character. The change is important in history, because, although it led to great and beneficial improvements, it prepared the way for the success of the Revolution and of Napoleon, by concentrating and isolating the power of the State, and by destroying everywhere the elements of social resistance.

We want an authentic record of the motives and sentiments of European monarchy in the generation which preceded its fall. No Machiavelli has been inspired by sympathy, or by hatred, or by envy, to gather together the lessons which it has left us. No Richelieu of that age consented to publish to mankind the ideas by which European absolutism

was impelled and guided in its latest, its most intelligent, and its most vigorous phase. There has hitherto been no authoritative interpretation of its acts and its designs. The man most competent to speak of it would be Frederick the Great. He was not the instrument or the mouthpiece of other men. He did not take his notions of government out of a book, as Joseph II. borrowed his ideas from the *Monarque Accompli*, and Ferdinand of Parma from the *Cours d'Etudes* of Condillac. His originality of ideas was equal to his energy in action. He covered a decrepit society with the splendour of his genius; disguised by his vigour the weakness of his state; gained the applause of the revolutionary philosophers by his scoffs at religion; sheltered the Jesuits when they were expelled from Catholic states; and in his day was foremost in intellect and strongest of will in all the dynasties of hereditary kings.

Frederick wrote much about himself and his times; but he wrote for publication. He wrote history; but it was for purposes of policy, and with an eye to the future. He wrote on political morality; but it was before his theories had stood the test of experience and temptation. He uttered many precepts; but he did not illustrate them by his own example. It would have been madness to publish his inmost thoughts, or to reveal to his enemies the key to his policy and the secret of his astonishing success. For he owed that success in a great degree to his own ingenious arts; and he had reduced kingcraft to a system as settled and complete as his theory of war.

But he did not intend that his successor should be left in ignorance, like the rest of the world. He believed that nothing but fidelity to his own example would avail to preserve the state which he had constructed. It was necessary that those who were to continue his work should not be deceived as to his character and his policy. His kingdom was a thing of violent and artificial growth, surrounded by obstacles, beset by irreconcilable enemies; and ruin would assuredly fall on his successors if they should be deluded into an inadequate idea of the talents, or into an exaggerated idea of the virtues, of him who was the author of their greatness. It was essential that they at least should know the whole truth, both regarding the political calculations which guided him and the moral considerations which he deemed it necessary to set aside. He accordingly provided this information for them.

Late in his career, when the tumult of his reign was over, and he was peacefully hoarding the harvest of his exertions, he wrote instructions in the art of reigning, for the use of the

nephew who was to be his heir. The authentic text of this important work has at length appeared.<sup>1</sup> It contains the most portentous exposition of the state of waning royalty in Europe a century ago, when it had lost its chivalrous and religious character, and had not submitted to the control of opinion and law. It is the code of the absolutism of a cultivated and unbelieving age; when religion had lost its authority with the masses; when the nobles were corrupt and the administration centralised; when the power of the press was exerted by the propagation of certain theories, rather than by the publicity of authentic information, and consequently lay at the disposal of intriguers; and when the magistracy was the only influence that retained any vestige of independence. To this age and this system it is what the *Principe* was to the tyrannies of the fifteenth century, and the *Discorso* of Sarpi to a patrician oligarchy. It is even more. For it is not only the work of a philosophical observer, but of one who himself perfected and exercised the art he teaches, and whose purpose and character gave him the strongest inducements to reveal even his most secret thoughts. The political lessons which it teaches are not always of general application; but its historical authority is greater than that of any similar work. It will not diminish the estimate which the admirers of Frederick entertain of his abilities, nor reverse the judgment which his enemies have passed on his character.

Frederick's art of reigning, or *Matinées Royales*, is divided into four principal subjects. It begins with a description of his kingdom, then examines the policy of the State towards the two powers which may curb the royal authority, viz. religion and law, and concludes with the general theory of government. The very first precept marks the tone and character of the whole: "Ne vous avisez plus de faire l'enfant, et sachez pour toujours qu'en fait de royaume, on prend quand on peut, et qu'on n'a jamais tort quand on n'est pas obligé de rendre." Frederick most assuredly cannot claim to be the author of this maxim. Others have believed it and have acted upon it before. But till his time no man could act openly on such a principle with impunity. Iniquitous and violent acts had been committed without number; but in the then state of opinion in Europe it was impossible to neglect the pretence of justifying them. There was not less violence, but there was more sophistry, and wrong was particular in assuming the guise of justice, and vice in paying

<sup>1</sup> Les *Matinées Royales*, ou l'Art de Régner, opusculé inédit de Frédéric II, dit le Grand, Roi de Prusse. Londres: Williams et Norgate.



tribute to virtue. The Partition of Poland was the first great public event in which this solicitude for appearances was openly discarded. Even the seizure of Silesia was defended by legal arguments. Poland was the first victim to bare expediency; and the author of the Partition very appropriately lays down with ingenuous simplicity the principle on which it was accomplished.

The precepts respecting religion which are given in the book are remarkable. Frederick was an infidel; but he understood the power of religious belief, both as a limit and as a protection to authority. He considered that the morality of Christianity acted as a check on the people, and need not be feared by their rulers, because it was simply a restraint, not an incitement. But men might be enthusiastic for a dogmatic system; and their attachment to a visible religious body or authority might counteract their allegiance to the State. He therefore wished to obliterate the distinctive characters of the different denominations, and to effect a general union of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, on a much more comprehensive basis than that which was introduced among the Protestants in Prussia thirty years after his death. The scheme had been originally devised by his father. The conquest of Silesia, by adding considerably to the number of his Catholic subjects, gave it greater importance and larger proportions; and it was warmly taken up by the French philosophers, nearly all the most eminent of whom were to have a share in the work.

From the description which Frederick gives of the two projects, his father's and his own, it appears that the first was conceived merely in the spirit of Rationalism, out of a sort of disgust and impatience at the continuance of dogmatic disputes in an enlightened age and under a monarch so arbitrary as Frederick William; while the second was founded on deeper motives of policy. At first, Lutheranism was taken as the basis of the new system; but the Lutherans were expected to give up whatever repelled other men. The mysteries of religion were to be surrendered, because "there must be good sense in all things, and we must not stick to words." Public communion was to be abolished, as an expedient to conciliate the Calvinists. The use of images and the invocation of saints were accepted as useful for the lower orders; but the Catholics were to be isolated from Rome, as they afterwards were in Austria under the emperor Joseph, and the celibacy of the clergy was to be given up.

These ideas were considerably developed by Frederick himself. He was resolved to put an end to all that could

divide men amongst themselves, in order that their duties as subjects might take precedence of every thing else: "en leur inculquant la nécessité absolue de vivre et mourir en paix, et de faire leur unique bonheur des vertus sociales." For this end he sought to undermine religious zeal, or, as he says, prejudices, on every side. "I cause to be disseminated in every thing that is written in my kingdom a contempt for the Reformers; and I lose no opportunity of exposing the ambition of Rome, and of both priests and ministers." But this negative action was not enough. He undertook to provide a definite system of faith and worship, and to induce his people to adopt it. "As a form of worship is required, I shall, if I live, cause some man to arise and preach one. At first I shall pretend to persecute him; but by degrees I shall declare myself his protector, and warmly embrace his system." That system was completely ready. The preamble, in which the hopeless uncertainty of religion was demonstrated by the impossibility of agreement, and each of the existing religions was ridiculed with great dexterity and apparent good faith, was composed by Voltaire. The constructive part of the system was drawn up by D'Alembert and Maupertuis; and their argument was so elaborate, that it seemed, says Frederick, as if they had begun by convincing themselves, before they demonstrated its truth to others. They laboured to prove the sacred history a fable, "and had compiled at least thirty reflections on each passage of the Bible." Rousseau was engaged in preparing the refutation of all conceivable objections; and Voltaire and D'Argens had arranged a plan for a council, to be presided over by the king, at which each of the three recognised religions was to be represented by one of its ministers, and every province of the kingdom by two deputies of the nobility and as many of the third estate. "Our ancestors became Lutherans in the sixteenth century, in order to take the property of the Church; and Calvinists in the seventeenth, in order to gain the Dutch in the cause of the succession of Cleves. We may well become indifferent to all religion, in order to preserve tranquillity in our dominions."

Frederick cannot help admiring the skill of his ancestors, who were so highly favoured by circumstances that they could "make a reform which gave them the air of apostles, while it filled their purses. This is unquestionably the most reasonable change of the kind that ever occurred; but as there is nothing to gain, and as it would be dangerous just now to walk in their footsteps, we must hold fast to toleration." He was probably the first sovereign in Europe who was tolerant purely from motives of policy. He could not understand the

stern intolerance of Protestantism, but he shared the fanatical hatred of Rome which was general among the French infidels ; and the example of many Catholic countries in his day might have urged him to persecute. He calls the Catholics the most fierce and atrocious fanatics ; their clergy, he says, are wild-beasts, and wield a despotic authority, and the Pope still lords it over kings. Yet, with all this fear and hatred in his soul, he insists that every man must worship in his own way, and that to neglect this maxim would be the ruin of the State. The prince, by keeping aloof from religious controversy, extinguishes it in his dominions : “ *car les partis ne se forment que sur la faiblesse des princes . . . . Le meilleur moyen d’écarter le fanatisme de ses états, c’est d’être de la plus froide indifférence sur la religion.*” A wise sovereign, moreover, will not persecute, because he will not be under the influence of religion himself. “ *Je ne dis pas pourtant qu’il faille afficher l’impiété et l’athéisme, mais—il faut penser selon le rang que l’on occupe . . . . La vraie religion d’un prince veut l’intérêt des hommes et sa propre gloire. Il doit être dispensé par état d’en connaître d’autre . . . . Ce serait le comble de la folie, si un prince s’attachait à des petites misères qui ne sont faites que pour le peuple . . . . Si nous nous souvenons que nous sommes chrétiens, tout est perdu, nous serons toujours dupe.*” The people, therefore, are to be under the authority of morality, but not of doctrine ; whilst the sovereign must be free from even the last restraint upon his will. The public good and his own glory are the supreme law. If he is subject to scruples of conscience he will be the victim of a less scrupulous and less superstitious enemy, and where he makes an unjust war he will see an army of devils arrayed against him. In this part of his argument Frederick falls into a vulgar cynicism.

We recognise his political acuteness again in the chapter on the administration of justice. It is of the utmost consequence, he maintains, that the law should be justly and impartially administered among the subjects. The prince who attends to this will be adored by them. But the king is not subject to the law. “ *Il ne doit y avoir aucune égalité entre le droit du monarque et le droit du sujet ou de l’esclave.*” Justice is an altogether arbitrary notion. It is not understood alike in any two countries. Every one, therefore, must interpret it in his own way and to his own advantage. Old laws and customs possess a time-honoured authority which may be inconvenient to the king, whilst a code of laws which is his own work and subsists by his own sanction cannot be a limit to the exercise of his power. “ *Je suis né trop ambitieux pour souffrir qu’il y ait quelque chose dans mes états qui*



me gêne, et très-certainement c'est ce qui m'a obligé à faire un nouveau code." Frederick, by this remarkable admission, proves the case of Savigny and the historic school of jurisprudence in their resistance to codification. There is a close parallel between his views on law and on religion; and the formula with which he overthrows the idea of right is borrowed from his argument against Christianity. "Why is it extraordinary if a man chooses to be just in his own way?" The negative toleration which is founded on indifference allows no religious basis, and therefore no moral sanction for laws. On the other hand, jurisprudence is founded on ethics, and morality on dogma. An original unity of belief, or, in other words, intolerance, is therefore implied in the common law of every nation that retains its own.

As the supremacy of law is the most grievous impediment to the enjoyment of sovereign power, an independent body of jurists is the most formidable enemy of absolutism. Frederick's reflections on this topic are more profound than any thing in the rest of his work. "That which caused me most concern was the sure and constant course of the law, that spirit of liberty inseparable from its principles, and the dexterity with which jurists press their advantages, and crush their opponents under the appearance of the severest equity. . . . For these reasons I determined to sap the foundations of this mighty power; and by simplifying the law as much as I could, I reduced it to the point which I desired. You will be surprised, perhaps, my dear nephew, that men who never speak of the sacred person of the king but with respect, should be alone capable of giving him the law. It is for this very reason that it is easy for them to set bounds to our power." He had seriously weighed the merits and disadvantages of constitutional government. "I have often meditated on the advantage which a kingdom derives from a body that represents the nation, and is the guardian of the laws. I think a king is more secure on his throne when he is placed or retained upon it by such an assembly. But he must be an honest man to allow his actions to be examined daily. If you are ambitious, you must abandon the idea." There is a comparison between the position of a despot and that of a constitutional sovereign, which concludes by recommending a despotism for a great man, for the singular reason that his courtiers dare not deceive him, while a limited monarch is misled by adulation. But Frederick admits that it is a misfortune for the people to live even under an enlightened despotism. This is, perhaps, the only passage in which he presents a favourable contrast to Lewis XIV. Frederick sees clearly, and is not blinded by

pride or a narrow-minded hypocrisy. He has a more honest mind than Lewis, and less of that awe and superstition with which the latter was filled by the contemplation of his own greatness. He explains, as follows, one of the beneficial fruits of despotism: "My monarchy is despotic; therefore I alone bear the responsibility. If I did not travel through the provinces, the governors would put themselves in my place, and would gradually divest themselves of the principles of submission, to adopt those of independence. As my commands are necessarily haughty and absolute, those who represent me would assume the same tyrannical tone; whereas, by occasionally visiting the different parts of my kingdom, I become aware of every abuse of the powers I have committed to others, and bring back to their duty those who have transgressed it."

On the balance of power Frederick speaks with the knowledge and penetration we should expect in the man who overthrew it. "There are bad politicians who imagine that a state which has grown to a certain point must not think of increasing, because the system of the balance of power assigns its corner to each . . . . The balance of power is a word which has subjugated the whole world, because people believed that it secured permanent possession; but, in reality, it is nothing but a word . . . . When Prussia has accomplished her fortune, she may give herself an air of good faith and moderation, which only suits great states and very small ones." That day was still remote, and Frederick was conscious that his actual resources were not equal to supporting the position he had gained. "The first means of success is to possess real power and resources; the second is to employ well what one has. We are not in the first position."

He employed two methods to deceive the world as to the extent of his power. One was, to make men believe that the Potsdam drill and manœuvring had some real efficacy and value. This was important, not so much because of the fear with which it inspired his enemies, as on account of the confidence with which it animated his own troops. "All the world believed themselves lost if they could not move their arms, their feet, and their heads *à la Prussienne*. All my soldiers thought themselves worth twice as much when they saw that they were imitated every where." He tried to gain their attachment by a trick which was adopted afterwards by Napoleon. Before a review, he learnt by heart the names of some of the officers and sergeants, and spoke to them by name as he passed through the ranks: "*cela me donne un air singulier de mémoire et de réflexion.*" His other artifice was the employment of men of letters to publish his praises.

He knew the value of their aid ; but he despised them heartily. "Between ourselves, they are a cursed race ; they are insupportably vain, proud, full of contempt for the great and of thirst for greatness, tyrannical in their opposition, implacable enemies and inconstant friends, hard to deal with, and often flatterers and satirists in the same day . . . . But they are necessary to a prince who means to reign despotically, and who is fond of glory . . . . In the midst of my greatest misfortunes, I took care that the pensions of the men of letters should be paid." He explains his treatment of Voltaire as follows : "In reality, I feared him ; for I was not sure of treating him always equally well, and I knew perfectly that one crown less would bring two blows."

In fact his whole life, down to the smallest details, was carefully studied, for the purpose of deceiving and astonishing the world. "When I arrive at a place, I always look fatigued, and show myself in public in a very bad coat, and with my wig uncombed : *ce sont des riens qui produisent souvent une impression singulière.*" He was fond of good living, but obtained a reputation for great sobriety. When he dined in public, his German cook prepared the dinner, and he drank beer. But when he was alone, his French cook found it hard to satisfy him. "You would hardly believe," he says, "how important it is for a king or a state to quit the beaten track. It is only by the marvellous that one imposes, and makes oneself a name." Finally he sums up his whole system in these words : "Voulez-vous passer pour un héros ? Approchez hardiment du crime. Voulez-vous passer pour un sage ? Contrefaites-vous avec art."

It is easy to see how far these confidential explanations modify, and how far they confirm, the common opinion about Frederick the Great, such as Macaulay represents, or the admiration of those who think, with Mr. Carlyle, "that in his way he is a Reality ; that he always means what he speaks ; grounds his actions, too, on what he recognises for the truth." They show him as completely destitute of moral principle as Machiavelli's Prince, but less liable to sacrifice great aims to petty weaknesses than any conspicuous character of modern times. No biographer has ever done justice to his profoundly calculating intellect, to his power of dissimulation, to his cynical candour, or to his knowledge of the men of his time. But there is not a pretext left for those who have made him their idol to attribute to him either moral respectability, honour, or public spirit. Yet the *Matinées* have not remained entirely unknown to this day. Several editions are



enumerated in Barbier's *Dictionnaire des Ouvrages anonymes*, s. v. *Matinées*, and in the Berlin edition of Frederick's writings, *Table Chronologique générale*, p. 159. A most corrupt and often unintelligible text was published only three years ago in the *Correspondance inédite de Buffon*, ii. 423, from a copy given to the son of Buffon, at Sans-Souci, by Frederick himself, in 1782, as the editor imagines, for the first time—"Ce manuscrit ne fut jamais publié" (p. 421). The text now published is taken from a different and a more reliable source.

In the year 1806, when Napoleon was at Berlin, his private secretary, the Baron de Méneval, found the manuscript of the *Matinées* at Sans-Souci. Judging it to be in the handwriting of the king, with which he must have been acquainted, he took a copy, which forms the basis of the present edition. There are many characteristic signs which make it probable that he had the original autograph before him. It is written incorrectly, in a rapid, uneven style, and is not unfrequently obscure. A very superficial comparison with Buffon's copy will be enough to prove the higher authority of that of Méneval. In the former we read: "Notre maison a eu, ainsi que toutes les autres, ses Architectes, ses Cicérons, ses Nestors, ses Nérons, ses imbéciles," &c. This passage in the new edition is as follows: "Notre maison a eu ses Achilles, ses Cicérons, ses Nestors, ses imbéciles," &c. To put *Architectes* for *Achilles* might be only the blunder of a copyist; but the introduction of Nero shows that the writer of the copy did not understand the original. Three successive margraves of Brandenburg were surnamed respectively Achilles, Cicero, and Nestor. Nero is mere amplification. Nearly all the most significant passages are entirely omitted in Buffon's text;—amongst others, that in which Frederick expresses his opinion of the Catholics; that in which he declares that justice must be done only when no interests of the State are involved; that in which he asserts the superiority of despotic government; and all the bitterest remarks on the men of letters. Many little touches which would not sound well in the ears of a French philosopher are carefully expunged, and almost every alteration is evidently suggested by the desire of appearing to advantage. Each of the two copies bears the most ample and satisfactory testimony to the authenticity of the other; but it is unquestionable that the real intimate ideas of Frederick are to be found in the text M. de Méneval.

The great Berlin edition of the works of Frederick, which was completed in 1857, three years before the correspondence of Buffon was published, does not contain the *Matinées*. The exclusion is accounted for in the following note: "*Matinées*

Royales, ou Entretiens sur l'Art de Régner (sans lieu d'impression), 1766, 60 pages in-8. Les éditions et les manuscrits de cette mauvaise satire contre Frédéric qui datent d'avant 1770 ne renferment que cinq matinées. . . . Plus tard les éditeurs ont ajouté les deux matinées *Du Militaire* et *De la Finance*, et intitulé l'ouvrage : *Les Matinées du Roi de Prusse, adressées à son neveu*. Les archives de la maison royale conservent trois manuscrits de l'ouvrage en question, dont deux portent des notes de la main de M. de Catt, lecteur de Frédéric. On lit sur l'un, composé de cinq matinées : 'Envoi de Mr. Grimm de Paris pour en rendre compte au Roi ;' et sur l'autre, de sept matinées : 'Envoi de Mr. Grimm pour montrer au Roi ou lui en faire part.' M. P. R. Anguis a reproduit six matinées sous le titre de : *Les Conseils du Trône donnés par Frédéric II, dit le Grand, aux Rois et aux Peuples de l'Europe*, Paris, 1823. M. Techener parle de l'ouvrage qui nous occupe dans son *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, Paris, 1843, in-8, p. 172, 173. Voici ce qu'il en dit : 'Ces *Matinées Royales* n'ont pu être composées que par un des ennemis de Frédéric. Il ne faut pour s'en convaincre que lire dans la *quatrième matinée*, au paragraphe sur *les Plaisirs*, la manière dont on lui fait faire l'aveu de la plus avilissante faiblesse.' Thiébault, dans ses *Souvenirs*, quatrième édition, tome iv. p. 181-183, attribue les *matinées* à un officier français qu'il ne nomme pas,<sup>2</sup> mais qu'il désigne comme ayant accompagné le maréchal de Saxe en qualité d'aide-de-camp ; il ajoute que cet officier, s'étant hasardé à paraître dans les états de Frédéric, après avoir fait paraître en Hollande cet ouvrage apocryphe, fut arrêté et conduit à Spandow, où il fut enfermé pour le reste de ses jours et où il mourut en effet. Ce fait prouve que ce n'est ni à Voltaire, comme l'a prétendu M. Jouyneau des Loges, ni au baron Patono, ainsi que l'a avancé l'abbé Denina, que l'on doit imputer les *Matinées Royales*. On peut enfin consulter Barbier, *Dictionnaire des Anonymes*, t. ii. p. 335 et 336, article *Matinées*, et la notice littéraire que nous avons insérée dans la *Staatszeitung*, Berlin, 1845, 26 juin, no. 175, p. 852, lorsque le Constitutionnel avait reproduit les *Matinées Royales*, qui ont aussi paru sous le titre de : *Entretiens sur l'Art de Régner, divisés en cinq soirées* (sans lieu d'impression), 1766, 24 pages in-8."

This is all that the editors tell us about the *Matinées*. If it was intended as an argument against the genuineness of the work, there would be a manifest *petitio principii*; for it

<sup>2</sup> "Il s'appelait Bonneville. Voyez (Fr. Nicolai) Freimüthige Anmerkungen über des Ritters von Zimmermann Fragmente über Friedrich den Grossen, t. i. p. 181 et 182; t. ii. p. 253 et 254."

begins by assuming that it is a worthless satire. Two of the Ms. copies in the royal archives are accounted for, and the third is passed over with a silence which would be very significant if the notice pretended to critical accuracy. If it is a copy of the printed work, it would not be so carefully preserved; certainly it would not be deposited in the archives without note or comment; and if it bore any sign or mark by which it could be proved to be no original, so important a testimony against the hypothesis that it is the work of Frederick would not have been omitted by the editors. The admission that this third manuscript copy exists in the archives is of some consequence, as it is without doubt the one which M. de Méneval transcribed. We can neither believe that he would have taken the trouble to copy manuscripts which had been sent from Paris by Grimm, or that, having access to the papers of Frederick, he was ignorant of his handwriting. But though the editors throw no light on the subject, they refer us to the authority of M. Techener for the internal criticism of the piece, and to the narrative of Thiébault for its material history; and they appear to suppose that the words of these writers possess some actual value.

Thiébault was one of those Frenchmen with whom Frederick delighted to surround himself. He spent twenty years at Berlin, and wrote a collection of anecdotes in honour of his patron, which acquired no little popularity, and contributed to establish the ordinary view of the character of the king. The evidence which he gives concerning the matter in question is to the following effect: "The marshal of Saxony came to visit the king, doubtless in order to concert with him the plan of the next campaign. A French officer, who was still young, though he had already served in America, accompanied the marshal as his aide-de-camp. This officer was a man of parts, but neither prudent nor delicate. It is said that he obtained of the copyist of Frederick the *Matinées du Roi de Prusse*, or discussions between that monarch and the eldest of his brothers and his heir, for twenty-four hours only; and that, as a natural return for this indiscretion, he lent at the same time to the copyist the manuscript *Réveries* of the marshal; that, in spite of the most solemn promise to read the works without transcribing them, they both sat up all night secretly copying them; and that in this way the public had, on the one hand, the first edition of the *Réveries*, and on the other the Dutch edition of the *Matinées*. There must be some error in this story. It is quite certain that Frederick never composed these pretended *Matinées*, although it is possible, and even likely enough, that he may have said in different



conversations some of the things which they contain. Perhaps his secretary had gathered up some of these real or supposed utterances; and perhaps this collection came into the hands of the French officer, and was converted into the *Matinées*. I offer this suggestion, because it is true that the latter, having quitted the marshal and gone to Holland, there published these apocryphal *Matinées*, and was fool enough to imagine that his secret was known to nobody; that afterwards, being in search of employment, he flattered himself, on the strength of some vague promises, that he could obtain a commission in the Prussian service; and that, having ventured to appear in the dominions of Frederick, he was arrested, carried to Spandow, where he was imprisoned for the rest of his days, and where he died many years ago."

Thiébauld evidently knew nothing about it. The marshal of Saxony was at Berlin in 1749, and died in 1750. The *Matinées*, whoever may be their author, were written after the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763. They are addressed to Prince Frederick William, who was born in 1745. The writer is not a Frenchman, for the style is full of Germanisms. Yet it may very well be that the French officer Bonneville, who died at Spandow, came by some unknown means into possession of the manuscript, and caused it to be printed. It appeared first in 1766, and was sent by Grimm to the king's private secretary, De Catt. The hypothesis that Bonneville was the author stands altogether unsupported. Dr. Preuss, the royal Prussian historiographer, and the editor of Frederick's works, informs us<sup>3</sup> that, as soon as the book reached Berlin, on the 4th of March 1766, the king caused an article to be inserted in the Hamburg and Altona Newspapers, by his resident at Hamburg, Colonel Quintus Icilius. Its purport was as follows: "A certain book has been lately printed under the title of *Les Matinées du Roi de Prusse*. It is astonishing that people can be so impudent and so malicious as to write such false, unfounded, and nonsensical things, and use the name of a great monarch. If neither the dishonour, nor the impropriety, nor the insolence of such conduct restrained the author and the printer from outraging polite society in such a way, they ought to have been prevented by the danger to which they exposed themselves of meeting one day with the punishment they have deserved."

We learn nothing from this article. Frederick must necessarily have been angry at the publication, whether the book was genuine or fabricated. He could not avoid ex-

<sup>3</sup> In an article in the *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes*, of Wednesday, April 10, 1861.

pressing, in either case, his protest and his displeasure. It appears, therefore, that the publisher must have known that he could not visit Prussia in safety. If he had forged the book, and had drawn out of his own heart the lineaments of the infamous character of the king, it is incredible that one who was so familiar with the depths of human selfishness should have trusted himself, with the consciousness of his guilt upon him, within the grasp of the man he had so grievously libelled. The fate of Bonneville does not offer the same inexplicable mystery, if we abandon the hypothesis of Thiébault and Preuss. He had obtained a copy of the original manuscript in some way which in all probability could not be justified, and he had published it. He had committed a grave act of indiscretion, perhaps a breach of confidence. But his crime against the king was incomparably less than the deliberate composition of such a work under his name. That he should, under the circumstances, have put himself in the power of Frederick, was another act of imprudence, but an act less inconsistent with this interpretation of his character than with the villany which, on the other alternative, we must attribute to him.

The only hypothesis which has been devised by those who deny the authenticity of the *Matinées* has nothing in the external facts of the case to support it. Neither Thiébault nor Dr. Preuss produce a single argument against the opinion, that the real author was Frederick. So far, therefore, that opinion is not conclusively established; but no other person can be found whose claims possess the slightest force. The only argument derived from the tenor of the text itself is conveyed by the editors, in the form of a quotation from the French bibliographer M. Techener. It is, he says, impossible that any man could have confessed his own degrading vices. In fact, this is the only logical argument which the editors have ever brought forward to justify the omission of the *Matinées* from their collection of Frederick's writings.

Dr. Preuss is a gentleman of such extraordinary credulity where the honour of Frederick is at stake, that he may be sincere in considering this argument decisive. He has read all the works of the king, including his letters to Voltaire, D'Argens, and Prince Henry, and nevertheless he is able to affirm that "Frederick never spoke of the Christian religion otherwise than with the most suitable reverence."<sup>4</sup> It does not matter, however, whether we assume that the editor is destitute of the critical faculty, or that his private conviction was overruled by a different motive. In neither

<sup>4</sup> Preuss, Friedrich der Grosse, iii. 175.

case could the *Matinées* have been included in an official edition, printed by the king's printer and superintended by the historiographer-royal. The fame of the great king is a tower of strength to his descendants. The belief in his patriotic policy and character is partly the cause of the sympathy which the House of Hohenzollern enjoys in Germany. The official recognition and adoption of the confidential statement of his system would be an ungenerous and destructive blow at the foreign policy of the country. In another point of view it would be even more than impolitic. The *Matinées* contain a description of the Prussian people, scornful and insulting in the highest degree, and yet not so unfair as to be without a sting. To publish this as the estimate formed of the character of his subjects by the greatest king of the race, in an edition of his writings published officially, with the sanction of government, would be an outrage which no sovereign possessing the least sense of honour or of his own dignity would think of committing, and which no sovereign could commit with impunity. We are inclined to think that it is owing as much to this feeling of the utter impossibility of involving the royal family in the responsibility of the *Matinées*, as to a reluctance to alter the popular belief in the virtues of Frederick, that the editors, in excluding them from their edition, have taken so little pains to justify the omission.

For the passage to which M. Techener alludes is in perfect harmony with the cynical tone of the whole work. The same spirit animates every part. Every where we find the same unvarying egotism, the same heartless sneer at every moral virtue,—redeemed only by the candour and self-knowledge with which it is put forth, and by the sagacity with which it is applied, for good as well as for evil, to the art of government. Other men have been as selfish in their objects, and as vicious in their acts. But very few have been so distinctly conscious of the nature of their motives; and few intellects have been so highly sharpened by interest to discern some of the highest truths of policy. The *Matinées* are in this respect a masterpiece, such as no writer could have conceived or executed who had not the model before him. The author must have sat for his own portrait; he must have possessed the wonderful character and intellect which he describes.

Frederick is perfectly conscious of the immorality of his precepts; but he does not believe in morality. He knows that he is not raising himself in the eyes of his nephew; but he tells him to put off the simplicity of childhood, and to understand the qualities which make not a good man, but



a great king. He exposes his own moral faults without pride or humiliation, but in order that his successor may learn, at his expense, the secret by which power is increased. Accordingly, he disguises nothing which may contribute to that end. His purpose is clear, and the book corresponds accurately with it. There are many traits in his correspondence, as it is included in the late edition of his works, which confirm the statements of the *Matinées*.

The same considerations which have caused their exclusion have determined the choice of his letters. The edition is not complete. An official edition probably could not be complete. Although it is distinctly affirmed that all Frederick's writings are included, there is only one letter to Catherine II. It is dated April 22, 1781,<sup>5</sup> and congratulates the empress on having dictated the Peace of Teschen, by which Russia acquired the right of interfering in the concerns of Germany, which had, since the year 1648, been enjoyed by France. Now Frederick was in intimate alliance with Catherine for twenty years, during which time several matters of a very delicate nature were negotiated between them. Amongst these were the Partition of Poland, and the marriage of the Grand-duke Paul with a princess of Hesse Darmstadt, which was arranged by Frederick. Is it credible that during all this time he never wrote to her except in the case of the one single letter which is contained in the *Œuvres*? Dohm, who was not an enemy of Frederick, tells us that the flattery with which he kept his ally in good humour was not always worthy of him; but that he was preserved from greater degradation by the admiration which Catherine had always entertained for him.<sup>6</sup> He adds, that he can say this with confidence, because he had seen several of Frederick's letters to her, which were still unpublished. Judging from the tone of the published letter, it is probable that the others were not creditable to the writer's sense of dignity; and it is fair to conclude that this was the motive of their exclusion. We can hardly suppose that both originals and copies are lost. At any rate, we might expect that the editors would have given some explanation which might remove our suspicions, and that the all but total omission of this important part of the correspondence of Frederick would have been accounted for.

We admit that the reasons for the exclusion of the *Matinées* were overwhelming, although there is absolutely no argument against their authenticity. At the same time, when the edition of the *Œuvres* was completed in 1857, the proofs of Frederick's authorship did not amount to a cer-

<sup>5</sup> *Œuvres*, xxvii. 3. 323.

<sup>6</sup> *Denkwürdigkeiten*, iv. 259.

tainty. It may be that that third manuscript copy in the Prussian archives is not in the handwriting of the king; and the former editions, which attribute the work to him, do not prove it. They contained different texts, and no text coincided with that of the Berlin manuscript. The internal evidence, moreover, could never be conclusive against the voice of Prussian patriotism and a cherished tradition. That is a sort of uncritical resistance which could only be overcome when every link in the chain of external evidence was complete. This is now the case; and the authorship is brought home to Frederick the Great by the following note of the editor of Buffon's correspondence, M. H. Nadault de Buffon.<sup>7</sup> The son of the great naturalist visited Berlin in the summer of the year 1782, and was received with great distinction by the king: "A son retour d'Allemagne, le comte de Buffon remit à son père un manuscrit que lui avait confié le grand Frédéric, et qui a pour titre: *Les Matinées de Frédéric II. A son neveu Frédéric Guillaume, son successeur à la couronne.* Ce manuscrit que Buffon fit voir à ses amis et dont les Mémoires de Bachaumont font mention, ne fut jamais publié. M. Humbert-Bazile, son secrétaire, fut chargé par lui d'en faire plusieurs copies, dont l'une lui est restée. Mme. Beaudesson, sa fille, a bien voulu m'en donner communication. En publiant aujourd'hui le manuscrit du roi de Prusse, je dois dire cependant qu'en 1844 M. Humbert-Bazile ayant remis ses papiers à M. Isidore-Geoffroy St. Hilaire, ce savant fit paraître en feuilleton quelques extraits de cette page des mémoires du grand Frédéric. Cette publication, incomplète du reste, n'enlèvera rien à l'intérêt avec lequel sera lu ce fragment vraiment curieux. Il trouve d'ailleurs naturellement sa place ici.

"Un passage des mémoires inédits laissés par M. Humbert-Bazile en détermine l'authenticité :

"Plus tard, est-il dit à la page 328, t. i. du manuscrit : M. de Buffon fils me valut un désagrément sérieux auquel je n'avais cependant point lieu de m'attendre. M. le Comte était aller passer la journée à St. Ouen; durant son absence, son fils vient me prendre, pour aller rendre visite au célèbre peintre Julien de Parme, qui habitait alors la rue de l'Estrapade. A mon retour le portier de l'hôtel me prévient que pendant mon absence M. le Comte est rentré, et qu'il a témoigné un vif mécontentement en apprenant que j'étais sorti. Je cours à son appartement; M. de Buffon me reçoit froidement, et me témoigne son mécontentement. M. Necker, me dit-il, est venu avec moi à Paris pour voir les présents

<sup>7</sup> Correspondance inédite, ii. 421.

de l'impératrice et prendre lecture de ses lettres, et en même temps *du manuscrit du roi de Prusse* que je vous ai donné à copier : qu'en avez-vous fait ? Je répondis avec respect : J'ai soigneusement renfermé les lettres de l'impératrice et le manuscrit du roi de Prusse dans le meuble où je range ceux de vos ouvrages que vous voulez revoir ; en voici la clef. Je ne pensais pas que M. le Comte fût de retour à l'hôtel avant moi ; au reste, je ne sors que rarement, et je mets le plus d'exactitude possible à exécuter vos ordres ; mais cette fois M. votre fils m'a pressé de l'accompagner, et dans la crainte de le désobliger, je suis sorti avec lui. C'est bien, me dit-il, tout en se promenant dans son cabinet, c'est fini ; mais ne recommencez plus.' ”

The testimony of the secretary and of the editor of Buffon is incontrovertible. Dr. Preuss has attempted to meet it in an article we have already referred to. He quotes the words in which Buffon relates to Madame Necker that his son had been presented to the king, and adds : “ Here is nothing about the king having given to the young officer for his father this satire as his own work.”<sup>8</sup> The omission of any notice of a fact is very rarely a decisive proof that it has not happened. Buffon, on the 12th of July 1782, writes a long letter to Madame Necker ; at the end he adds a post-script : “ Encore une petite gazette, puisqu'il reste de la place.”<sup>9</sup> Then he fills up the space with a short account of his son's interview with Frederick, in which there is nothing about the *Matinées*. It may be that he had not room for it, for he ends with an &c. Or it may be that he did not think of it. Or his son may not have told him of it at the time ; for the audience took place on the 18th of May. Or he may have thought it unnecessary or unwise to write to Madame Necker about it. Certainly he did not yet know of the contents of the book, as his son did not return for many months. There are many reasons why Buffon may not have mentioned the *Matinées* in the letter on which Dr. Preuss comments, but it is impossible to find a motive on the part of M. Humbert-Bazile, or of M. H. Nadault de Buffon, for the falsehood of which he accuses them.

He supports the imputation with another argument : “ In the letter to D'Alembert, of the 18th of May 1782, the day on which young Buffon and the Abbé Raynal were presented at Potsdam, Frederick the Great speaks circumstan-

<sup>8</sup> “ Hier steht nichts, dass der König dem jungen Offizier das fremde Pasquill als seine Arbeit zum Geschenke für den Verfasser der *Histoire Naturelle* anvertraut.”

<sup>9</sup> Correspondance inédite de Buffon, ii. 135.



tially of the latter, but says nothing of the former." This might be an argument to prove that young Buffon never was presented; but it does not bear in any way upon the question as to what passed at the interview. It is, however, a very good instance to show the absurdity of supposing that there is any thing unlikely in the omission of the story of the manuscript in the letter of the younger Buffon to his father, or in the letter of the father to Madame Necker. It is in fact very improbable that Dr. Preuss made these objections from any other motive than that of official propriety. If the positive evidence did not conclusively establish the authenticity of the *Matinées Royales*, the question would be settled by the total absence of any argument against it on the part of those who are strongly interested in the cause.

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VENN'S LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER.<sup>1</sup>

[COMMUNICATED.]

MR. VENN has published a book on St. Francis Xavier, in which, assuming the character of *advocatus diaboli*, he endeavours to demolish the miracles, disparage the virtues, and minimise the great actions of the saint. Some extracts from the book which had come under my notice had led me to judge that the points which it raised were not such as could be suitably discussed in *The Home and Foreign Review*, inasmuch as they seemed to involve merely the natural Protestant estimate of Catholic doings, and to appeal to no standard of criticism common to all educated men. It had seemed to me that the question was one which could only be dealt with in some professedly theological or polemical organ. But a notice appeared in a periodical of the 6th of December the drift of which was that Mr. Venn's book, though evidently one-sided, was in fact an able exposure of a mass of impudent pious frauds, which had involved the saint in an atmosphere of myth and magic that vanished instantly before the light of criticism; and that the result of the whole was to bring down St. Francis from the supernatural elevation to which superstition had raised him, to the level of an ordinary missionary. This notice induced me to examine the book with attention; and I am bound to say that the attack is in many respects more important than I had at first imagined. Applying to the history of the life of St. Francis Xavier those tests of credibility which modern criticism has irrevocably established, and ranging all, or nearly all, the accessible evidence before him, Mr. Venn has certainly demonstrated that Father Bouhours's biography of the saint (well known in this country through Dryden's translation) is deformed by many gross and extravagant fictions. His mode of proceeding is to take Xavier's letters, and compare them closely with the biographies; and by this means various discrepancies, which it is utterly impossible to reconcile, are brought to light. But since there can be no comparison between the relative authority of Xavier's account of his own acts and of the accounts furnished by his biographers, Mr. Venn infers that when the two differ, the

<sup>1</sup> Missionary Life and Labours of Francis Xavier, taken from his own Correspondence; with a Sketch of the general Results of Roman Catholic Missions among the Heathen. By Henry Venn, B.D., Hon. Sec. of the Church Missionary Society. London: Longmans.

statement of the biographer is to be rejected. Thus, setting side by side Xavier's own statement, in a letter dated 21 August 1544, of his almost total ignorance of the language of the Comorin Christians; his expressions in a letter dated 27 January 1545, which seem to show that his acquaintance with the language was still slight; and the statement of Bouhours (p. 108), that "at that time" (namely, about January 1545) "God first communicated to Xavier the gift of tongues," so that he "spoke very well the language of those barbarians without having learnt it;"—Mr. Venn concludes that the latter statement is altogether baseless. The story of the Badages is unquestionably an instance of the amplification, or rather complete transformation, of the real facts. Educated Catholics, indeed, must have been staggered at many things in the narrative of Bouhours, and must have desired to know the evidence for them; but the effect of the book as a whole is so to transport the reader with admiration and love for the saint whom it portrays, and whose own burning words it constantly quotes, that no one has hitherto felt moved to subject the narrative to a searching analytical process. This, however, has now been done; and, instead of regretting the fact, it becomes our duty to accept calmly the conclusions to which a rigorous logic compels us. If Mr. Venn has served truth, he has also served the cause of Catholicism. It has been justly said, that the man who detects and shivers to fragments but one lie—one blinding phantasm—out of the many which walk the world, so that it can be buried out of the way and finally disposed of, has deserved well of mankind. In this scene of warring moral elements in which we move, what possession is of any real value but truth? *Innotescat veritas; ruat cælum.* What good would it do to any of us that a miracle should be believed to be true when in fact it was not true?

But such a belief, some men think, may be edifying, may have a useful suasive power *ad bonos mores*, may dispose the mind to religion and serious thoughts. Perhaps it sometimes may; but that does not justify in the biographer any negligence in verifying the statements which he gives out for truth. To feed the religious life on falsehood is indeed to build on a foundation of sand. The day comes at last when the devout heart finds that its fervour has been played upon, that it has been duped with a lie; and the reaction is likely to cause a revolt from the whole view of things to which it had adhered, from what was true in it as well as what was false. In reading the Oratorian Lives of the Saints,



it is scarcely possible not to be struck by the thought, that that renunciation of all criticism which the editor avows himself to have made on principle is a fatal and disfiguring blot on a series in many respects most admirable and valuable. Such a volume as that containing the life of B. Peter Claver, in every page of which there is a freshness and simplicity which seem to show that the accounts are taken from first hand, is succeeded perhaps by a volume of lives of Italian nuns, translated from Italian biographies written fifty or a hundred years after the deaths of their subjects, the vaguely pious language of which suffers scarcely a single trait of individual character to emerge. This is not right. A man should write the lives of the saints with as much conscientiousness and discrimination as he would bestow on the life of Socrates. They are heroes; and that is one reason why it is necessary to discover and record the exact truth about them. What Mahomet, and Burns, and Luther, and Cromwell, and Frederick II. are to hero-worshiping men of letters, that—though of course far more—the saints of the Church are to Catholics. In the battle against all forms of selfishness and baseness which each one of us, if not quite spiritually dead, is continually waging, these men have gained the victory. They stand before us as abiding witnesses for the supremacy of the moral over the material world; and in their company we find courage to face and scorn that atheistic philosophy which can neither produce nor account for their greatness of soul.

To return, however, to Mr. Venn. While it is admitted that he has shown the memory of the saint to have been obscured by many palpable fictions, which pious and loving hands should long since have removed, it must not be supposed that he has succeeded in any of the main objects of his book. Those objects seem to have been:—

1. To prove that St. Francis worked *no* miracles.
2. To prove that his character had many defects, *e.g.* insincerity, restlessness, fickleness; in short, that he was not really a saint.
3. To prove that he would have effected little or nothing in the field of conversion without the aid of the civil power; in Mr. Venn's technical language, that he was always prone to "lean on the arm of flesh."
4. To prove that Catholic missions in general during the last three centuries have been a failure; that all conversions on a large scale have been either "military," or purchased by unlawful compliances; and that, in either case, they have been only "nominal."

At present I shall not meet Mr. Venn upon the last, and but slightly upon the third, head. But I propose to try, by the same critical rules which he has employed, the question whether he has succeeded in proving, or even rendering it highly probable, that St. Francis never worked a single miracle. It would be quite sufficient if only one miracle were satisfactorily proved. For though it is neither my office nor my inclination to draw out the theological consequences which would ensue from the establishment of that one fact, Mr. Venn would certainly draw them out for me; he would readily admit that one proved miracle of Xavier's was as damaging to the side he espouses as a hundred.

Mr. Venn's principle is, to "bring all legends to the test of Xavier's own letters" (p. 87). Tried by this, according to him, they break down. "Xavier's letters do not afford the slightest foundation for the alleged miracles (ib.); whilst it is manifest, from an incident already related, that he was not indisposed to claim the power of working miracles" (ib.). "His own letters negative the supposition of his performance of miracles" (p. 90).

The first obvious reply to this is, that, even if the premisses be admitted, the conclusion does not follow, except where the letter gives an account *inconsistent* with the truth of the miraculous narrative found in the biographers. That Xavier was silent on the subject of miracles, is no proof that he did not work them. In the nineteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, we are told that at Ephesus "God wrought more than common miracles by the hands of Paul," and in the next verse these miracles are particularly described. But in the Epistle to the Ephesians, written, beyond all doubt, subsequently to the visit spoken of in the Acts, St. Paul does not make the slightest allusion to the fact of his having performed miracles among them. And yet, as Mr. Venn might say, "it is manifest that he was not indisposed to claim the power of working miracles;" for when writing to the Corinthians,<sup>2</sup> he says, "I thank God, I speak with tongues more than ye all." Mr. Venn ought certainly to conclude, on his own principles, that the miracles described were never performed. "Brought to the test of" St. Paul's "own letters," the "legend" invented by his "biographer," St. Luke, will not stand. For the case is even stronger than this. Besides the passage above quoted, there is but one place,<sup>3</sup> so far as I can discover, throughout St. Paul's fourteen epistles in which he seems to claim the power of

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. xiv. 18.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Cor. xii. 12.

working miracles, and even in that the expressions are general, and might possibly bear a different sense. What, then, must Mr. Venn conclude as to the authenticity of the numerous "legends" contained in the biography,—the healing of the cripple at Lystra, the punishment of Elymas, the miraculous earthquake in the prison at Philippi, the raising of Eutychus from the dead, the impunity after the bite of a viper, the miraculous cures in Malta?

But this, after all, is a kind of *argumentum ad hominem*. It is in place as against Mr. Venn, who believes in the miracles of St. Paul, but rejects those of Xavier; but it is powerless against any one who rejects both alike. The argument, in fact, as against either saint, is worth very little. Humility is essential to sanctity; he that lives in God and for God, as his insight into the divine perfections grows and deepens, so he learns continually—the consenting experience of eighteen Christian centuries is conclusive of the fact—to form a proportionately lower estimate of himself. This is no mysticism, but a simple matter of fact. Imitating Him who constantly charged those whom He miraculously cured, "that they should not make it known," His truest followers, the saints, have, as a rule, endeavoured to hide rather than publish their great and shining actions. If they "glory" in any thing, it is apt to be in their "infirmities." Xavier's silence, therefore, on the subject of miracles would not discredit the testimony of competent witnesses, supposing such to be producible, deposing to his having worked them.

But is that silence really so complete? Besides the letter (i. ep. 11), of which Mr. Venn has translated the greater part, there is another (i. ep. 14), bearing on the point, his mode of dealing with which is very singular. He gives an extremely brief abstract of its contents, or rather of the contents of the particular paragraph to which I refer, at page 41, and abstains from all further notice of it; guarding himself in this way against the imputation of passing it over *sub silentio*, while at the same time he does not allow it to qualify the generality of the assertion that Xavier's letters "negative the supposition of his performance of miracles." I will now furnish the reader with an opportunity of judging for himself on this head.

The letter in question is addressed to the Society at Rome, and gives an account of his proceedings on the Fishery coast, east of Cape Comorin, up to the end of 1543. He says that after he had passed three months at a certain Christian town, busily engaged in translating the Catechism, he was besieged by the importunities of a great number of natives from dif-



ferent parts of the country, entreating him to come and pray over sick persons at their respective abodes, and also by those of the sick in their own persons making similar requests. I translate, as literally as may be, what follows: "I, for my part, wishing to satisfy both those who had come on account of their own health, and those who appeared as pleaders on behalf of others, lest otherwise they should relax in their faith and zeal for the Christian religion, thought that it would be wrong to disappoint these just requests. But when matters came to such a pass, that it was neither possible for me, in my single person, to give satisfaction to them all, nor to prevent quarrels from arising among them, because each was trying to get me to come to his own house first, I hit upon a method of complying with all their requests. Accordingly, since I could not go myself, I used to send round in my stead boys whom I knew I could depend upon; and these, visiting the sick persons, would summon all the servants and neighbours together, and, after having recited the Creed together, raised up the minds of those afflicted to a sure and certain hope of deliverance. Finally, they used to pronounce the customary prayers of the Church. Why multiply words? God, moved by the faith and piety of the boys and their fellow supplicants, restored health both of body and mind to a great number of sick persons (*aegris compluribus et corporum et animorum restituit sanitatem*)."

Whether this passage is compatible with the assertion that the letters negative the supposition of miracles, I leave to Mr. Venn himself to decide. It is perfectly plain that the saint purposely confines the narrative of the miraculous cures to the proceedings of the boys whom he sent round as his representatives, in order that he may avoid mentioning his own share in them. Mr. Venn may think this false modesty, but certainly no saint in all the long roll of the Church's recognised heroes (which, by the way, does *not* include Charlemagne<sup>4</sup>) would have acted differently.

The cure or deliverance related by Xavier in his letter to St. Ignatius, dated 28 October 1542 (translated by Mr. Venn at page 39), occurred on this wise. Turning out of the direct road to a village inhabited by heathen natives, he found there a woman who had been three days in labour, so that her life was despaired of. Through an interpreter he explained to her the chief points of the Christian faith, and asked if she was willing to become a Christian. Upon her answering in the affirmative, he baptised her, and *immediately*

<sup>4</sup> See page 79.

after baptism<sup>5</sup> she was delivered. The report of the miracle thus accomplished by divine power ("miraculi divinitus in ea domo patrati") spread through the village; and after some negotiation with the authorities, the inhabitants *en masse* embraced Christianity and received baptism. Whether this was a miracle or not, it was at all events an extraordinary coincidence, which had so much the look of a providential interposition that the bystanders might well be excused for having confounded the *post hoc* with the *propter hoc*.

I have now sufficiently proved the contradictory of Mr. Venn's assertion, that Xavier's letters "do not afford the slightest foundation for the alleged miracles." And since the slightest possible acquaintance with the saintly character is enough to convince any one that it would be as absurd to seek in Xavier's letters for a full report of whatever miracles he may have wrought as to investigate those of St. Paul for a similar purpose, the question immediately arises: Are the miracles commonly ascribed to St. Francis Xavier, or any of them, so supported by adequate testimony that we cannot reasonably withhold our belief from them?

If Mr. Venn assumed as his major premiss, that a miracle—an interruption of the chain of secondary causation—was intrinsically impossible, it would of course be useless to carry on the argument further, since no evidence that could be adduced would have the smallest weight with him. But this he cannot do, because he believes in the miracles recorded in the New Testament. There is, however, a major premiss deeply seated in his mind, and really underlying all his arguments, viz. that no Catholic miracle can possibly be true; the ground of the conviction being that Catholicism is not the true religion. Where Xavier is concerned, therefore, he makes short work of evidence which fully satisfies his reason in the case of the New-Testament miracles. Any miracle in which each link of the chain of testimony by which it reached the narrator is not set forth is rejected at once as depending upon "hearsay." But do not a great number of the New-Testament miracles stand on the same footing? Can Mr. Venn point out all the links of testimony by which the miracles of Philip the deacon at Samaria, or those of St. Peter at Lydda and Joppa, reached the ears of the writer of the Acts? He cannot; yet he accepts these miracles because he accepts the Christian religion and the Bible; while he rejects certain miracles ascribed to

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Venn mistranslates "sub baptismum" "under baptism," as if it were "sub baptismo." That the sense is as given above is clear from a passage in another letter (vol. i. p. 190, of the Latin version): "Illi, sub baptismum, suam quisque domum digressi."

St. Francis Xavier, though they rest upon evidence precisely of the same kind, because he is determined to reject the Catholic Church, whose divine authority those miracles would tend to establish.

The truth is that, until the evidence is brought before us in a more complete form, neither Mr. Venn nor any one else is entitled to form a critical—or, as one might call it, a scientific—opinion upon the greater number of the miracles ascribed to the saint. The mass of evidence taken about four years after the saint's death, by the order of King John III., containing the names, ages, professions, &c. of the various witnesses, and giving their sworn testimony verbatim, is the real and only source the examination of which would entitle any one to form such an opinion. But this body of evidence, though there can be little doubt that it is extant,<sup>6</sup> is not, so far as I know, to be met with in England. Mr. Venn evidently has not seen it. The *Acta Sanctorum* will give us no help, as this great work does not yet extend further than the latter part of October. But it may be interesting to show how unsatisfactory and inconclusive, even with the existing evidence, are the attempts made to eliminate the miraculous element from Xavier's history.

After giving a summary of the letter of the King of Portugal (dated in March 1556, not three years and a half after the saint's death), ordering an official investigation to be made on the subject of Xavier's virtues and extraordinary actions, Mr. Venn continues (p. 96), "It is easy to perceive that the responses to such a king's letter would contain all the wonderful stories which were afloat. Here was an additional and strange motive supplied to all the official persons in India to report miracles of Xavier, in order to gratify their royal patron."

What a random way of talking is this! An imaginary motive is imputed, without a particle of evidence, to "all the official persons," under the influence of which they are to be supposed eager to coin and transmit fictitious accounts, "in order to gratify their royal patron." Yet, a few pages before, Mr. Venn has shown that in 1555, the year *before* the royal letter came out, Goa was full of reports of Xavier's miracles, which were recorded in a letter written in that year "by Anthony Quadrus to a provincial of the Jesuit order in Portugal" (p. 93). Canisius, in a work to be mentioned presently,

<sup>6</sup> In the *Historiæ Indicæ* of Maffei (vol. i. p. 443), he speaks of having "lately inspected at the University of Coimbra the original draft of the inquisition, together with the depositions public and private." Probably these documents are still in the library at Coimbra.



says that the royal letter was drawn forth by the numerous reports and letters about Xavier's miracles which reached Portugal soon after his death. This agrees with the evidence supplied by Mr. Venn himself as to the letter of Quadrus about the reports circulating in Goa in 1555, and is in itself natural and probable. The royal missive did not induce the fabrication of the reports, but the prevalence of the reports called forth the missive.

How far the king's orders were carried out is a question on which it is difficult to form any opinion without having the actual depositions in one's hands. But there is no reason to doubt that he intended all proper precautions to be taken in order to arrive at the truth. I have not before me the *Commentarium* of Acosta, containing the king's letter *in extenso*; but Canisius, in his edition of Ribadeneira's *Flos Sanctorum* (Cologne, 1700), gives the following account of it. The Viceroy, Francis Barreto, was ordered "to take the utmost pains to have the illustrious actions and miracles of Xavier, as well as the entire narrative of his life and death, carefully investigated through sworn witnesses, and the results forthwith put on record; this record, together with the entire body of depositions and authorities, was then to be signed and sealed with his own hand and seal, and to be transmitted home in triplicate." One of the three copies, it can hardly be doubted, now lies at Coimbra, and one is probably at Rome, where it must have been required during the process for the canonisation.

Here, then, we are brought to a stand-still; for it would serve no good purpose to analyse the references made by various writers to these documents. They tell us that certain miracles are therein recorded as having been wrought; but Mr. Venn will reply that the documents themselves are filled with mere hearsays and flying rumours, and as they cannot be produced, he cannot be proved to be in error. But in the case of St. Francis Xavier there is one miracle, a posthumous one, which seems to be as nearly demonstrated as any fact resting on human testimony can be. I refer to the incorruption of the saint's body, concerning which I have collected the following series of notices.

1. Arias Blandonius, a Jesuit father residing at Goa, in a letter described by Mr. Venn at page 248, which is dated 23 December 1554, mentions as a thing which he "had himself full knowledge of," that some Portuguese merchants at Sancian (where Xavier died on the 3d of December 1552) buried him in his clerical vestments, in quick lime, that the flesh might be the sooner consumed; that after waiting a con-

siderable time, they examined the body and were astonished to find it perfect; that the coffin, full of quick lime, was then put on board ship and conveyed to Malacca, where the body was buried and remained a long time undisturbed, until a Jesuit father arrived there, and, examining the body, found it still perfect.

2. In the prolegomena to the Bologna edition of the letters it is mentioned (p. ii) that a letter of Melchior Nuñez, rector of the college at Goa, to St. Ignatius, was published at Rome in 1556, "concerning the death of Xavier, and the removal of his uncorrupted body to Goa."

3. Antonio Ribera, episcopal vicar of Goa, and Cosco Saravia, an experienced physician, were deputed by the Viceroy Barreto to make an official examination of the body, after it had been brought to Goa from Malacca. They found it firm and sound in every part, with no indication of balsam or oil having been secretly applied. So writes Canisius in his edition of Ribadeneira above quoted, professing to derive the fact from the sworn depositions taken in consequence of the king's letter.

4. The Père Jouveney (quoted by Crétineau Joly in his History of the Jesuits) thus speaks, in the fifteenth book of his history of the Society between the years 1591 and 1616: "In 1612 the general of the order, Claude Aquaviva, asked that a large relic of Xavier might be brought from Goa to Rome, namely, the right arm, with which he had worked so many wonders. The body was found in the same state. The flesh was soft and pliable like that of a living man; and when the arm was taken off, a quantity of red blood flowed from the incision."

5. A merchant captain of the name of Hamilton, who travelled in the East between 1688 and 1723, and whose travels are to be found in the eighth volume of Pinkerton's *Voyages*, thus writes (p. 354) of what he saw at Goa,—it need hardly be said that he was a Protestant: "In a fine stately church lies the body of St. Francis Xavier, a Portuguese apostle and a Jesuit by trade, who died in his mission to Japan in the fifteenth century." The body having been brought to Goa, he continues, "it was deposited in an aisle of St. Paul's church, where it lies still, and looks as fresh as a new scalded pig, but with the loss of one arm," &c. He "takes it to be a pretty piece of wax-work." The ribald comment enhances the value of the evidence furnished by this extract. When he speaks of what he himself saw, Hamilton confirms the preceding accounts; his own explanation of what he saw is as worthless as his information

about the manner and time of the saint's death was inaccurate.

6. A letter from M. Cicala, a Lazarist priest (in Créteineau Joly), printed in the *Journal Historique et Littéraire* for March 1, 1788, contains the following account of what he saw when the saint's body was exposed for public veneration in 1782: "The body of the saint is free from the least corruption. The skin and the flesh, which is dried up, are completely attached to the bones; the face is of a beautiful whiteness; all that is wanting is the right arm, which is at Rome, and two toes of the right foot, as well as the intestines. The feet especially have retained a most beautiful appearance."

7. Lastly, Monsignor Canoz, Vicar-Apostolic of Madura, writing from Bombay on the 10th of December 1859,<sup>6</sup> to give an account of the exposition of the body which had taken place seven days before, expresses himself in the following terms. He was permitted to make a private visit to the relics, and had the opportunity of closely examining them: "I assisted in replacing the case," or coffin, "in the shrine, and it was then in particular that, kneeling by the side of that venerable head, I was enabled to contemplate alone that apostolic face, which seemed still to be preaching all the apostolic virtues of which he had left to the world so noble an example. . . . The outlines of the face of a hero are still observable, after the lapse of three centuries. The skin that covers the face is a little tanned; the half-open mouth shows the teeth; the lips, nose, temples, &c. are all distinguishable; a few greyish hairs would seem to be scattered over the cranium as if encrusted in the skin; the head is a little raised, and supported by a cushion. The left arm, covered by the sleeve of a precious alb thrown over the chasuble, leaves the hand entirely uncovered, all the fingers of which remain in a hanging position, a little apart from each other. The right arm was, as you are no doubt aware, taken off in 1616 by order of the Father-General Aquaviva, and transported to Rome. . . . Since this amputation . . . the body of the saint has lost the freshness and suppleness that it had until then retained. The feet have preserved their natural form, and all the toes, except the two smallest ones of the right foot, which have been removed; the nails are even distinguishable."

Many spiritual writers have drawn out, in eloquent and moving language, the reflections which this wonderful immunity from the law of corporeal decay, reported of many of

<sup>6</sup> Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, July 1860.



the saints, is calculated to awaken. Into this branch of the subject I have no intention of entering here. My object has been simply to prove that Mr. Venn has not made out his case, when he asserts that all the miracles ascribed to Xavier are fictitious. That many are so, and that among the number must be included several of those recorded in Bouhours's life, I am quite ready to admit. But this admission no more militates against the reality of those which can be proved by adequate testimony, than the fact of the spurious Gospels ascribing a multitude of false miracles to our Lord lessens the credibility of those related in the canonical Gospels.

I pass from the subject of miracles to the second head of Mr. Venn's indictment,—that in which he impugns the personal character of the saint. But it would be tedious to follow him through every corner and winding of the elaborate edifice of detraction which he has raised. He is unable to comprehend the genius and heroism of such a man as Xavier. He contrasts the death-scene on the island of Sancian with the last hours of Mrs. Krapf, who accompanied her husband, a gentleman employed by the Church Missionary Society, in his African travels, and at last succumbed to the fatal effects of the climate at Mombas, an island on the coast of East Africa. That Mrs. Krapf was an excellent devoted woman, and an admirable wife and mother, I am fully convinced; but in following her husband to Africa she did no more than the wives of men engaged in trade or the public service are doing every day. *She* was not the missionary: the comparison should be between Xavier and her husband. I have a tolerably distinct recollection of the entertaining volume published by Mr. Krapf a few years back; and, if I mistake not, he does not claim to have converted half-a-dozen natives in twice as many years. §

Let us examine just one of the charges which Mr. Venn brings, and see what it is worth. It attributes to St. Francis the spirit of a Mussulman in propagating Christianity, in the following terms: "See Xavier at Negapatam, on the look-out for the earliest intelligence of a hostile and murderous expedition, which he himself had instigated, for the advancement of true religion; in what did his spirit differ from that of a Mussulman?"

Considering the bolt from which this quiver comes, the amazing coolness with which the charge of bellicose proclivities is brought against Xavier is the most remarkable thing about it. Has Mr. Venn never heard of a bishop of his own church, partly paid, if I mistake not, by his own

society—Bishop Macdougall of Labuan,—who went out only the other day in a gun-boat on a pirate-hunting expedition, armed with a rifle-revolver of the newest construction, with which, if his own words mean any thing, he made deadly practice for some hours at the miserable Malays in their frail prahus? Has he never heard of the armed incursions made by the Oxford and Cambridge missionaries, headed by Bishop Mackenzie, upon the Ajawas in South Africa,—incursions which, according to the candid confessions of Mr. Rowley, it was afterwards found were wholly unjustifiable? One would think it would be time enough for him to attack St. Francis after he had duly bewailed and expressed his abhorrence of such monstrous acts as these.

But the charge can be met directly, and shown to be utterly futile. The circumstances were simply these. Many of the natives of Manaar, an island between Ceylon and the main, having been converted by a priest whom Xavier sent amongst them, the King of Jaffnapatam in Ceylon, whose authority then extended over Manaar, caused a number of the neophytes to be cruelly put to death. Xavier reported the facts to the viceroy, who, in great indignation, declared that he would forthwith send an expedition against Jaffnapatam, dethrone the king, and give the crown to his brother, who, according to Xavier, was the rightful heir, and who had shown a disposition to embrace Christianity. Xavier waited at Negapatam, at the northern extremity of the Fishery coast, to see how the expedition would turn out. It proved a complete nullity, owing to the cupidity of the Portuguese, who renounced all warlike proceedings in order that they might recover out of the king's hands a ship laden with silk, which had been accidentally wrecked on the coast of Jaffnapatam.

The standard of public opinion varies greatly from age to age; otherwise this proceeding would not appear so strange. Portugal was in the East, in the sixteenth century, in the opinion of Xavier and King John III., not merely to trade and make money; her first and principal business was to make known among ignorant and idolatrous millions the supreme law revealed from Heaven, and by all just means to invite and compel them to embrace it. They thought too that her superior civilisation gave her the right of effective interference in all the regions over which her power extended, in cases where any act of flagrant barbarism was committed by a native ruler. Such a case was this of Jaffnapatam. Xavier therefore urged the viceroy to do his part, as the political depositary of the power and ideas of Por-

tugal, and by punishing the cruel king to show that he did not "bear the sword in vain." No doubt he eagerly seized the opportunity, because, should the expedition succeed, he foresaw what an ample field he on his part would be called to enter, as the chief representative and expounder of the religion of Portugal. So the English authorities eagerly seized the opportunity afforded by the mistake (if it was a mistake) which the Chinese made in seizing the lorch, to declare war upon them; the object being, not to bring to their souls the saving knowledge of the divine law, but to compel them to do a better trade. If the Portuguese expedition was "murderous," what was the expedition of Sir Hope Grant?

I have left myself but brief space for noticing the third accusation brought against St. Francis, viz., that in his operations for the conversion of the heathen he is chargeable with a criminal dependence on "the arm of flesh." His letter to the King of Portugal (ii. ep. 18) is particularly insisted upon. Before entering upon the consideration of that letter, or of the general question, let me correct a flagrant mistranslation, involving a complete perversion of Xavier's meaning, into which Mr. Venn has fallen at page 161. He makes Xavier request the king to "severely punish the governor of any town or province in which few neophytes are added to our holy Church, *when it seems plain that, if it had been the wish of those in authority, many converts might have been secured.*" The obvious difficulty of ascertaining this makes the request appear utterly extravagant. But what Xavier really said was this: "Since it is notorious that it [the number of neophytes] can be at all times and every where much increased, if only the governors wish it (*cum constet multum ubique ac semper augeri posse, modo præsides velint*)."

Upon the main question I close with Mr. Venn at once, by saying that Xavier unquestionably did place great reliance on the "arm of flesh," that is, on political power and influence, and that he was quite right in so doing. People have come to do things in such a half-hearted wavering way, that the spectacle of a man who throws his whole soul into an enterprise, and intelligently applies all lawful means to compass it, perplexes, if it does not scandalise them. Let Mr. Venn reflect that Xavier had come out to India to forward, so far as lay in him, the conversion of the Hindoos and other Eastern peoples to Christianity, not to talk or to write about it, but to do it. His first and chief dependence in carrying out his purpose was always "in the Lord his God."



Who that reads his letters can doubt it? But since God has appointed that men, by their mode of acting upon one another, should be instrumental, or the contrary, to each other's salvation, Xavier spared no labour so to shape and bend all the human influences which surrounded him as to make them coöperate in his vast plan for the Christianization of the East. Among these influences, those which governing persons and administrators have it in their power to exert are notoriously the strongest. Let any one who doubts this read the account given by Eusebius of the enormous stimulus given to the spread of Christianity by the downfall of the persecuting Diocletian, and the accession to power of a Christian emperor. Xavier well knew the strength of these influences, and asserted it in the case of the Portuguese rulers in India, as we saw in the passage mistranslated by Mr. Venn. Protestants are tempted to disparage a Christianity which the "arm of flesh" has any share in bringing about, because they have become so accustomed to the diletante, ineffectual way in which their own missions are carried on that they think a more vigorous system must have something wrong about it. Their missionaries go on, from generation to generation, expressing idle hopes that are never realised, and contriving to make themselves and their families as comfortable as the circumstances of their foreign sojourn will permit. Their annual meetings still draw tears from innumerable fair eyes, and unloose the purse-strings of wealthy enthusiasts; but their missions as a whole remain without fruit; the nations whom they are intended to convert are *not* converted. Xavier did not so understand the work of a missionary. The number of natives whom he himself converted, and solidly instructed, amounted to thousands upon thousands (I have not space to refute from his own letters Mr. Venn's cavils on this point); but his great heart and burning charity yearned for yet more signal triumphs of the Cross; he longed for the day when every knee should bow, and every tongue should confess to God. There seems no reason to doubt his assertion that, if the united strenuous exertions of all the Portuguese governors were brought to bear in furthering the spread of Christianity, "in one year the whole island of Ceylon, many kings of the Malabar coast, and the entire district of Cape Comorin, would embrace the Christian faith."

Religion is more intimately bound up with the whole fabric of society, and with the spirit of a government, than those who take a superficial and external view of religion and society can comprehend. In many ways it is a creating force;

in others it is an element of cohesion ; in every way its influence is marvellously subtle and extensive. It is the deepest source and foundation of laws ; it gives an essential sanction to government ; and it is the soul of innumerable social habits. Whatever may be the circumstances, a change in the religion of a nation involves such a change in its character, its customs, and its laws, as is almost equal to a loss of identity in the nation itself and in the state ; and it is impossible, in the lower stages of civilisation, for a part of the inhabitants of a country to alter their religion without putting themselves into a new position towards the laws, or bringing on serious conflicts. Only a very highly developed form of civil society can admit a variety of religions without peril to its existence. For political thought must have been matured before laws can retain their power when their moral and religious sanction, security, and support, have been removed by a schism in the dogmatic ideas which are the basis of the moral code. Up to the moment of such maturity, conversion is revolution ; a new faith is ruin to the old polity ; and its introduction is resisted with all that vehemence which is natural to a community struggling for existence. The contest, therefore, is not merely between a higher and a lower faith, between truth and superstition, or between the priests of the true God and the priests of false gods ; it is a contest in which the missionary religion encounters a resistance more powerful and more legitimate than that of religious error, a resistance which is sustained by the best and noblest social virtues,—reverence for a venerable antiquity, obedience to an established code of morals, allegiance to authority, and the patriotism of a nation threatened in its vital part.

When Christianity came to the Roman Empire, the history of the world for thousands of years had been so guided as to prevent these natural obstacles from arresting its progress. Politically and intellectually, the progress of the gentile world had prepared the way for the new faith. The force of national feelings had been destroyed by the arms of Macedon and Rome ; and the force of pagan mythology had been undermined by philosophy and unbelief. Where this preparation had not been made, where an old religion and an old polity retained their vigour, as in Persia, the missionary creed was expelled. Even in the Roman empire, where the necessary conditions of its acceptance existed, the resistance was long and fierce ; and Christianity triumphed only when the vitality of the empire was exhausted. The Church could not reconstruct society with the old materials. Degeneracy and corruption prevailed against her efforts ; and the new religion was carried forward by new nations, who

created a new society, a new civilisation, and a new political system.

In her missions to the heathen nations, the Church generally encounters conditions which resemble those of Persia more than those of Rome. When she advanced to Eastern Asia, the tenacity of the ancient systems was not weakened by age; the way was not prepared by the conflict between speculation and superstition; and civilisation was fixed at that point where religious feelings have the most exclusive power over the people, and constitute the most indispensable pillar of the government. At the same time, knowledge was cultivated by a class of men who were able and interested to oppose the new doctrines, and in whose systems Europeans are even now very imperfectly instructed. All the energy, therefore, of national customs and political aversion assisted the local paganism to meet its new foe.

The Church cannot renounce her office of teaching all nations. She must ever return to the struggle, in spite of disaster and repulse; and she is perpetually calling forth against her the most powerful and almost insurmountable opposition of pagan governments and nations. If she must neither flinch nor fail in her work, it becomes necessary for her to obtain assistance from those quarters in which she too has her natural allies. Her appeal is to Christian civilisation, to the Christian states, and to Christian learning. Thus she urges mankind forward to the fulfilment of its destiny, by renewing, for the distant races of the East, that providential course of education and preparation which gives unity to the history of the classic world in the period before the coming of Christ. In early times, her home and strength was in the Roman world. It must still remain within the limits to which the Christian civilisation of Europe extends; and the part which belongs in antiquity to Alexander and the Romans is still performed in the modern world by Spain and by the Anglo-Saxon race.

When Xavier, therefore, trusted, for the support of the faith, to the extension of the Christian power in Asia, he did, under the inspiration of his own wisdom, what the whole history of the Church taught him to do; and later ages have not discovered an expedient which can effectually supersede the one he adopted, or a principle which can legitimately condemn it. Compulsory conformity is contrary to the notion of liberty, but liberty is not essential to every actual state. It is the highest fruit of political cultivation, and the rare reward of political virtue. But it requires innumerable conditions which did not exist in Xavier's time. Its characteristic sign and manifestation is self-government; and it is



only as a fruit and result of self-government, that religious liberty necessarily follows. Lower down in the scale of progress, liberty is impossible and toleration ruinous; and when this is the case, religious compulsion is entirely natural and unavoidable.

The spirit of martyrdom is the special grace of the missionary life. The union of that spirit with the spirit of tolerance is a very rare and difficult combination,—so rare, that except in the first ages of the Church examples of it can hardly be found. For nine-tenths of the tolerance of modern times proceeds from causes utterly incompatible with the true missionary character. It is founded on indifference, or doubt, or contempt, or fear of retaliation, or pride of superiority, or on political grounds which makes it practically necessary, without its involving any spiritual discipline or moral effort in the minds of those who accept its theory. Where none of these causes operate,—and they cannot operate on the mind of a saint,—the sense of the duty of toleration can arise only from a very advanced civilisation united to a very ardent charity. We see it in the first four centuries; but in the great controversies of the fifth it begins to fade, and in the Middle Ages it nearly disappears. For it requires not only a high degree of cultivation, but such an experience of the opposite system as may enable us to understand its power and even its merits. There must be a perception of the good points in the bad doctrine, and a knowledge of the difficulty of escaping from it. This the early Christians possessed with regard to paganism; but the later Christians did not possess it with regard to heresy. A convert's position towards the religion he has abandoned is very different from that of the Christian towards the apostate in the Middle Ages, or towards the pagan now. Causes similar to those which made the early Fathers tolerant have, in another way, produced a new toleration as far from that of the world as from the spirit of intolerance. The progress of civilisation and government has removed the political causes and benefits of persecution. The progress of learning has placed us in a different position towards the heathen. There is not the same ignorance of their ideas, or the same contempt for their arguments, that formerly shut us out from all sympathy with them; and the missionary sets about his work in a very different way from that in which Xavier was compelled to proceed, and with resources of which he was deprived. St. Francis not only expressed the ideas of his age, but he also employed its means. They may be less perfect than those with which a later age would have supplied him; but they are not less legitimate, for they are equally suited to the necessities and the conditions of the time.

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1. The first volume of what promises to be a very valuable work, as conveying to the general reader, in a comparatively brief compass, the chief results of the important researches recently made in various Eastern lands, has just appeared. In spite of the somewhat startling title, *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, the reader will find no elaborate attempt at an explanation of the prophecies of Daniel, nor any allusion to the once famous "Fifth-Monarchy" doctrine; the five monarchies are simply Chaldæa, Assyria, Babylon, Media, and Persia. The present volume contains a full account of the Chaldæan monarchy so called, and also of the Assyrian, with the exception apparently of the history and chronology of the latter people. By the Chaldæan monarchy, Mr. Rawlinson means the most ancient people and government of Mesopotamia, which, coupling together the dim and second-hand information we have of the statements of Berosus, the clear notices found in Scripture (Gen. x. 9, 10), and various Greek traditions, he considers to have been founded by Nimrod, "the mighty hunter before the Lord," about the year B.C. 2234; and to have been reduced to submission by the irruption of some Arabian tribes, by whom an Arabian dynasty was set up about seven hundred years later, or B.C. 1518. But who were these early Chaldæans? Semitic or Hamitic? Asiatic or African? Mr. Rawlinson unhesitatingly claims for them a Hamitic, or Ethiopian, origin. Thus Cush, the name which in Scripture always denotes Ethiopia, appears as the *father* of Nimrod. Herodotus speaks of Ethiopians who dwelt in Asia; and these, among many other indications, are said to be remarkably confirmed by the evidence of the cuneiform inscriptions lately discovered in Lower Mesopotamia, the language of which is pronounced to be, in its voca-



bulary at least, "decidedly Cushite, or Ethiopian." But how did Nimrod and the first settlers reach this fat and fertile river-basin? Coming from the upper valley of the Nile, the Ethiopian adventurers, according to Mr. Rawlinson, crept by degrees along the southern shore of Arabia, and upon reaching the Persian Gulf probably launched barks upon it and entered the mouth of the Euphrates. The cities stated in the Bible to have formed the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom are "Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh." The three last-named places, as well as Ur of the Chaldees, mentioned in connection with Abraham, all lay to the south of Babel or Babylon, towards the bottom of the valley. In the inscriptions of this Chaldæan period, we find evidence of the gradual transference of the seat of the empire northwards. Mr. Rawlinson attempts to present something like a connected historical sketch of the progress of events during these seven centuries; but while the evidence is still so slight and so difficult of exact appreciation, the outline cannot but be in great part conjectural. The great men of the period are pronounced to be Nimrod, Uruk (the Orchamus of Ovid), and Chedorlaomer, the powerful king mentioned in Genesis xiv. It seems strange that, in this chapter on the history of Chaldæa between 2234 and 1518, Mr. Rawlinson has omitted to discuss the mode in which the early life of Abraham,—that is, in their own conception, of the nation of Israel,—is connected by Scripture with Mesopotamia.

From B.C. 1518 to 1273, according to the restored chronology of Berosus, a dynasty of nine Arabian kings ruled over Chaldæa; but they and their times have left no trace of themselves in the monuments. Two dynasties of Assyrian kings, which are supposed to be divided by the era of Nabonassar (B.C. 747), succeeded; their reigns extend over a period of about six hundred and fifty years, to B.C. 625. The later Babylonian kingdom, which culminated in Nabuchodonosor, lasted eighty-seven years, from 625 to 538.

The history of this Assyrian period is not, as has been already mentioned, entered upon in this volume; but we have a most interesting chapter on Assyrian architecture and mimetic art, illustrated by numerous woodcuts. Mr. Rawlinson identifies Nineveh with the extensive ruins opposite Mosul on the west bank of the Tigris; and Nimrod, or Calah, where the most ancient and striking remains have been found, with the Larissa of Xenophon's *Anabasis* (book iii. c. 4). He seems to be undoubtedly right in both cases. Of their achievements in art, and capacity for improvement in it, he has formed a very high conception. It is certainly most interesting to trace the greater spirit, freedom of handling, and truth of delineation, which, so far as landscape, vegetation, and animal forms are concerned, distinguish each of the two later of the three periods under which he arranges the Assyrian bas-reliefs from the one preceding it. Yet, as he himself admits, this improvement does not extend to the human figure; men are still represented, to a great extent, conventionally, even in the latest monuments; nor could the flowing grace and boldness which Greek art threw into its human delineations have been

ever expected to find their way into a society cramped and bound down by the icy weight of an Oriental despotism. But the vigour and variety found in the innumerable specimens of animal delineation collected in the British Museum are certainly most striking. The wild ass figured at page 281, the lion biting the chariot-wheel at page 444, and the wild cattle at page 436,—may furnish the uninitiated reader with some idea of the treasures which have been discovered in this department of art.

2. Professor Westergaard's dissertation on the earliest period of Indian history contains nothing absolutely new either in its general method, facts, or results; and this, far from being a matter of reproach, is a most satisfactory proof of the immense progress made since the time, not yet very distant from us, when the whole subject of Indian archæology was a mere chaos, and the most contradictory hypotheses with regard to it might be maintained with equal plausibility. All scholars who have a right to be heard are now agreed as to the great outlines of the subject; and though very important differences exist on questions of detail, there is no difference as to the limits between which the solutions of these questions lie, or as to the nature of the evidence admissible on each of them. All are agreed, for instance, in distinguishing between the two first great historical periods, the Vedic and the post-Vedic, the social and religious characteristics of which are admirably described by Professor Westergaard. A third period begins with the rise of Buddhism, and whilst both the periods preceding the appearance of Buddha have left us very considerable literary remains, but neither history nor chronology, the information we possess concerning the new religion extends to important synchronisms, which enable us to fix approximately at least the date of Buddha's death, and to estimate the antiquity of literary compositions the succession of which can be traced with sufficient accuracy back to the earliest times. The first synchronism is that between Alexander the Great and Chandragupta, the powerful king of Magadha, who reigned in Pâtaliputra, and is mentioned by the classical writers under the names of Sandrocottus or Σανδρόκυπτος, king of the Prasii in Palibothra. Inscriptions are still extant in which his grandson Açoka mentions five contemporary Greek sovereigns: Antiochus I., Ptolemy Philadelphus, Antigonus Gonatas, Magus, and Alexander (of Epirus), the last-mentioned of whom died about the year 258 B.C. This date gives a limit for the first year of Açoka's reign. It was in his tenth year that he became a professed convert to Buddhism, of which his two children, Mahendra and Sanghamitrâ, became the apostles in Ceylon. As all the information that can be obtained with reference to the times preceding Açoka and Chandragupta must be derived from occasional hints and allusions found in Indian literature, Professor Westergaard gives an interesting statement of what is known as to the earliest use of writing in India, and also of the traditional means of transmission by which the whole of the Vedas and their dependent literature were handed down to later generations. The different branches of this lite-

rature are also described, and the most important data respecting the authors of name—such as Pânini, Yâjñavalkya, Kâtyâyana, Çaunaka, and Yâska are discussed. The last-mentioned and earliest of these authors is placed at about 500 B.C.; and he must have certainly lived at a time already very remote from the commencement of the second great historical period. No one can possibly quarrel with Dr. Westergaard's very moderate conclusion, that there is a high degree of probability that between him and the Vedic period several centuries must have intervened.

On the important date of Pânini, which he fixes at about 400 years before Christ, Dr. Westergaard differs by about fifty years from Böhrtlingk, Lassen, and Müller. Even if his views of the existing evidence should not prove finally victorious, there is at least nothing in it of that paradoxical character which is stamped on the view of Dr. Goldstücker, and which has been exposed by Weber in the *Indische Studien*, though he brings Pânini down to the middle of the second century after Christ. The no less important date of Buddha's death is discussed not only in the essay of which we have been speaking, but in one specially devoted to it, in which the different systems of Buddhist chronology are examined and exploded; and the conclusion is, that that event must have taken place about 118 years before the council of Pâtaliputra, held in the seventeenth year of Açoka, that is, according to the author's calculation, about 368-70 B.C. The evidence in favour of this result is very fairly stated, and Dr. Westergaard does not fail to admit that a good deal rests upon conjecture. All, he says, that can be maintained with the greatest certainty is, that the time between Buddha's death and Dharmâçoka is not by any means so long as appears from the Cingalese chronology; that Buddha was the contemporary of the kings Bimbisâra and Ajâtaçatru; and, that after an interval the contemporaries of Alexander reigned, but that the length of this interval cannot yet be determined.

3. The last published part of Weber's *Indische Studien* contains two papers which will interest a much wider circle of readers than that of professed Orientalists. One of these papers, by Dr. E. Haas, contains a number of Sanskrit texts, accompanied by translations, illustrative of the numerous ritual observances of Indian antiquity with reference to marriage. Many readers will be struck, not only by what is peculiar and characteristic in the Indian usages, but also, and chiefly, by the many undeniable resemblances which can be traced between these usages and those of the Teutonic, Scandinavian, and other branches of the Indo-European family, particularly the Latin. The very best commentary and key to the scattered notices we possess of the Roman marriage ceremonies will be found in the *Grihya Sûtras* which Dr. Haas has placed before us. The other paper to which we refer is a collection by Dr. Weber himself, who has added many important notes to Dr. Haas's paper, of passages from the Vedas, which refer to the marriage ceremonial, or which at least are so interpreted and used.



M. Paul Grimblot, in a letter to the editor, announces an important fact which may lead us to expect fresh light on the difficult question as to the date of Pânini. The Pâli language, a daughter of the Sanskrit, is the sacred tongue of South Buddhism, and possesses a very extensive literature, of which some important portions are already familiar to European scholars. The Sûtras of Kaccâyana, an immediate disciple of Buddha, which occupies the same place in Pâli literature which those of Pânini hold in Sanskrit, were supposed to be lost; but M. Grimblot says that this is a mistake, and that many Vârttikas and commentaries are also in existence. "Je connais," he adds, "bon nombre d'entre eux, et je peux vous donner une idée de la littérature grammaticale du Pâli en vous disant que sur mon catalogue, qui n'est sûrement pas complet, il se trouve quatre-vingt et quelques traités, la plupart d'une étendue effrayante, et à part deux tous ont pour base les Sûtras de Kaccâyana." If these Sûtras are really the work of an immediate disciple of Buddha, they may contain extremely important evidence; but we must be content for the present with waiting for fresh information.

4. Several specimens of what may be called the lighter literature of the Pâli are given by Mr. V. Fausböll, the learned editor and translator of the Dhammapadam. The stories translated are extremely like the nursery-tales of European nations. The Sihamma-Jâtaka is simply the fable of the ass disguised in a lion's skin; the Javasakuna-Jâtaka is the fable of the wolf and the crane; and the Daddhivânaha-Jâtaka, as the translator observes, greatly resembles some of the German Märchen. The value of this publication is of course chiefly philological. There is no doubt that it will greatly contribute to promote a more general, and a more accurate, knowledge than at present exists of a language which is not less interesting to philologists from its relationship to the Sanskrit than from the extensive and important literature which it contains.

5. The publication by M. de Rougé of a good hieratic text of the Egyptian Ritual, or Book of the Dead, is of great importance. In the first place, the only text of the Ritual which is generally accessible, viz. the facsimile of the Turin Ms. published by Lepsius, is full of blunders, and any attempt to translate portions of it involves the preliminary collation of different copies of the same text. Hieratic copies of a good period are more free from errors than the hieroglyphic. The errors of the latter are indeed chiefly owing to the ignorance of the scribes, who, in transcribing hieratic characters into hieroglyphic, often took one sign for another closely resembling it. The study of the Ritual will therefore be immensely facilitated by M. de Rougé's publication. But independently of the advantages which it will present to translators of the Ritual, we look upon it as tending greatly to increase a knowledge of the hieratic character, in which so many important documents of the Egyptian language are written. A thorough knowledge of the hieratic is also indispensable

as preliminary to the study of the demotic character which is derived from it, and supplies the alphabet of that stage of the language which forms the connecting link between the Old Egyptian and the Coptic. The first, and of course most difficult, steps in learning to read the hieratic character will be greatly facilitated by comparing the hieroglyphic text of the "Todtenbuch" with the beautiful hieratic text now before us, for the execution of which we are indebted to M. Deveria.

6. The Egyptian texts published by Dr. Brugsch in his *Recueil de Monumens* have reference to all branches of Egyptian archæology, whether history, mythology, astronomy, or geography. The hieroglyphic text of Nomes, and other localities, engraved on the walls of the Temple of Abydos, and first discovered at the end of the year 1857, may well excuse a certain amount of legitimate pride in Dr. Brugsch; for it most convincingly proves the truth of a considerable part of the geographical speculations already published by him previous to the discovery. We have, in fact, a list of places belonging to the time of Ramses II., arranged in exactly the same order, from south to north, as that in which Dr. Brugsch had placed them in his own map, that map having been drawn up from a laborious comparison of an immense number of hieroglyphic texts. In plates 15 and 16 we have an inscription rich in names of plants, metals, and stones, many of which have been preserved in Coptic. The list of trees in plate 36 is no less valuable. Two different, but unhappily very imperfect and mutilated, hieroglyphic copies of the poem of Pentaur on Ramses II. are given at plates 29-32 and plates 40-42. They are most valuable contributions to our knowledge of the text. The same thing may be said of plate 28, which gives the first twenty lines of the treaty of Ramses II. with the Hittites; and of plates 43 and 44, which contain a part of the Annals of Thothmes III. The five last plates contain short, easy, and interesting historical inscriptions of Seti I.

7. We hardly know how to interpret the success of the late Dr. Röth's History of Philosophy, which has now reached a second edition. Are we to suppose that a large portion of the learned public has committed the fatal mistake of preferring to such works as those of Brandis and Zeller one so hopelessly wrong in its views as the *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie*? Or is the success of this book owing to an interest felt in really authentic information as to the doctrines of Egypt and the East, such as Dr. Röth professes to give? If the latter alternative be the true one, we can only hope that the public will yield the same amount of encouragement to future essays which may better deserve its confidence and support.

The Greek philosophy was the natural and spontaneous produce of the Hellenic mind, and was gradually developed in successive stages, every one of which is historically known to us, and has its sufficient rational explanation. It was not derived, as Dr. Röth at-

tempts to prove, from Egypt, or from any other foreign soil. The internal character of the philosophy itself postulates no such origin. The external evidences of such an origin must be sought either in Greek writers or in foreign texts. Now, it can be shown that all Greek writers who have identified Greek with earlier oriental philosophies were either labouring under dogmatic prejudices on the subject, as in the case of Philo and the Christian fathers, who derived all from Moses, or were profoundly incapable, if only on account of their ignorance of foreign languages, literature, and religions, of any critical judgment on the question. As to the foreign, particularly the Egyptian authorities, on which Dr. Röth relies with so much confidence, it would be impossible for us to draw the conclusions at which he has arrived, even if we were to grant that he has always correctly interpreted these authorities. But we altogether deny the supposition of his having correctly represented the foreign doctrines to which he appeals. His Egyptian mythology is to a considerable extent a purely imaginary one. We are far indeed from accusing him of neglecting good authorities when they could be had. His attempt to illustrate his subject with notes containing original texts, accompanied by the most approved translations that could be got, is in itself most praiseworthy; but it is not the less unfortunate. Like all inductions built on insufficient premisses, it simply comes to nothing. The translations of Egyptian texts given in these notes were all made at a time when it was as yet impossible to understand many consecutive lines of the language. Even when irreproachable in themselves, they are therefore isolated fragments, out of which it is impossible to construct any but an arbitrary system. Dr. Röth's system will be disavowed by every competent Egyptologist of the present day. The only really remarkable coincidence between Greek and (apparently) Egyptian doctrines which is found on the monuments representing the deities of Earth, Air, Fire, and Water, has been satisfactorily cleared up by Lepsius, who has shown that this representation is much posterior to the time of Empedocles, and belongs in fact to the Greek period of Egyptian art.

8. The lovers of Aristotle, and we hope their number is still increasing, will, we are confident, feel grateful to us for recommending to their notice Dr. Franz Brentano's treatise on the different significations of *τὸ ὄν* in Aristotle. They will find it, in learning and ability, not unworthy of a place near the writings of Brandis, Biese, Bonitz, Ravaisson, Prantl, and the master Trendelenburg, to whom it is dedicated. Dr. Brentano is perhaps not always successful in his chivalrous vindication of Aristotle against the powerful objections of recent critics; but his replies are always ingenious and never feeble. The long chapter on the Categories will, even after the many excellent things that have already been written on the subject, be considered a very masterly dissertation.

9. We have two recent editions of Sophocles from Oxford,



which we mention together, because their object is professedly different, and indeed each proceeds upon principles nearly opposite to the other. Mr. Blaydes has published three out of the seven plays in a thick octavo volume of nearly 700 pages, which forms one of the series of the *Bibliotheca Classica*, with English notes. He thinks our present text of Sophocles is extensively corrupt throughout, and his notes contain laboured, but not always successful, efforts to emend it. He is inclined to disparage those who cling to the old readings of the Mss., and maintains that we can only advance in our knowledge of this difficult author by a system of tentative emendation. Thus he frequently gives us half-a-dozen, or even a dozen, guesses as to what Sophocles *might have written*, though in the majority of cases it is by no means clear why the old text must be pronounced faulty. "I know," he says (preface, p. xxvi.), "there is a large class among the learned who hold in supreme contempt this means of restoring an author, and who will scrupulously adhere to 'mumpsimus' if the copies all agree in such a reading, but will not have 'sumpsimus' at any price. Such orthodox scholars, while they pride themselves on their zealous and faithful adherence to the letter of the text, seem to forget that in so doing they are often paying homage to error at the expense of truth, idolising the ignorance or carelessness of medieval copyists, while they are wilfully shutting their eyes to the true beauties of ancient wit. But if we are ever to appreciate the genius of former ages, we must surely relinquish this pertinacious adherence to the letter of the Mss."

Poor "medieval copyists"! They are sure to be made the scapegoats whenever our modern *savants* cannot construe a passage! Mr. Blaydes proceeds upon a *petitio principii*, from which Oxford logic ought to have saved him. He *assumes* that the Mss. of Sophocles are corrupt, without even attempting to prove it—a thing obviously impossible. We will do him credit, however, by saying that his notes, though long, and often unnecessarily so, contain a body of critical information such as no other edition of Sophocles, either German or English, can show. He has been a careful and conscientious student of all that the Germans have ever written upon Sophocles, and we need hardly say, that is no small amount of matter. Every thing like a grammatical difficulty is fully explained; and he omits nothing that the reader can desire in the way of illustrating his author. Only one quality he appears to us to be deficient in, and that is *correct judgment*.

Mr. Blaydes proposes many hundreds of his own corrections of the text; but we greatly doubt if five per cent of these will be thought worthy of mention by future critics, or will be regarded by sound scholars as carrying with them any degree of probability. His ear for the iambic rhythm appears to us singularly deficient. For instance, in *Æd. Col.* 461 (a very easy verse),

ἐπάξιός μὲν, Οἰδίπους, κατοικτίσαι,

he tells us to read,

ἐπάξιός μὲν, Οἰδίπους, εἰ' ποικτίσαι·

which is simply a good verse spoilt; not to say that such a suggestion implies an ignorance of the fact that some adjectives, like *ἔτοιμος*, *ἄξιος*, more generally omit the substantive verb than add it. Again, in *Antigone*, 1301,

ἡ δ' ὀξύθηκτος ἦδε βωμία πέριξ  
 λυεῖ κελαινὰ βλέφαρα

(where *ὀξύθηκτος* means *ὀξεῖα ὀργῇ τεθηγμένη*), Mr. Blaydes gives in his text,

ἡ δ' ὀξυθήκτω σφαγίδι βωμία πέρι  
 λυεῖ κελαινὰ βλέφαρα

but among nearly a dozen other conjectures he suggests,

ἡ δ' ὀξυθήκτω κοπίδι βωμῶ 'φημένη,

which is not only a most reckless alteration in itself, but one devoid of all resemblance to the Sophoclean rhythm, and in violation of a law known to every schoolboy respecting the pause at the conclusion of an iambic verse. Nor is he more successful in *Antig.* 883, 4, where the vulgate text has,

ἄρ' ἴστ' αἰοιδὰς καὶ γόους πρὸ τοῦ θανεῖν  
 ὥς οὐδ' ἂν εἰς παύσαιτ' ἂν, εἰ χρεῖη λέγειν,

—verses which, with a little more critical acumen, he might have perceived to be *interpolations*. Here he proposes to read, and actually does insert in his text, for the second verse,

ὥς οὐδ' ἂν εἰς παύσαιτ' ἂν, εἰ 'ξείη, 'κχέων,—

a sort of verse which we undertake to say is unparalleled by any in the whole range of extant Greek tragedy. There is a deficiency of ear too in a critic who can gravely propose as Sophoclean verses such emendations as *ἀλλ' ἐντάφει ἐπίθεσθε καὶ κτερίσματα*, for the perfectly sound verse in *Æd. Col.* 1410, *ἀλλ' ἐν τάφοισι θέσθε κὰν κτερίσμασιν*; or *κεῖνον τὸν εἰσαεὶ βίον ἐπίστασο* in *Æd. Col.* 1584, for *κεῖνον τὸν ἀεὶ βίον ἐξεπίστασο*, where *ὁ ἀεὶ βίος*, 'an uncertain and vagabond life,' is like *τῆς ἀεὶ τύχης*, 'mere chance luck,' in Eurip. *Hcl.* 715. There are many such errors against good taste; and we mention them with regret, because Mr. Blaydes's edition has much that is really valuable, and it has only missed being a very good book by the unfortunate theory which the editor has adopted, that the text of Sophocles is corrupt throughout, and that he is competent to restore it.

10. Mr. Palmer has given us a valuable edition of that longest and most interesting of all the Sophoclean dramas, the *Ædipus at Colonus*. His book appears to have been designed as an antidote to Mr. Blaydes's doctrines, being "intended principally to explain and defend the text of the Mss. as opposed to conjectural emendations." So he tells us in his title-page, and we think that he has the right of it.

Mr. Palmer's notes are chiefly confined to the defence of the vulgate readings, and in this he is generally very successful. But παντὶ μέσῳ τὸ κράτος θεὸς ὤπασε, as *Æschylus* says: there is a true mean, which is better than excess on either side; and we doubt if Mr. Palmer is not in some cases defending really corrupt readings. Now and then he himself proposes a very happy correction. For instance in *Æd. Col.* 380:

ὥς αὐτίκ' Ἄργος ἢ τὸ Καδμείων πέδον  
τιμῇ καθέξων, ἢ πρὸς οὐρανὸν βιβῶν,

—a passage of well-known difficulty—he would read, and we suspect rightly,

ὥς αὐτίκ' αὐτὸς δὴ τὸ Καδμείων πέδον  
τιμῇ καθέξων καὶ πρὸς οὐρανὸν βιβῶν.

The sense will then be, ὥς δὴ αὐτὸς καθέξων, 'as if he (and not his brother Eteocles) would occupy Thebes and glorify it (by his monarchy).' Mr. Blaydes here chooses to read αἰχμῇ καθέξων, without the slightest authority.

We do not think Mr. Palmer is right in defending the common reading in *Æd. Col.* 907, νῦν δ' ὥσπερ αὐτὸς τοὺς νόμους εἰσῆλθ' ἔχων, τούτοις κούκ ἄλλοισιν ἄρμολθήσεται, which he interprets, "But now as he himself entered, having the laws (*i. e.* the benefit and protection of them), by these and no other shall he be ruled." The laws, he says, mean the laws of the land. This is a very forced explanation. We have no doubt the editors rightly here read οὗσπερ for ὥσπερ, "the same laws he has brought, by those he shall be ruled," *i. e.* he shall be treated as he acts. Mr. Blaydes here hazards a most unfortunate conjecture, among others, νῦν δ' οὗστινας καὶ τοὺς νόμους εἰσῆλθ' ἔχων, &c. Mr. Palmer says οὗσπερ τοὺς νόμους is not Greek; and he believes no such an example can be found. We will supply him with one exactly parallel from *Aristophanes' Pax*, νῦν δ' ἄττ' ἂν αὐτὸς καταφάγω τὰ σιτία, τούτοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς τοῦτον χορτάσω. It is merely an instance of a kind of attraction common in Greek, and is equivalent to τούτοις τοῖς νόμοις ἄρμολθήσεται, οὗσπερ ἔχων εἰσῆλθε.

We must leave Mr. Palmer, with a hearty recommendation to our readers to procure the book. True, it contains only one play; but his line of criticism is new, instructive, and altogether far more satisfactory than Mr. Blaydes's.

Neither editor, nor probably any of their predecessors, have thrown any doubt on the genuineness of the long and singular narrative of *Ædipus's* mysterious death, *Æd. Col.* 1586 to 1666. We think we could show good reasons for believing these verses, the style of which has some peculiarities, to be *Iophon's*. This writer was the son of *Sophocles*; and *Aristophanes* plainly intimates (*Ranæ*, v. 78) that he was suspected of making use of his father's writings. The author of one of the Greek arguments prefixed to the play tells us that the *Ædipus at Colonus* was brought out after the death of its author by his grandson (νιδεὺς) of the same name (*Sophocles*). He may perhaps have added this last scene, which will account for the



unusual length of the play (nearly 1800 verses), and also for the equally unusual circumstance that this single speech contains not less than five examples of the omitted augment,—a license very sparingly, if at all, employed by the tragic writers. We do not, however, deny that the whole *ῥῆσις* is a very fine one, and quite worthy of Sophocles, as well as closely after his general style.

11, 12. Two important editions of the *De Corona* of Demosthenes are before us: one (in the *Bibliotheca Classica*), which may be regarded as a genuine and a favourable specimen of English scholarship of the higher order of learning; the other, more recently published at Leipzig, by Dr. Vömel. Both of these are essentially library books, and both, in their way, valuable contributions to Greek literature. The English editor has borne in mind the peculiar requirements of our more popular school and college literature; while the German has attended principally to the critical department. Mr. Whiston's volume contains several of the earlier orations, beside the *περὶ Στεφάνου*; Dr. Vömel's only this and the *Παραπρεσβεία*.

Mr. Whiston's volume contains an excellent and copious "Life of Demosthenes;" a catalogue of the collated Mss.; introductions to the several speeches; more than one *excursus* of great learning and research; and engraved plans of the restored Mausoleum (rather recently explored at Halicarnassus in Caria) and of the Parthenon and Acropolis at Athens. The whole work is most creditable to the author's care, good judgment, and industry; and the notes are so ample and so lucid as to embrace every point on which an English student of fair attainments can require information.

The minute care which characterises the German critics is displayed in Dr. Vömel's beautiful work, which as a specimen of typography alone is highly commendable. A Latin version is placed under the text in every page. But the great feature of the edition is its very complete collection of Ms. readings, including those of the Ms. well known to scholars as Σ<sup>1</sup> (hitherto considered the principal authority for the text of Demosthenes); and, above all, those of a hitherto unknown Ms. now first collated for the editor by his friend Rehdantz. This Ms. is described as of the thirteenth century, very valuable in its readings (as being derived from a source only remotely related to Σ), and containing, among other orations, the *De Corona* and *De Falsa Legatione*. It is now preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence,—perhaps the richest in the world in very valuable Greek Mss.,—and is marked Plut. lvi. supplement. fascic. ix. 136 (49). Our author is enthusiastic in announcing his important discovery; but he modestly says: "Meritum non meum est, sed Rehdantzii et Schultzii. Nunc novis armis" (he adds) "instructus novoque animo afflatus fidenter rationem sequi poteram ante hos viginti annos timidius proditam. Nunc Σ non amplius sine comite dominatur; habet nunc qui eum tanquam ἀντιγραφεύς, isque qui sui juris est, comitetur" (Præf. p. x.).

<sup>1</sup> Of the eleventh century; now in the Royal Library at Paris.

Beside this important and early Ms., Dr. Vömel has now first given the readings of four others, not indeed so ancient, but apparently of some value. On the whole, therefore, this edition is of very high literary interest and importance. There are no explanatory notes; but the indices are very full and valuable, and there is a short appendix to the author's "Prolegomena" to his former edition of *Demosthenes*, containing some sound remarks on points of disputed orthography in certain Greek words.

13. An edition of the *Midias* of Demosthenes has quite recently appeared, with very useful and not too copious English notes. It is a small volume, and very well adapted for those students who are hardly yet competent to enter fully into the niceties of the language, and desire some information on the numerous points of archæology which occur in this celebrated oration. The groundwork of the notes is from Buttman's well-known edition; but Mr. Holmes has used the resources of his own very competent scholarship in supplying some omissions; for, as he says, "Buttmann, while on many points he consults the interest of *tirones* with most exemplary tenderness, is apt to pass in silence occasional difficulties, the solution of which is far from obvious to a novice."

The speech of Demosthenes against *Midias* is one of the most celebrated of that great author's orations, though the subject is rather of a private than a public nature. *Midias*, a rich man, but a worthless bully and profligate, had exercised a paltry spite against Demosthenes, by thwarting him in the performance of certain public and religious duties at the principal festival of Dionysus, and had destroyed some of the property provided at the expense of the orator for the occasion. For this offence he is prosecuted by the orator himself, and made to smart under a volley of such invective as few would be able to endure. The penalty for the outrage was death; but we do not know the result of the action, as it is believed that *Midias* compromised the affair. The speech itself indeed, which was composed probably B.C. 353, is thought by some never to have been really delivered. That, however, is a matter which little concerns us at the present day. The singular eloquence of the oration, its thorough earnestness and determination, with the fund of information it supplies on many intricate points of Greek law, are sufficient to render it a favourite with all.

Nor was it less a subject of study with the ancients themselves. Pliny the younger, in one of his letters (vii. 30), says to a friend: "Tu mihi bonum animum facis, qui libellos meos de ultione Helvidi orationi Demosthenis κατὰ Μειδίον confers, quam sane, cum componerem illos, habui in manibus, non ut æmularer (improbum enim ac pæne furiosum), sed tamen imitarer et sequer."

Mr. Holmes's notes appear to us to be characterised by great accuracy; and though he professes that his book is only "for the use of higher forms in public schools, or of those who are not reading for classical honours," it will be found useful to much more advanced students.

14. Petronius is not exactly the sort of author that is fit for ordinary reading, for his grossness is undeniable. But the fragments which we have of his works (being parts of the xvth and xvith books) are very valuable as illustrative of Roman life in the time of the Emperor Nero. The Latinity is stiff, pedantic, and full of unusual words; but the author was a man of cultivated mind, and of great, though to a sad extent depraved, taste.

Petronius was a contemporary of Seneca and Lucan. He is thought to be the same person who was put to death by order of Nero, A.D. 66, as described by Tacitus (*Ann.* xvi. 18). He is there called "Gaius Petronius," and spoken of as a man of "eruditus luxus," proconsul of Bithynia, and afterwards consul. He was one of Nero's intimate friends, and the chief minister to his scandalous luxuries. The work of which we have but this small portion remaining is called *Satiricon* or *Satira*, probably from its *medley* of verses and prose. For 'satire' is derived from *lanx satura*, a dish filled with all kinds of mixed food. The scene is chiefly in Campania, but partly (as our editor thinks) at Marseilles. This place is spoken of by Tacitus (*Agricola*, § 4) as "locus Græca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mixtus ac bene compositus." The people of Crotona in the south of Italy enjoyed a reputation for excessive luxury and refinement. The story, if such it be, is the personal narrative of the adventures of one Encolpius, and contains an amusing account of his intercourse with the rich and great men of the day. One Trimalchio is introduced, and the minute account of a Roman dinner given by him is familiar to most scholars. We present our readers with a few sentences as a specimen of the style of the author:

"When we had taken our places, after iced water had been poured over our hands by (handsome) slaves from Alexandria, a first-course [*gustatio*, properly a 'whet' or 'snack'] was brought in, all being in their seats except Trimalchio, for whom, by a new etiquette, the first place was reserved. Among the dishes used for this course (*promulsidaria*) was an ass of Corinthian bronze with panniers, which contained green olives on one side and black ones on the other. The ass was covered by two dishes, on the margins of which the name of Trimalchio was inscribed, and the weight of the silver. Little bridges soldered across them held dormice sprinkled with honey and poppy-seed. There were forcemeat-balls also served up hot on a silver grating, and below it Syrian plums and pips of pomegranates." Trimalchio is now announced to the sound of music. He is dressed in a red mantle, with a napkin hung over his breast; his fingers are covered with rings, and his bare arm has ivory bracelets. A boy follows with a little dice-table, with gold and silver coins instead of dice, at which my lord sits down to play. "While yet at our snack, a tray was brought on, bearing a basket, in which was a wooden hen represented with outstretched wings, in the circular form of one sitting on her nest. Two servants followed to the sound of music, and began to rummage among the chaff, from which occasionally they drew peahen's eggs, and dis-



tributed them to the guests. Trimalchio here turns to his guests, and says, 'Friends, I ordered peahen's eggs to be put under a hen, and in truth I have some fear they are already set; but we will try if they are still eatable.' We accordingly took egg-spoons weighing six ounces each, and broke the eggs, which were made of a sticky sort of flour. I for my part nearly threw mine away, for I thought it contained a chicken; but, hearing an old guest say, 'We ought to have something good here,' I broke away more of the shell, and found—a fat *beccafico* dressed with peppered yolk of egg."

The present edition is a very elegant and useful one. The notes are purely critical, and give the readings of seventeen Mss. The preface contains an elaborate disquisition on the date, writings, Mss., and early editions of Petronius, and concludes with a useful index of proper names.

15. "Laudantur nostra, sed neque leguntur neque emuntur," is the complaint of M. Paul de Lagarde, who certainly does not eat the bread of idleness. His edition of the Apostolical Constitutions, in a cheap octavo form, ought to be acceptable to the students of early Christian literature. It is now, we suppose, pretty generally understood, that the pseudepigraphical literature of the first centuries before and after the Christian era is not to be simply dismissed as worthless because consisting of "pious frauds." If the book of Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Clementine homilies, and the apocryphal gospels, do not represent the ideas of those whose names they bear, they represent at least important ideas current when they were written, and certain phases, orthodox or heterodox, of Jewish and Christian doctrine or discipline. It may be safely asserted that the critical examination of the Clementine homilies has been productive of a complete revolution in Church history, even in the case of those most vehemently opposed to the theories of the Tübingen school. No such searching criticism has as yet been applied to the Apostolic Constitutions, although the ground has been cleared for this purpose, to some extent, by the dissertations of Drey and others. The subject, however, is a promising one. M. Paul de Lagarde confines his work at present to giving a correct text from a careful collation of manuscripts. It is much to be regretted that he has been compelled by the want of the proper type, and other economical reasons, to suppress the important evidence of the oriental versions. Might not the difficulty, however, have been solved to some extent in the same way as in the critical editions of the Greek Testament?

16. Theophilus of Antioch, who wrote shortly after the death of Marcus Antoninus in A. D. 180, is memorable among the writers of the Church, not only as the first in whose writings the word "Trinity" is used, but as the first who can be proved to have quoted the gospel of St. John, or perhaps, indeed, any of the four canonical gospels. A new edition of his works has been published by Dr. Otto, who has for many years been engaged in editing the writings of the Christian

apologists. Had Dr. Otto's labours been merely confined to a republication of the old text, together with such notes as the more recent ecclesiastical studies had rendered necessary, he would have deserved the thanks of all students of Christian antiquity. He has, however, done a great deal more than this. The text of the *editio princeps* of Theophilus, printed at Zurich in 1546, was derived from a manuscript supposed to have belonged to the library of Matthias Corvinus, and now no longer to be found. Two other Mss. were known to later editors, one of paper, in the Bodleian Library, written about the middle of the fifteenth century, and another, also of paper, now in the Paris Bibliothèque Impériale, written in 1540, only six years before the publication of the *editio princeps*. The Paris Ms. contains only the third book of the Apology. Dr. Otto's edition chiefly follows a parchment manuscript of the eleventh century, once the property of Cardinal Bessarion, and now preserved in the library of St. Mark at Venice. This manuscript, which had not been seen by any of the former editors, has every where been arbitrarily corrected and altered by a later hand and with a darker ink than that of the original, which is, however, perfectly distinguishable. "Hujus viri interpolatrix potius quam emendatrix manus," says Dr. Otto, "a Theophilo melius omnino abstinuisset." On comparing together the Venetian and Bodleian texts, the latter appears to be derived almost entirely from the former in its altered and interpolated shape. By the help of his new auxiliary, Dr. Otto is therefore able to present a purer text of his author than any that has yet been published. His Prolegomena will be read with great interest. In that "de Theophiliana dictione" a large number of words and expressions peculiar to his author will be found collected. One of the most remarkable of these, perhaps, is *ὁ ἄνθρωπος σου* for *internus homo*.

17. There are several works in existence upon the ecclesiastical history of Spain ; but we know of none, either in Spanish or in any other language, that deserves the name of the History of the Spanish Church. Father Gams has undertaken to fill up this very real want ; and if he should fail, it will not be through fault either of original knowledge, or supply of books, or industry and thought. His method, we fear, will be his bane. Not satisfied with telling his story, he argues without end, and overflows with long digressions. It would, indeed, have been difficult to avoid all discussion ; but he might have followed the example of Tillemont, who has managed to give a continuous narrative by reserving his illustrations for notes at the end of the volume, or for separate dissertations, in which he could arrange methodically all doubtful points which seemed worth inquiring into.

In his first book Father Gams proves that St. Paul was the founder of the Spanish Church ; and as he rightly relies on the anonymous fragment of the scriptural canon published by Muratori, he thinks it necessary to give a summary of all the dissertations that have appeared upon this important historical document of the second

century. In his second book he shows that St. Torquatus and his six companions, all disciples of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and sent by them from Rome into Spain, were the chief apostles of the faith in the Peninsula. He discusses all the questions relating to the sees which they founded or occupied, and every other tradition that is left about them. His principal proof for the chief fact is the notice of it in the Mozarabic Liturgy. This leads him to enquire into the origin of that Liturgy; and he concludes that it represents the primitive Roman rite. It is certainly very ancient, as is proved by its use of the *Vetus Itala*, instead of the Vulgate translation, in its quotations from Scripture. This again gives the author the opportunity to refute Cardinal Wiseman's theory, that the Italic version is really African, and to prove it to be really Italian or Roman. The Cardinal's opinion, adopted by Tischendorf and many other German writers, is that this translation was first made in Africa and afterwards revised in Italy; and that it was of this Italian recension that St. Augustine spoke in his books *De Doctrina Christiana*, where he lauds the *Vetus Itala*. Tischendorf, when he collated the various Mss., representing, it was supposed, some the primitive African translation, and others the Italian revision, found none that was unmixed, but in all found so-called African readings mixed with so-called Italian ones, and verified St. Jerome's words, *tot sunt exemplaria quot codices*. This is one great difficulty in the way of Cardinal Wiseman's theory. Another is, that Father Gams proves that all the so-called African words which the Cardinal found in the pre-hieronimic version were in use in Rome and in the Roman provinces of Europe; while, on the contrary, some of the words are so little African, that St. Augustine and other African Fathers were under the necessity of explaining their meaning to their African audience, to whom they were strange and unfamiliar. This simple indication will show with what fatal facility our author yields to the seductions of a discussion, however long and complicated it may be. Who would think of looking into the "Church History of Spain" for a philological discussion on the birthplace of the primitive Latin version of the Bible? In this same second book the author denies the mission of the seven disciples of the Apostles into Gaul; but he does not support his opinion with any new reasoning.

The third book contains the history of the Church during the second and third centuries. St. Irenæus and Tertullian bear witness to the progress the faith had made in Spain during their lives. The letter of St. Cyprian to the communities of Leon, Astorga, and Merida, on the affair of the Bishops Basilides and Martialis, accused of having sacrificed to idols, gives us a view of the internal condition of the Spanish Church. Tarragona, Seville, and the neighbouring city of Italica had at the same time well-organised churches. But the documents relating to this period are very few; they are mere planks saved from a wreck, hints by which we may guess at events, rather than historical accounts of them.



The fourth book is much more rich. The passions of the martyrs who suffered under Diocletian and Maximin carry us into the principal churches of Spain. The author analyses these documents with his usual industry and acumen. Not satisfied with giving us the fruits of his own labours, he sums up all that others have said before him on these remarkable martyrdoms,—all the commentaries of the Bollandists, of Ruinart's *Acta Sincera*, Tillemont's *Mémoires Ecclésiastiques*, and almost all other ecclesiastical histories. The book ends with two very important and curious chapters. The author proves that the inscriptions about the Spanish persecutions of Nero and Diocletian, which have been read for the last three centuries in books of monumental collections, have no warrant of authenticity, and that the one relating to Dacian at Evora is no better authenticated. We entirely agree with his conclusion, and we are sure he could have made it more certain than he has done. He then criticises the apologies which several Protestant writers have made for the government of Diocletian, and argues that this prince was not calumniated by the Christians.

This first volume of Father Gams's Church History of Spain is, in our judgment, a very important work. It would be well worth translating into Spanish. The previous works of the author on general history, and on the ecclesiastical history of the nineteenth century, were somewhat hasty and unsatisfactory. His latest publication proves him to be capable of deep and accurate investigation.

18. Dr. Flügel's most important contribution to the history of Manichæism deserves a more extended notice than we can afford it at present. The *Kutâb al Fihrist* of Abû'lfaraj Muhammad ben Ishak al Wurrâk of Bagdad has long been known, by reputation at least, as one of the most precious treasures of erudition now extant, in all that concerns Arabic literature and science, down to the time of the author in A.D. 987. It professes to give an account of all books written in Arabic, or translated into that language, whatever their subjects may be; together with information about the authors, the sciences they cultivated, and the philosophies or religions they professed; it is, in short, a bibliographical encyclopædia of the most valuable description. An account of its contents was first given to the learned world, a year or two ago, by Dr. Flügel himself; for though Silvestre de Sacy and other Orientalists have occasionally given extracts from it, the work itself has never been published. We rejoice to learn that Dr. Flügel, one of the most accomplished Arabic scholars living, is preparing a critical edition of this invaluable document. The *Fihrist* is divided into ten books, of which the ninth treats of various religious sects, beginning with the Harranians or Sabæans. The interesting section concerning these religionists has been published by M. Chwolsohn, and has furnished the matter for his learned work *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*. The second section is not less remarkable, and treats of Mani and the Manichæans. It

had already been printed, but incorrectly and with considerable omissions, by Hammer, in the ninetieth volume of the *Wiener Jahrbücher*. It is now for the first time published entire and with accuracy. The learned editor has added a translation, and a large mass of extremely valuable notes illustrative of the text.

The short biography of Mani is probably not much more authentic than what we already possessed; but the description of the Manichæan doctrines is evidently drawn from the purest source, namely, the Manichæan literature, which, as described by the author of the *Fihrist*, was tolerably extensive. The information concerning the later history of the Manichæan sect is also no doubt as authentic as it is full of interest.

We recommend Dr. Flügel's book, as absolutely necessary to correct and complete the view of Manichæism which has been more or less current since the publication of Baur's essay on the system, in 1831. It will interest some of our readers to learn that one of the author's notes contains a translation of the section of the *Fihrist* concerning the system of Bardesanes.

19. M. C. Barbier de Meynard and M. Pavet de Courteille are publishing, under the auspices of the Société Asiatique, an excellent and remarkably cheap edition, accompanied by a translation, of the "Golden Meadows" of El Maçudi. No work perhaps is better adapted to give an accurate and lively notion of the intellectual and scientific culture of the Arabs in the third and fourth centuries of the Hegira. Its author was born in the last years of the third century, and at an early age commenced that adventurous career as a traveller which occupied the greater part of his life. His travels extended to Spain in a westerly, and to the coasts of China in an easterly direction. He visited Ceylon and Madagascar; and the shores of the Caspian Sea were as familiar to him as those of Yemen and Java, or as the steppes of Thibet and Khorasan. The last ten years of his life were spent in Syria and Egypt. He has been called the Imâm of writers. Dr. Sprenger, who published an English translation of the first seventeen chapters of the "Golden Meadows," called him the Herodotus of the Arabs. M. Renan has since compared him to Pausanias, but his present editors justly protest against this comparison. The Greek traveller, whose descriptions never extend beyond the limits of his native land, and whose tastes are exclusively Hellenic, has not scrupled to bear personal witness to a host of facts of so marvellous a nature that Scaliger has pronounced him to be "Græcorum omnium mendacissimus." El Maçudi, on the other hand, is cosmopolitan in his curiosity; his veracity is unimpeachable; and if his memory is sometimes treacherous, as he himself admits in his preface, he never allows himself to be the dupe of his own imagination.

The literary activity of El Maçudi was prodigious. We have the titles of twenty-three of his works, some of which consisted of no less than twenty or thirty volumes. Two only of these works are known

to exist in Europe, and, as might be expected, they bear the most evident marks of hasty and off-hand composition, which are not to be attributed to ignorance or want of skill ; for his critical remarks on other writers display a very mature and sound judgment. But, as his editors observe, "on voit que l'abondance de ses matériaux le gêne, et qu'il ne s'est pas donné le temps de faire un choix judicieux de tant de trésors. Sa vive imagination embrasse d'un coup-d'œil mille objets divers : histoire, géographie, étude des races et des religions, sciences et arts, traditions et contes populaires ; il a tout appris, tout retenu, et il veut tout dire en même temps au lecteur."

The "Golden Meadows" are, as the author himself tells us, a summary of the principal matters contained in his other writings, particularly in his great historical work (*Akhbar ez-Zemân*), which was in its day considered the encyclopædia of all that an accomplished Moslem should know. "This book," he says, "is in some sort the memento of my former writings, the summary of the information that every man of education should possess, and the ignorance of which would be inexcusable. There is not, in fact, a single branch of knowledge, or a piece of information, not a source of traditions, which it not contained there, either in detail or in abridgment, or at least indicated by rapid allusions and summary references." It comprises universal history and geography, both sacred and profane, from the creation of the world, which is described in accordance with the singular traditions of the author's creed, down to his own times. The prejudices and superstitions of the age, country, and religion of El Maçudi are largely represented in his book, but do not by any means diminish its interest. The volume before us contains the first sixteen chapters of the work, which has in all a hundred and thirty-two.

20. We heartily congratulate English students of Arabic on at length possessing a thoroughly scholar-like grammar of a language which ought to be familiar to every one who wishes to understand the Old Testament in the original. It is no real exaggeration to say that a mere Hebrew scholar stands, with reference to the Hebrew language, in a far more unfavourable position than one who has only read Ionic Greek would stand with reference to the Greek language. We are of course very far from wishing to imply that Arabic is not worth studying for its own sake ; we are only appealing to that very large class of scholars who are most directly interested (though they may not think so) in the study of it.

Mr Wright very justly takes to himself the credit of having filled up a gap in the philological literature of England ; for the Arabic grammars hitherto written in English are either worthless or insufficient. Good practical Arabic grammars are indeed rare every where. First-rate grammars like those of Silvestre de Sacy and Ewald are not adapted for beginners, and the shorter ones contain hardly more information than a clever man would write out in two or three days. Even that of Rosenmüller, which is almost entirely based on that of Sacy, contains very serious errors. Mr. Wright has selected the



grammar of Caspari as the basis of his own, which is not a translation, but an enlarged and improved edition of the original,—a great many sections having been “altered for the better, either by giving them greater precision of expression, or by adding more preferable examples.” He has every where added notes, sometimes of considerable length, touching on the comparative grammar of the Semitic languages. Some of these give ample proof, as he thinks, “that the Hebrew, even of the Pentateuch, had already attained the same degree of grammatical development (or decay) as the spoken Arabic of the present day.” This is probably true in fact as well as in theory, but it presupposes the settlement of two important questions: first, how far the spoken Arabic has really lost by decay the characteristics which distinguish the classical Arabic from it; and secondly, how far our present version of the Pentateuch gives a correct idea of the original text. There is a considerable amount both of evidence and argument on the different sides of these questions, though the issue can hardly be considered as doubtful.

We have as yet but one complaint to make against Mr. Wright's grammar. It is to be regretted that the examples he has so well selected are not accompanied by references to the authorities from which they are drawn. There is undoubtedly much less necessity for these references in Arabic than in Latin or Greek, where so much diversity exists between different epochs, and even between authors of the same date; but every intelligent student would be glad to know, *e.g.*, who the Arabian writer is that says, *El insānu yudabbiru wa' llahu yuqaddiru* (“Man proposes, and God disposes”).

21. Dr. Franz von Erdmann's narrative of *Temudschin der Uner-schütterliche*, in spite of its romantic title and frequent grandiloquence of style, will, we fear, be considered tedious by most readers. Temudschin, as all students of Gibbon will remember, is no other than the celebrated hero universally known under the name of Gengis Khan; the history of whom, and the manners, customs, language, and culture of whose contemporaries Dr. von Erdmann considers himself to have for the first time accurately described and illustrated. The first and larger part of the volume is taken up with a geographical and ethnographical introduction, displaying a mass of erudition as alarming to the unlearned as it is, we regret to say, disappointing to the learned reader. On the extent and accuracy of Dr. von Erdmann's acquaintance with all the Eastern languages to which he has recourse, we need not give any opinion. But we have no hesitation in saying that his learning, even when it is accurate in details (which is not always the case), is radically unsound in its method, which consists in arbitrary combinations; and that the philological arguments in particular, on which some of his most important conclusions depend, are put forth in defiance, if not in ignorance, of the science of the present day.

A specimen of the astonishing inaccuracy in details at which we have hinted will be found at p. 15, where, in speaking of the worship

in India of the Sun in the form of Siva, the author says: "to him, in opposition to the Earth or Cow, the Bull (in Hebrew Behemoth) was consecrated." We do not understand why it was necessary to give the Hebrew for 'bull' in a passage referring to purely Indian usages, and still less can we understand how a professed Orientalist can have so completely blundered about the common Semitic word 'Behemoth' (a plural, by the way), which, both in Hebrew and Arabic, means simply 'dumb animals;' and may be as correctly applied to cows or she-donkeys as to bulls. What, again, can Dr. von Erdmann mean by interpreting Buddha as "der Lebenserzeuger, der Vater des Seins," when every one knows that the root of Buddha is *budh*, 'to know'? He, moreover, apparently confounds Buddha with Budha, the 'knowing' child of Soma and husband of Ila, the daughter of Vaiwaswata.

The books quoted in Dr. von Erdmann's notes are almost numberless, but whereas heaps of references are made to second-rate or even worthless authorities, first-rate writers are not even dreamed of, in reference to questions which they have notoriously discussed. We think, for instance, that Professor Müller might have been profitably consulted about Turan and the Turanian languages. We have perhaps no right to be scandalised at finding the Scythians etymologically identified with the Getæ, and with the supposed "Scheto" of the third Salier papyrus (a blunder long since exploded); but we are certainly astonished at finding these names once more derived from that of the "great Indian nation," of the *Jât*, *Jit*, *Jut*, &c., after Lassen's explanation that *Jât* is merely the modern name (and contracted Prakrit form) of the *Jârtika*. On the subject of Goths and Getæ, we have, again, the right of wondering at the absence of any reference to Grimm's *Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache*. Surely Müller, Lassen, and Grimm, are worth a cart-load of such names as are found in profusion in Dr. von Erdmann's notes. But our author prefers such authorities as Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han*, a charming and entertaining work, if you will, but where we read, "that a system of Hinduism pervaded the whole Babylonian and Assyrian empires, Scripture furnishes abundant proofs," and, "Rana and Chrishna are both painted blue (*nila*), holding the lotos, emblematic of the Nile."

Dr. Erdmann's comparative philology is of the most primitive (we cannot say, of the most elementary) kind. If within the limits of the Indo-European languages, where he has fixed rules to guide him, he sees no difficulty in identifying the Greek *βοῦς* and the English 'bull,' we may be sure that in comparing words belonging to different families of languages his imagination will be allowed to run riot. Really scientific philologists often hesitate about identifying words of the same meaning in different kindred languages when the phonetic resemblance is too great; but Dr. von Erdmann boldly identifies words which are utterly foreign to each other in family, and which cannot be proved to have the least connection in sense, but simply possess certain letters in common. Taurus ('a bull'), Mount Taurus, Turan, Turk, Thracian, tyrant, the cities Tyre, Tar-

sus, and Tiryns, Tartarus, the Gallic Taranis, the Scandinavian Thor, and a heap of other names from all parts of the universe,—among which we are not a little surprised to miss the hill and hall and harp of Tara,—are all asserted by him to be etymologically connected.

His comparative mythology is on a level with his comparative philology. The two, indeed, are closely interwoven, and depend on each other. Who would ever have thought of etymologically comparing the Latin *vacca*, 'cow,' with the Sanskrit *vach*, 'speech'? But the cow, it seems, is every where the symbol of deity, and Vach is the goddess of wisdom and speech. And it further appears, that with both these words, Baga, the name of God, is also connected. We are directed, in like manner, to see the identity of the Hebrew *El*, *Elohim*, with the Greek *ἤλιος* and the Indian *Ella*.

Religious ideas, myths, and symbols, are always parts of a system; and the place which they occupy in the system must never be overlooked. To compare an isolated fragment of a myth or an isolated symbol of one religion with that of another religion, is to commit the same kind of error as if an etymologist were to identify the Greek *μάψ* with the English *maps*; or as if a physiologist, guided by mere external appearances, were to identify the snout of one animal with the tail of another.

We do not know why our author speaks of it as an undoubted fact ("es unterliegt keinem Zweifel") that India and Thibet must be regarded as the lands from which all the nations of Western Asia and Europe derived their culture. Such an opinion is certainly not that of the best-informed scholars, who are unanimous in speaking of the Indian civilisation as derived from the same origin as our own, and in placing that origin beyond the northern limits of India and the western limits of Thibet. But even were the opposite doctrine true, it would still be unscholarlike to appeal to the religions of Siva, Vishnu, and (if we rightly understand our author) even Buddha, as illustrative of the ideas of primitive paganism, without apparently being conscious of the fact, that these religions do not represent the first or even the second historical period of religion in India, but are comparatively modern innovations, of which the Vedic and the purely Brahmanic religions knew nothing.

Dr. von Erdmann, if we rightly remember, somewhere gives the name of "Combinationen" to his historical speculations. He could not have chosen a better word; for they consist, in fact, of combinations and permutations of ideas which have no more natural affinity or logical coherence than the objects placed between the slides of a kaleidoscope; and were they shaken mechanically into any other shape, historical truth would be no loser.

22. The difficulty of presenting the doctrines of religion to children intelligibly as a connected whole is so great, that it is a very good idea to put before them the progress of religious knowledge in the order of historical succession. In this way, they learn to connect



truths with facts, and all their faculties share in the instruction. The manner in which the substance of religion was communicated to mankind is also that in which it ought to be conveyed to each particular soul. Mr. Formby has attempted to provide this sort of instruction by his Bible Stories, and he has very creditably succeeded. "From whom," he says very justly, "could the condition of attaining all at once to perfection be reasonably required, where the light of any previous reliable experience for the guidance of the attempt was scarcely any where to be obtained?" It is indeed an enterprise of no little difficulty,—not so much in the Scriptural part as in those volumes on the history of the Church without which, our author has rightly felt, no account of revelation can be complete. The difficulty of course is in the selection of topics. In order to continue the subjects contained in the second volume of Mr. Formby's work, which embraced the Gospel history, it would be necessary to give prominence to the dogmatic office of the Church, and to dwell on the great internal controversies by which her system of doctrine was gradually established. But, in the first place, this would involve a more practical recognition of the theory that the advance of religious knowledge did not cease with the apostolic age than Catholic readers are generally prepared for; secondly, doctrinal controversy is a bad subject for pictorial effect; and thirdly, it would have made it hard to retain the Protestant readers whom Mr. Formby, as we trust and have reason to believe, has obtained by the earlier portions of his work. The idea which predominates in his Church History, therefore, is not the vindication of the Catholic doctrine against error, but the defence of the Catholic Church against the State. It is the Church militant against the civil power that he prefers to illustrate. The very title of some of his chapters displays the Guelphic spirit. Mr. Formby is not a mere compiler of annals, but a writer who has thought much on disputed questions, who sees clearly and feels strongly the truth of his own views, and who uses them to give life and interest and a purpose to his narrative of the best-known events. Those whom he addresses must think as well as listen. He furnishes them with opinions and judgments, and a definite and consistent view of things, and not with the mere external lifeless facts of history. "The writer hopes that none of his readers will be seriously displeased at his having sought to pay a compliment to their powers of comprehension, by endeavouring, as far as he was able, to provide full employment and exercise for them." He deals out, not conventional examples for edification, but lessons not always palatable or popular, and, we may add, stories not always quite digestible. "It is not uncommonly thought that every thing was perfection in the times which witnessed the labours and heard the actual voices of those whom Jesus Christ Himself had trained for their office, by making them the companions of His public ministry, and the attendants upon His own person. And this, again, would seem itself to be but part of a general disposition to think that the best thing for the cause of religion is a highly-varnished narrative, that sets forth nothing but its perfection. . . . The

Apostles, who wrote under the dictation of God the Holy Ghost; and who are our acknowledged models, most plainly show us that they understand nothing whatever of the practice of getting up a picture to look well upon paper for the eye of the public; that their mission, on the contrary, is to speak the truth as it is before God; that their cause will bear to have its defects nakedly exposed in the open day" (pp. 77, 80). Accordingly, Mr. Formby tells an unvarnished tale; he does not dwell upon scandalous times, but he does not conceal scandals when they are of importance, as the motive or explanation of great acts of penance, severity, and reform. If the purpose of his book had been solely edification, he would have acted otherwise, and would have been justified in confining himself to the more pleasing spectacles of history. But the object he has before him, the position he takes up, requires more than candour. If he will not say or omit any thing for fear of scandal, he ought also to have the fear of fiction before his eyes. A fact or a legend are equally true to the poet, and equally useful as homiletic instances; but they are not indifferent to historians who accept the canons laid down by Mr. Formby. But his sound principles on this head have been betrayed by another portion of his design. As it is no part of his plan to confute heresies or to conceal defects, he must, in order to make Church history serve the arguments in favour of religion, dwell on the lives and example of the saints. "God leaves it to the fidelity of each generation to make use of such means as He places within their reach for propagating and disseminating the knowledge of the saints. Among the many ways that may be used for the propagation of this knowledge, the study of the history of the Church may be said to be perhaps the most powerful and efficacious of all." Consequently he has chosen his materials with a view to the exhibition of the virtues of the saints. Fourteen pages are devoted to St. Theodotus, twenty to St. Antony; while St. Augustine, whose religious life is chiefly in his works, fills only five. The interval of 150 years between St. Dominic and St. Catherine occupies only three pages. The same interval between St. Vincent and the French Revolution is omitted entirely. The sins of omission, however, are not the worst into which the author has fallen. The most notoriously spurious acts of martyrs, such as those of St. Clement, which even Butler repudiates, and which are not older than the ninth century, he uses side by side with the Acts of the Apostles and the most authentic monuments of the primitive Church.

Mr. Formby's sympathies are with the Holy See and the monks rather than with the episcopate or the laity. The Popes and the religious orders bore the brunt of the conflict with the state in which the rest of the faithful at various times succumbed. The monks, moreover, were, at least in early times, always obedient to the authority of Rome, which the lay governments and the episcopal order often endeavoured to restrict. Against these efforts Mr. Formby undertakes the defence of the primacy to the utmost measure of its claims: "The civil magistrate is made to be amenable to the tribunals of the Church

for the way in which he exercises his power over the Christian people. . . . Inasmuch as there is nothing which they can possibly, as good Christians, desire to withdraw from the plenitude of the visible Vicegerent's power to bless, so there is in like manner nothing which they can consistently with Christian reason desire to withdraw from the sphere of his prerogatives" (p. 193). In accordance with this absolute theory, where Gregory VII. deposes monarchs, there is no need to seek any more pertinent grounds of justification than "the example of Samuel anointing David in opposition to Saul" (p. 318). This is simply the revival of a view which came in with Innocent III., and lasted about a century in the Church, down to the captivity of Avignon; and it may serve as a speculative opinion or a hypothesis to explain events which are sufficiently intelligible without it. But it is bewildering to find in the same book the following derivation of the rights of the primacy from those of St. Peter: "Unless an entire change is to be introduced into the constitution of the Church at Peter's death, Peter must reappear in the person of his successor, with the plenitude of his gifts and prerogatives continued." If the authority claimed by Boniface VIII. was in reality received from St. Peter by his immediate successors, the Popes and divines of about a thousand years will require vindication of their orthodoxy, compared to which the defence of the Ante-nicene Fathers was an easy and compendious undertaking. Having invested the Holy See with such a plenitude of power, Mr. Formby incurs the temptation of attributing to its occupants a corresponding degree of virtue. This leads him into one or two contradictions which would be of some moment in a more consecutive or less popular work. He quotes with applause the words of Tertullian: "There can be no real religion in desiring to extort religion" (p. 128); and adds, "such phenomena as the Spanish Inquisition are vexed questions of history, in which it is impossible for the ordinary reader to know how far civil despotism really deceived the spiritual power." Elsewhere he tells us that the Albigenses were not only heretics, but also "the mischievous authors of a political disunion, which it concerned the general good of the Christian people to put down without loss of time by the force of arms. Hence an armed crusade against the *rebels* was proclaimed" (p. 409). Now the author of an ecclesiastical history cannot be ignorant that the Holy See has held and practised the doctrine, that even where there was no civil rebellion, no danger to the public peace, and no possibility of propagating error, a heretic might be rightly put to death. In the Roman states, the notion of the civil deceiving the spiritual power is inadmissible; and the political motives which entered largely into the Albigensian crusade were considered in the sixteenth century entirely superfluous. With this example before him, Mr. Formby praises the tolerance of Tertullian, and finds political elements in the Inquisition where he ought either to say that the persecuting pontiffs were in the right, or that he thinks they might be wrong. When the principle of persecution is considered, the Spanish Inquisition must be put aside: the crucial instance is the Inquisition in Rome, where the civil and



spiritual powers were united, from the reign of Paul III. to that of Clement VIII. We do not quarrel in the abstract with either the advocates or the enemies of toleration; but we cannot help thinking that Mr. Formby has failed to bring his theory of persecution into harmony with his theory of authority. If the example of Samuel and Saul is good for the deposition of kings, the fate of Agag is a sufficient precedent for the treatment of unbelief. In the early Christian persecutions, he puts the case for the emperors stronger than it really was (p. 118); but he exaggerates the despotism of the Roman empire when he describes it in terms which would apply to France or Russia at the present day.

23. Nothing causes more error and unfairness in men's views of history than the interest which is inspired by individual characters. The most absolute devotion to certain ideas and opinions is less dangerous, for they may be perfectly true, while no character is perfectly good; and the allegiance which is paid to doctrine is less blind and less unreasoning than that in which loyalty or friendship usurp the place of reason and duty. The schools of error live on the reputation of their founders and heroes, by proclaiming whose virtues they exalt themselves. They rely as much on the influence of personal authority and of human example as on the attractive force of theories. Their followers, instead of divesting themselves of prejudices, and of personal inclinations and affections, to prepare for the contemplation of truth itself, unmixed with falsehood and unaccommodated to weakness, convert all the natural obstacles of knowledge into supports for their opinions. An indiscriminate admiration and jealousy of criticism marks the feelings of a sect and a party towards its leaders. Now this is a disposition strengthened in early life by the manner in which history is generally learnt. The interest of biography awakens a thirst for knowledge, long before history can be understood; and we have our minds crowded with objects of hero-worship before we can understand the intricacies of character, and before we can appreciate the sanctity of a cause. In this way the imagination may be aroused and the memory stored; but the judgment is warped instead of being formed, and the historical faculty and habit, which is the most valuable fruit of historical study, and may survive even historical knowledge, is spoiled. Something is wanted to counteract this effect, and to educate minds to take an interest in impersonal history, in events so great as to conceal the actors, and in a process more regular and more instructive than the vicissitudes of fortune and adventure. Otherwise history loses its moral and providential character, and appears an arbitrary and accidental series of figures and occurrences. And this is the reason why so few people understand that the criterion by which the acts of individuals are judged is distinct from that which tests the policy of states, so that in history the notions of error, fault, and crime are substituted for those of vice and sin.

To meet this difficulty, Professor Pütz, of Cologne, a writer well known by his popular handbooks of history and geography, has compiled two volumes of extracts, one on ancient history, and one on the middle ages. The latter has only recently appeared. It contains, in 121 sections, a collection of passages on the chief epochs of medieval history, taken from the best German writers, and chosen so as to form an almost consecutive narrative. Though unfit for a school-book, it is well adapted for reading, and will enlarge the mind and form the opinions of a youth accustomed only to dry details or to the romantic interest of biography. The idea of the book is excellent, and might, we think, be greatly improved upon. The object of a collection of this kind is not to crowd facts together, but to give ideas. In the effort to supply complete information, Professor Pütz has often selected passages which are rather dry reading; he has given undue prominence to his own country; and his extracts are much too long. A better compilation might be made; and it would undoubtedly be of great service in this country, where youths have no means of obtaining any idea of general history except in books which give a very false one. The plan of Professor Pütz ought to be modified so as to lay the historical literature of different countries under contribution; the extracts should seldom exceed a page in length, and they ought to contain the best reflections rather than the most complete narrative. If this were undertaken by a competent scholar, we might hope for a book which would be valuable to the teacher as well as the student, and which might dissipate the prejudices and form the opinions of educated people, without distinction of creed.

24. The work of Dr. Niehues on the relations of the Papacy and the Empire partakes of the nature of a pamphlet, in that the actual vicissitudes of the Papacy have been the occasion of its being written; but looked at in itself, independently of present circumstances, it is a learned, solid, and generally sensible historical essay. The author's plan is quite simple. He selects from the annals of the Church, and from general political history, all the occasions in which the Church and State took a common part, or were confronted with each other; he relates them briefly from the original sources, and leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions. Thus we have the panorama of the mighty pagan Empire of Rome beginning its strife with the feeble Church just out of its cradle in Judæa, and after three hundred years acknowledging that weakness had overcome strength. Next the empire instead of the opponent would fain become the protector of the Church; soon the protector becomes more inconvenient than the enemy had been; a new contest arises between the Church and emperors professing Arianism, Nestorianism, Eutychianism, Monothelitism, or Iconoclasm. In all these battles, it is ever the weaker party that eventually overcomes, and the stronger that is beaten. At all times we see that it would be for the interest of both parties to come to an understanding; but

the imperial power never thinks itself any thing while it is less than every thing, and busies itself rather in meddling with ecclesiastical affairs than in chastising the barbarians who are closing around it. Then the Arian barbarians fulfil the same destiny as the Empire ; they lay their hands on the Chair of St. Peter, and soon crumble and disappear. Dr. Niehues's whole volume is full of lessons of this kind.

Down to the time of Charlemagne it was not difficult for him to be impartial, nor will it be so for the Carolingian period. His difficulties will begin about the middle of the eleventh century. It is not to be feared that his nationality will blindfold the Munster professor, or his profession induce him to make a panegyric of the Papacy, which would convince nobody ; but we hope that in the tangle of disputes between medieval Popes and German Emperors, he will endeavour to exhibit the true nucleus of the question, and the object really aimed at. It will not be difficult to see that, amidst much weakness and failure, the substantial aim of the Popes was the liberty of the Church. This historical light affords the truest explanation of the firmness of the present Pope, who probably pursues his end with more regard to his means than some of his predecessors. Posterity will not forget to add this to his honourable distinctions.

25. King Maximilian of Bavaria is not less conspicuous for the encouragement of profane learning than his father as a patron of religious art. Every year a meeting of learned men is held in his palace ; prizes are offered and subjects proposed ; and several series of important historical publications have been undertaken in consequence. At one time this literary patronage was monopolised by men of the Prussian school,—such as Liebig, Bluntschli, and, still more, by the historian Sybel. During the last year or two, a different influence has seemed to be in the ascendant. The threatening attitude of Prussia and the *Nationalverein* is probably the cause of the reaction, and greater favour has been shown to Catholic and Bavarian writers. One consequence of this is the appearance of a history of Bavarian poetry in the Middle Ages, published by Dr. Holland, with assistance from the king. The subject unfortunately is totally wanting in unity. The Bavarian poetry begins in Latin and ends in German, and is almost every thing but Bavarian. The ingenious author, however, includes the very flower of German poetry in his volume by taking the present limits of his country, and writing about the great poets of Franconia, who would have been less astonished at finding a place assigned to them in a history of French literature than at being considered Bavarians. In this way he is enabled to fill more than a hundred pages with an account of the poems of Eschenbach, the singer of the Holy Graal—next to Dante, perhaps, the first poetic genius of the Middle Ages.

He is even so unscrupulous in his geography as to begin a description of the famous Nibelungen Lay, because the compiler in the thirteenth century must have used a copy of old poems done into



Latin in the tenth century by a clerk of Passau which is a Bavarian town. This is but a feeble claim; and a conflict of patriotic feelings occurs which ends in the rejection of the *Lay* as a poem of Bavaria, on grounds which, outside that country, will seem as weak as the argument they overthrow. The Nibelungen, on their march from Worms to the camp of the Huns, traverse Bavaria, and find the roads so infested by robbers that they are obliged to hold themselves ready to fight. "These are things which no Bavarian could say of his country; it is the impression of the neighbours" (p. 106). By this sort of reasoning Dr. Holland arrives at a conclusion which is undoubtedly right, and makes a very just remark on the dispute between the school of Lachmann, who resolve the *Lay* into a variety of ancient popular ballads, and such critics as Menzel and Holtzmann, who believe in the existence of a great though nameless poet. The truth is, as he says, that the poetic substance is of ancient date, and that confused relics and waning traditions were welded by one powerful mind into a single though not homogeneous mass. But the poet who compiled the *Lay* treated it as the work of other men and of another age; he could not give unity to broken fragments, or prevent contradictions between parts of which he did not understand the meaning; and therefore his name was not worthy to survive.

In analysing the ancient poems, Dr. Holland is careful to omit no trait which can throw light on the manners and ideas of the age, and this confers a charm and an historical value on his book. He traces with great minuteness the surviving influence of heathen memories in the medieval civilisation,—an element which never completely disappeared, and which the clergy applied where it was too powerful to overcome. It is even found strangely, though not offensively, blended with the veneration paid to our Lady. The most famous sanctuary in Germany is that of Alt-Oetting, in Bavaria, where, from the days of St. Rupert, has stood a statue of the Blessed Virgin. The image is black, and seven lamps burn perpetually before it. The common explanation points to the Cantic of Canticles for the colour, and refers the number of lights to the Sacraments. But the lamps burn, not before the tabernacle, but before the Madonna; and the Song of Solomon is the last book of Holy Writ which a missionary would have expounded in the seventh century to rude barbarians. There is a heathen origin for the fact. On the spot where the sanctuary stands there are still traces of an ancient temple, dedicated to the planets, with seven niches in the wall; and Dr. Holland solves the mystery of the lamps by referring them to the planets, and conjectures that the black image of Freia, the goddess of earth, stood there. The missionaries took advantage where they could of the reminiscences of mythology, and endeavoured to substitute St. Martin for Odin, who was represented armed, on horseback, and whose symbol was a cloak. "So St. Rupert with cautious ingenuity placed the image of the Mother of God where the heathen divinity had been, but left the colour unchanged. . . . Hence it comes that

in these places of pilgrimage many things remain which seem incompatible with the pure spirit of Christianity, but which are older than Christianity, and so closely linked with real human nature that they can no more be separated from it" (p. 366).

Perhaps the most singular confusion of heathen and Catholic elements occurs in the legend of Tanhauser, whose works are also the most instructive record of the social life of his times. The story which poetry and music have made familiar to this generation expresses the strong attraction, mixed with horror, which paganism continued to exert over a people who had been converted for five hundred years. It is strange that the legend which actually created a mythical poet in Klingsor reduced a real poet to an almost mythical personage in Tanhauser, who is better remembered by things of which he never heard or dreamed than by his writings. Among these there is a guide for courtiers, which much resembles the handbooks of etiquette and good manners that are still to be had for sixpence. The reader is admonished not to put the morsels he has gnawed back into the dish, not to take mustard in his fingers, or blow his nose in the table-cloth, or pick his teeth with his knife,—for the excellent reason that such improprieties are sure to be discovered (p. 525). There are passages in the *Parcival* of Eschenbach from which our author concludes that gunpowder was used in the twelfth century, in support of which he cites many instances of its use before that date in Spain, Germany, and Mauritania (p. 130). He is also very decidedly of opinion that the Passion-Play, in Ammergau, is much more ancient than the Thirty Years' War, to which its origin is commonly ascribed. The people could not, he says, have come suddenly upon the idea, if it had been altogether strange or new to them. It must have been the revival of a custom not totally extinct; and so late as the eighteenth century, there were nearly sixty places in Bavaria where similar plays continued to be performed (p. 631). This view has already been defended by Dr. Holland in an essay on the medieval theatre in Germany.

26. The Antiquities of the Monastery of St. Martin, the first of a series of volumes with the general title of *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Coloniensis*, to be published by Herr Kessel, are the heralds of what promises to be a most interesting collection. Of all the cities of Germany, Cologne had the greatest number of religious monuments. *Sancta Colonia* was even at times as it were the Teutonic capital; and yet the literary archives, the annals, and the chronicles of no great German city have been less explored. The first volume of these *Monumenta* contains the historical documents that relate to the Scotch, or rather Irish, Monastery of St. Martin, which owed its existence to the B. Tilmo, who established himself on an island of the Rhine, opposite Cologne, towards the end of the seventh century. The volume opens with an essay on the apostolic labours of the Irish in Germany; then follows a history of the abbots of the monastery, down to the eleventh century, containing in the

order of the calendar the feasts which had to be celebrated, and the duties which had to be discharged.

Owing to Herr Kessel's introduction on the origin and use of memorials and necrologies, and especially to his abundant notes, this part of the book is perhaps the most remarkable. Next come three other catalogues of abbots, or *fasti* of the monastery; then the statutes of the Confraternity of the Holy Cross, renewed in 1322, on occasion of its absorbing the confraternities of St. Catherine and of our Lady, which were dying out. Then comes a historical essay on St. Eliphus, martyr, of the ancient diocese of Toul,—whose body was kept at St. Martin's,—including a history of his relics, from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the year 1806; and lastly, we have a selection of the most interesting charters relating to this ancient sanctuary. This volume of Herr Kessel displays a care, judgment, and learning, which promise well for the series. We only fear that the price, unusually high for German books, will stop the whole undertaking. We should have liked better to see all the antiquities of all the churches of Cologne collected in one or two folio volumes, to range with Pertz's *Monumenta*, to which they form a kind of complement.

Herr Kessel promises to publish, in three volumes, a new history of St. Ursula and her companions. He gives an outline of his view, which agrees in all points with the life published by F. Victor de Buck in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*. In his dissertation on St. Eliphus, he treats of a question, apparently insignificant, but really of the greatest consequence for the ecclesiastical history and hagiography of France. The question is, at what time Julian the Apostate openly declared himself an idolater and an enemy of the Christians. In certain provinces of France, there are accounts of martyrdoms attributed to Julian, which some persons think more like cycles than real histories. We read in them of Julian questioning the martyrs, coaxing, threatening, and at last condemning them to death, unless they would worship the idols. The history of St. Eliphus is of this kind. The Bollandist who wrote the account of him for the sixteenth of October thought that his martyrdom took place after the departure of Julian from Gaul, and that his "Passion," a historical monument several centuries later than the fact it recounts, ought to be modified accordingly. Herr Kessel thinks otherwise; but as he has the good faith to quote the texts of Ammianus Marcellinus, confirmed by Zonaras,—which tell us that, "although Julian had for some time been a secret apostate, yet, to preserve his popularity with the army, he pretended to be a Christian; and a few days before his departure from Gaul, he took part in the celebration of the feast of the Epiphany, and when he had already reached the other bank of the Rhine, he made quite a Christian oration to his troops:"—it is not likely that the learned ecclesiastic will persuade many attentive readers. For the passages which he opposes to this categorical testimony of Julian's biographer only prove, some that Julian had been faithless to God in Gaul (which



no one denies), others that his spleen made him speak words of double meaning, the true significance of which was not understood till afterwards, as when he said that he would rather put his trust in the gods than in Constantius, his enemy ; a phrase which seemed more in keeping with the profession of Christianity than of heathenism. The digging of the railway across the old diocese of Toul has discovered the tombs of several martyrs who suffered at the same time as St. Eliphus. The Bollandists will have an opportunity of discussing the questions hence arising in their commentaries for the twenty-seventh of October.

27. Among the more important historical articles contained in the present volume of the Belgian *Revue d'Histoire*, we may mention that by M. Ch. Duvivier, on the Charcoal-wood Forest, *Carbonaria Sylva*, which in the sixth and seventh centuries covered a considerable portion of the Belgian soil, but gradually disappeared, until in the fifteenth century its name was only traditional, and its true situation unknown. The definition of its limits is important, because it would aid materially in clearing up several knotty points of history, *e. g.* the situation of the locality named *Dispargum* by Gregory of Tours, from whence Clodio set out on his expedition against Tournay and Cambray. M. Duvivier proves the forest to have extended along the right bank of the Scheldt, from Valenciennes to Ghent, and to have corresponded with the French portion of the ancient province of Hainault, the present Belgian province of Hainault, and part of that of East Flanders.

Dr. Coremans contributes a most interesting biographical notice of the excellent and beautiful but unfortunate Mary Van der Eyck, wife of that miserable Catholic godson of our Elizabeth, Edward the Fortunate, Margrave of Baden. This notice gives a fair idea of what the greater number of the small German princes, both Catholic and Protestant, were in the sixteenth century. A long essay by the same author on the popular traditions and customs of Belgium and Bohemia offers many points of comparison with those of England in former times.

M. Piot, in a short notice of seven pages, proves and establishes the authenticity of a triptych painted in 1443 by Roger Van der Weyden, for the Edelheer family, and still preserved in the collegiate school of St. Peter at Louvain. That inveterate doubter Mr. J. A. Crowe, in his *Early Flemish Painters* (p. 187), had not only questioned its authenticity, but had gone so far as to assert it to be a poor copy of Van der Weyden's picture now in the Santa Trinita Museum at Madrid, by a painter who flourished during the decline of art in Belgium. All doubt as to its genuineness is, however, removed by the recent discovery of an inscription on the reverse of the wings, long concealed by a plank fastened right across the back of the central panel and shutters, which had thus been rendered immovable. This inscription informs us that the triptych was given to the church by Sir William Edelheer and Adelaide his wife, in the year of our

Lord 1443. A manuscript by Molanus, preserved in the archives of Louvain, states that William Edelheer, Adelaide his wife, and their son William, who was a priest, founded in 1443 a chaplaincy in the church of St. Peter, and that Master Roger Van der Weyden painted a triptych for the altar, which was dedicated to the Holy Ghost, the Blessed Virgin, and St. James the Great.

28. One of the best of the many local archæological works that have appeared in Belgium during the last few years is that of M. du Mortier on Tournay. The churches of Tournay, mostly of the Romanesque and Transition styles, offer considerable interest to the architectural student; while its cathedral, a first-class building, erected 1030-1338, presents examples, each the best of its kind in the Netherlands, of the successive styles that prevailed during that period. The nave, unsurpassed by any other building of the epoch, is eclipsed by the apsidal transepts; while the choir is a very daring but unsatisfactory construction of the first Pointed style. All of these are described at length and copiously illustrated in M. du Mortier's book. The chapel of the north aisle, which served as a parochial church, was built while the English held Tournay, 1514-1518. De Martoye, governor of the town, laid the first stone in 1516, in the name of Henry VIII. The treasury of the cathedral contains several most interesting works of art—such as the shrines of St. Eleutherius and of our Lady, a reliquary of the Holy Cross, an ivory diptych, some fine tapestry and vestments, amongst which is a chasuble worn by St. Thomas of Canterbury, when he celebrated mass at the abbey of St. Médard in 1170. This chasuble is of brown silk interwoven with silver-thread; the collar and perpendicular orphrey are formed by a lace woven in gold-thread, adorned with the fylfot, &c.; the transversal orphreys of a narrower gold-lace, adorned with crosses, dragons, &c. The church of St. Nicolas, anciently the castle-church, still preserves a carved stall adorned with the Tudor rose, constructed for and occupied by Henry VIII. during his stay at Tournay. The second part of the volume is occupied by a notice of the belfry, and of the many old houses in Tournay, some of which are of very early date.

29. Mr. Weale, an English gentleman residing at Bruges, has published a guide to that city which, whether considered in an artistic, historical, or descriptive point of view, is one of the most accurate and satisfactory books of the kind of which any town can boast. The preface explains how much it was wanted, from the errors current in the writings of the natives themselves, and also informs us that the author is in possession of materials for the history of Belgian art, which it is to be hoped will soon be made accessible to the public. In his sketch of the history of Bruges, the decline of its prosperity is ascribed to the turbulence of the inhabitants, which at length drove the merchants to Antwerp. The gradual destruction of the harbours along the coast by sandbanks had some part in it

also. The author claims for Bruges the distinction of having been the cradle of lotteries, of which there are traces as early as the twelfth century. We notice an error (p. 36) in the date of the peace of Amiens. The artistic treasures of the old city are described with the utmost minuteness and fidelity, and the sentiments of the author on this subject are expressed with a hearty vigour, which reminds us of the late Mr. Pugin. The Jesuits were so unfortunate as to build a church in honour of St. Francis Xavier, now the parish-church of St. Walburga, which suggests to Mr. Weale the remark, that before the end of the sixteenth century Christian architecture alone had been employed for churches in Belgium. He then proceeds with the following criticism:—It was only then that churches were first built in the pagan style, and the symbolic distributions which had been consecrated by the constant and universal usage of Christendom during many centuries were rejected. The temples erected after that date are entirely pagan in design, built in a mendacious style; the parts intended to be seen by the people are always ornamented, the others are naked and miserable. The architecture of the Middle Ages was true; it was made for God, and was worthy of the spouse of Christ. That of the seventeenth century is false and hypocritical. Each bears the indelible impress of its origin; and the French republicans were quite right in choosing the churches of the Jesuits for the worship of Reason. Gothic churches would have been unsuited to the purpose (p. 117). The *métropole* of this worship was the cathedral of *Notre Dame*.

30. The prophecy hazarded by Dr. Pauli, in the last volume of his History of England, that the calendars of state-papers were likely to be useless to the historian, in consequence of the want of method which the scheme of their publication betrayed, has long been falsified. The most decisive confutation is the volume lately published by Dr. Bergenroth, which throws great additional light on the reign of Henry VII., with which Dr. Pauli's work closes. It is the first volume of the Spanish series, the importance of which we may gather from the fact that at Simancas alone there are 70,000 documents relating to England. This publication is doubly promising, for it is also the first important work of a scholar who has already shown a very eminent capacity for the study of English history, which already owes so much to his countrymen Lappenberg, Ranke, Phillips, and Pauli. Dr. Bergenroth has written critical notices of several English historians; he has subjected Ranke's English History to a very severe and hostile criticism; and he has written, among other essays, an account of Wat Tyler's Rebellion. From these sources we may ascertain the powers and the tone of mind of a writer who is destined, if we mistake not, to take a very high place among our critical historians.

In his article on the Rebellion of 1381, which he proves to have been entirely unconnected with Wycliffe, and to have been provoked by an excessive oppression of the lower orders by the Statute of La-



bourers, he ends by a glance at the sixteenth century. "The reign of that zealous reformer, the boy Edward VI., is praised in almost all respects by fanatical Protestants. Unfortunately, it appears on a closer inspection contemptible in almost every way. With regard to the lower classes, it attempted to introduce complete Asiatic slavery. The title of the act speaks of vagabonds and idlers; but every labouring man could be declared an idler and vagabond who remained out of work for three days, or left his work against the will of his employer. The penalties were death or slavery of the worst kind" (Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, ii. 85). These opinions are not likely to lead to a favourable estimate of Mr. Froude's *History of England*: "A book of this kind," says Dr. Bergenroth, "is not a history, nor the author a historian. . . But a reader of average judgment will not easily be misled, and the impression which the book produces is quite different from that which the author intends to convey" (i. 563). This is almost as strong as Dr. Pauli's censure of the same book. On the other hand, his estimate of Lord Russell's *Life of Fox* is decidedly too high: "The fault of the book is not mistakes, but poverty of thought." In a review of Dr. Vaughan's *Revolutions in English History*, he asks why the author praises the Britons so enormously. And then he replies, "Out of national vanity, or rather out of hatred of Rome, whose bishop is the Pope. As the Jews cursed their enemies, and their children, and children's children, so Dr. Vaughan hates the Pope, and the place that contains him, back to the earliest times." "The Church of Rome was assuredly no model of enlightenment and true piety in the sixth and seventh centuries. But, whatever her faults may have been, compared with the moral and intellectual condition of the Saxons she was a mirror of purity and light. To recognise this would be doing too great violence to himself for Dr. Vaughan. He therefore exalts the heathen Saxons and the Welsh Christians beyond measure, in order to present their conversion by Rome as a national calamity" (iv. 455). In the review of Ranke (in the *Grenzboten*, Jan. 20, 1860), Dr. Bergenroth speaks very strongly of the cruelty, perfidy, and vanity of Elizabeth, and has aroused the indignation of the disciples of the great master. From these instances it is fair to conclude that he is a man devoid of prejudice, and free from an overwhelming awe of tradition and authority in literature; and thus he seems to possess the principal intellectual qualifications required in those who investigate the dark abodes of unpublished materials for history.

The archives of Simancas are consulted under difficulties. The student is obliged to live in the house of some poor peasant, and the food is worse than the lodging. During the winter, as no fires are allowed in the reading-room, the ink frequently becomes congealed on the table. The archives themselves are, however, in good order, and prodigiously rich. In the revolt of Padilla, masses of earlier documents were destroyed by the peasants, who imagined that they would thereby be free from rents and taxes; but the stories of French pillage and destruction are pure fabrications. Napoleon was parti-

cularly careful of state-papers, and had commenced the concentration of all the archives of the Continent in Paris. The present archivist, Don Manuel Garcia Gonzalez, has been engaged at Simancas for nearly fifty years, and appears to have afforded willing assistance to the few students who visited the place. "The documents relating to foreign affairs before the year 1700 may be estimated at rather more than 800,000. If they were equally divided among the days of the two centuries to which they relate, there would be about ten state-papers for every day, elucidating the affairs of Europe" (p. 10).

Dr. Bergenroth has not formed a very high estimate of the character of Isabella. "The praise bestowed upon it," he says, "is to no small amount due to the chivalrous character of the Spaniards, who never forgot that the queen was a lady. . . . Neither Isabella nor Ferdinand scrupled to tell direct untruths, and make false promises. . . . But if any distinction is to be made, certainly Queen Isabella excelled her husband in disregard to veracity" (p. xxxvii.). His own discoveries bear chiefly on foreign affairs and the establishment of the Inquisition. "Towns, provinces, and kingdoms sent deputations to Ferdinand and Isabella, declaring that it was impossible to submit to such cruelty. In some of the provinces there still remained officers of the former Inquisition. They had become harmless, and their very existence almost forgotten. On this occasion they again showed signs of life, by protesting in stronger terms than the rest of the Spanish people against the new institution. . . . The inquisitors did not enter into peaceful possession of their offices; they were no sooner installed in them, by the help of an armed force, than they were driven out again and hunted down by the populace. . . . The Pope modified the bull which he had given, deposed the most cruel among the inquisitors, and ordered that an appeal to Rome should be opened. Ferdinand responded by sending the Pope a minatory letter: 'Hæ concessiones sunt importunæ et eis nunquam locum dare intendo, caveat igitur Sanctitas vestra impedimenta sancto officio concedere.' . . . As, nevertheless, papal remissions of penalties were obtained, Ferdinand promulgated an ordinance stating that, in the kingdoms of Arragon and Valentia, any person, whether ecclesiastical or secular, and without any distinction of class or sex, who should make use of a papal indulgence should be put to death on the spot. Not only living heretics but those who had died were persecuted. They were cited before the tribunals, and if found guilty, their bones were exhumed and solemnly burnt. So far, the whole procedure looks like a hideous farce; but there was also a serious element in it. The goods that the heretics had left to their heirs were confiscated, and filled the coffers of Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand" (p. xliii.). Of Ferdinand's political genius our author has a high opinion. "Had not events beyond the control of man prevented him from carrying out his plans, the map of Europe would have been constituted three hundred and fifty years ago almost as it now stands. . . . Even the union of Scotland with England occupied the mind of Ferdinand" (p. xxxix.).

The volume gives in extract a very remarkable document which was drawn up in the conclave of Pius III., and in which the cardinals and the future Pope arranged for the better government of the Church (p. 310). Its object was to guard against such results as had been seen in the reign of Alexander VI., by giving to the cardinals an independence and a control of the papacy. The speedy succession of Julius II. dissipated the hopes of the cardinals, and made the papal power greater than it had been for ages. The papers which relate to Perkin Warbeck induce the editor to incline to the belief that he was really the son of Edward IV. One of his strangest discoveries is, that immediately on the death of Prince Arthur and Queen Elizabeth, Henry VII. himself conceived a design of becoming the husband of his son's widow (p. 295). On the whole, these papers throw an unfavourable light on the penuriousness and the perfidy of the first of the Tudors.

31. The *Anecdota Adriani Sexti*, published by M. Reusens, librarian of the University of Louvain, are interesting, partly as illustrative of academical exercises in the time of Adrian of Utrecht, but chiefly as relics of that learned and saintly successor of Leo X. M. Reusens's biography of Adrian is good and useful as far as it goes; but the reader will seek in vain for the faintest allusion in it to what is generally considered the peculiarity of Adrian's historical position as pope. He is said in the *Quæstiones in quartum Sententiarum librum* to have asserted the fallibility of the Roman pontiff in matters of faith, and to have authorised as pope the republication of this work at Rome itself. He is considered as a decidedly reforming pope, and is said to have expressed his views about the corruption of the Roman court in terms which, if used by others in speaking of that period, would now be regarded by many zealous Catholics as scandalous, if not calumnious. Not a hint of all this is given in the publication before us, though reference is made to another work of M. Reusens's (*Syntagma doctrinæ theologicæ Adriani VI.*), in which he says that abundant proof is given that the Paris edition of 1516 of the *Quæstiones in quartum*, &c., and the Roman edition of 1522, were published without the knowledge and authorisation of Adrian. This would of course dispose of one important assertion very generally admitted. But is the other assertion equally incorrect? It surely is not. M. Reusens expressly admits the genuineness of the "Instruction" given by Adrian to his nuncio Francis Chiericato, though he does not speak of its contents. This omission is surely a mistake on his part. Neither the venerable Pope whom he admires, nor the Holy See itself, can suffer by the publication of this noble confession, which, by the way, was not intended for the private ears of ecclesiastics, but for lay statesmen.

"Dices, nos ingenue fateri, quod Deus hanc persecutionem Ecclesiæ suæ inferri permittit propter peccata hominum, maxime sacerdotum et Ecclesiæ prælatorum. . . . Scimus in hac Sancta Sede aliquot jam annis multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus,



excessus in mandatis et omnia denique in perversum mutata. Nec mirum si ægritudo a capite in membra, a summis Pontificibus in alios inferiores prælatos descenderit. Omnes nos (id est, prælati) et ecclesiastici declinavimus, unusquisque in vias suas, nec fuit jam diu, qui faceret bonum, non fuit usque ad unum. . . . Qua in re, quod ad nos attinet, polliceberis nos omnem operam adhibituros ut primum curia hæc, unde forte omne hoc malum processit reformetur; ut sicut inde corruptio in omnes inferiores emanavit, ita enim ab eadem sanitas et reformatio omnium emanet. Ad quod procurandum nos tanto arctius obligatos reputamus quanto universum mundum hujusmodi reformationem avidius desiderare videmus. . . .

“Nemo mirari debet si non statim omnia errata et abusus omnes, per nos emendatos viderit: inveteratus nimium morbus est, nec simplex, sed varius et multiplex, peditentim in ejus cura procedendum est et prius gravioribus magisque periculosus occurrendum, ne omnia pariter reformari volentes, omnia perturbemus.”

The omission of even a passing allusion to this confession, to the reforming efforts of the Pope, or the difficulties which he encountered and which broke his heart in less than two years, may be purely accidental; but it is necessary to notice it, because there are not a few who, in the place of M. Reusens, would have made the omission on principle; and the principle is as cowardly and absurd as it is dishonest. It forbids us to confess any thing unfavourable to the Church or its rulers, however true, for fear of the advantage which unbelievers may derive from the information thus imprudently conveyed; as if unbelievers needed our confessions, or got their information from us. If M. Reusens's book says nothing about the “inveterate malady” and corruption which Adrian VI. describes as having spread from the head to the members of the Church, is the *Biographie Universelle* equally discreet? or the *Encyclopédie des Gens du Monde*? Is Ranke's *History of the Popes* so inaccessible a book? And what are unbelievers, or even weak Catholics, likely to think on discovering that certain facts systematically suppressed by the defenders of the Church are true?

32. Considerable interest was excited in Germany a few years ago by the abjuration of Dr. Lämmer, a young Protestant divine, whose first publication was full of promise. It was an account of the theological literature of the age immediately preceding the Council of Trent; and the University of Berlin rewarded him for it by providing him with the means of visiting foreign libraries, in order to complete an edition of Eusebius, which has just been published. The result of his theological studies, and of the impressions gained on his travels, was that he became a Catholic, and settled for some time at Rome. Here he devoted himself to the study of the Ms. treasures of the Vatican, and of the great libraries of the Valli-cellæ and the Minerva; and after having given an account, from time to time, of his discoveries, he has published a first volume of *Monumenta Vaticana*. It contains, however, but a very small part of the

materials he has collected. Several further volumes on the sixteenth century will probably follow it; and he promises an elaborate life of Cardinal Baronius, for which he possesses a vast quantity of unpublished matter. There is a demonstrative ardour in every thing he writes which makes men doubt his impartiality, and has even excited a very unjust suspicion against the fairness with which his documents are selected and copied. His only real defect as an editor of unpublished manuscripts is a very immaterial one. He does not always know what has been already printed among the papers he finds, and he must have lost much precious time in making superfluous copies. Thus he gives an account of Bellarmine's discourse to Clement VIII. on the office of the Pope, without being aware that it is to be found in at least three printed and not uncommon books. This is a kind of blunder which most men who occupy themselves with manuscripts have committed, and we have before us a copy which was made of this very discourse by one who did not discover till afterwards that he might have spared his pains. But it is a blunder which so far injures the credit of the editor, that his readers are always tempted to suspect that what they are reading with the excitement proper to discoveries is in fact no new discovery at all.

Dr. Lämmer's *Monumenta* comprehend a series of 242 state-papers of the court of Rome, written between the years 1521 and 1546. They are chiefly the correspondence of nuncios in Germany, and contain important information respecting the progress of the Reformation. Several letters of Campeggio, while legate in England, are here printed for the first time, though some of them were probably seen by Hall; but they add few particulars to our knowledge of the events which led to the schism. Campeggio, who generally speaks respectfully of the king, found that he had thoroughly mastered the question of the dispensation in all its details. "*Tanto*," he says, after a discussion of four hours, "*ch' io credo in questo caso ne sappi più ch' un gran Theologo et Jurista*" (p. 25). It appears from this despatch that the legate first suggested to the king that Catherine should be induced to retire into a convent. Henry, he says, was extremely pleased with the idea, and promised to secure the succession to her daughter Mary, if he should have no son by another marriage. Campeggio and Wolsey were requested to bring the proposal before the queen (p. 26, 17 October 1528). A week later the legate had hopes of success: "*Non son fuor di speranza che questa via di persuader la Regina ad religionem possa riuscire*." But early the next morning he was roused from his sick-bed by Wolsey, who told him that the queen wished him to hear her confession. Catherine came at nine o'clock, made her confession, and related to her confessor the whole history of her married life, desiring that it might be repeated to the Pope. She implored the Pope not to abandon her, promised that if he sustained her she would induce the emperor to establish a general peace, and resolutely refused to enter a convent. "I have always esteemed her a wise and prudent woman,

and now more than ever," says the legate. On the following day the cardinals renewed their exhortation that the queen would desist from her demand for a canonical trial. After Campeggio had spoken, Wolsey addressed her in English, and besought her on his knees, long and earnestly, to accept the advice of the Holy See. There are two letters dated this same day, October 28. One describes the fruitless efforts of Wolsey to move the determination of Catherine. In the other, Campeggio describes his relations with Wolsey, and his surprise at finding that he was resolved to accomplish the will of his master, "*allegando che se non si seguiva il desiderio del Re . . . ne seguiva presta et total ruina del Regno, di Sua Signoria Rev. et della reputatione ecclesiastica in questo regno.*" The Italian cardinal declares that, say what he would, he could make no more impression on his English brother than if he had spoken to a stone. "Take care," said Wolsey, "lest it be said that, as the harshness and severity of one cardinal led to the defection of great part of Germany from the Holy See and the faith, so another cardinal gave the same occasion to England." He assured him, as early as October 1528, that the authority of the Pope would be cast off if the divorce was not obtained (p. 31). They could only agree in their desire to induce Catherine to give way. Her solicitude for the rights of her daughter was one of the causes of her firmness; and a scheme was devised to remove this, which Campeggio approved, and claims to have originated. This was, that Princess Mary should marry her half-brother, the son of Henry: "*Han pensato di maritarla con dispensa di Sua Santità al figliol natural del Re, se si potra fare. A che haveva anch' io pensato prima per stabilimento della successione*" (p. 30). It would have been strange if the difficulty respecting the validity of the dispensation under which Catherine was married had been removed by a dispensation of so extraordinary a kind.

33. Professor Roscher of Leipzig, the most learned political economist on the Continent, has undertaken to write a history of the rise and progress of the science of political economy in his own country; and a fragment, on the period between the Reformation and the Thirty Years' War, has been published in the Transactions of the Saxon Academy. Although, strictly speaking, there is hardly one among the German writers of that age whose works are of any scientific value, the genius of the historian renders his account of them a most instructive treatise. If it does not equal in the amount of matter his history of the English economists in the 16th and 17th centuries, it exceeds it in wealth of ideas, and in the rare art of observation. It is a chapter of political rather than of literary history.

It is a common belief, that the ruin of prosperity and the decline of civilisation in Germany were effected by the Thirty Years' War; and some consequence is often attributed to this opinion by those who, judging the tree by its fruit, are reluctant to believe that the Reformation was injurious to material and intellectual progress. Dr. Roscher has come to exactly the opposite conclusion: "Who-



ever has a sufficiently practised eye for history to put mental causes before material consequences, and principles above numbers, cannot fail to recognise that the period immediately preceding the war was in very many respects worse than the times of the war itself . . . . . The harmonious and popular character of the Reformation vanishes almost instantly at the War of the Peasants, whose rising and defeat I consider the great turning-point which occasioned all the misery of the following centuries" (p. 265). The change was felt especially in the oppression of the lower classes. In Luther's works, says our author, there are many traces of a love for barbarous punishments, of contempt for the peasant and adulation of the lord. He threw his whole influence on the side of the rich, and the relief of the poor was postponed for two hundred years. The increasing burden of seigniorial rights, the oppression of the peasant with the new claims of the state, and the rise of a new servitude, all belong to the second part of the 16th century in the north of Germany (p. 267); and this was the real seat of the disease which brought the nation so low, until in the 18th century the period of emancipation began. "The transition of Lutheranism to absolutism, in consequence of the Peasant War, served only the territorial princes. They acquired all the influence which the Catholic Church had lost" (p. 269). "No historian of the present day will deny that, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the intellectual freedom allowed by the petrified Lutheranism of the *Formula Concordiæ* was at least not greater than that which was enjoyed by Catholics. This appears most conspicuously in the fate of Kepler, whose persecution in Wirtemberg cannot be explained by personal motives, like that of Galileo at Rome. The claims of the Catholic party at that time were generally better grounded, according to the letter of the law, than those of the Protestants" (315). Even the industry of the towns was struck down by the blow which crushed the country people. The decline of trade led to new restrictions on the freedom of labour, intended to make up for the diminished production, but really oppressive to the community and injurious to industry. One reason for the falling-off of commerce was the independence of Holland; for the commercial policy of the Dutch was narrow in spirit, and selfish towards their Continental neighbours (p. 272).

Two observations which we find in this dissertation are particularly suggestive. Dr. Roscher points out that in the Middle Ages the influence of the Church supplied the office which is now filled by public opinion, and he shows the connection between an unequal pressure of taxation and absolute government. "The negative basis of absolutism, in the strict sense, may be defined to be the aristocratic estates of the Middle Ages, when the modern representation of the people is not yet introduced; no longer the supremacy of the Church, but yet no powerful public opinion. . . . There is some truth in the old idea, that the burden of royal monopolies is less generally and less equally felt than that of a sound system of taxation. This is a severe condemnation of the former, from the point of view of true policy, and

the real welfare of the people; but it is a great transitory recommendation of absolutism, according to the maxim, *Divide et impera*" (p. 293). The author proceeds to show how all forms of absolutism prefer to a regular taxation a system of finance founded on confiscation, dispensations, and fees, the sale of offices, or the loan of troops.

34. Professor Gindely, a native, we believe, of Moravia, has spent several years in collecting unpublished documents for the early history of the seventeenth century, in the archives of Germany, Belgium, France, and Spain; and the Imperial Academy of Vienna has undertaken to publish his collections, which will fill about twelve volumes. From the report of his discoveries made to the Academy early this year, the reader may obtain some idea of their importance. Dr. Gindely was at Simancas at the same time as Mr. Froude and Dr. Bergenroth, who is making researches on behalf of the English government. For a hundred and fifty years, from the death of Isabella to the Peace of Westphalia, the archives of Simancas are the richest in Europe, and they have never been ransacked for the history of the seventeenth century until Dr. Gindely visited them. The most interesting documents they contain are the correspondence from Rome, and the report of the deliberations of the Council. Every member present at a council meeting used to give an elaborate opinion; and the paper containing all the opinions was submitted to the king, who appended his own decision, sometimes with several pages of argument. These opinions and discussions of every great question of public importance are all preserved at Simancas. We can believe our author when he says that the publication of these reports will topple over the current views of history like a house of cards. But we have reason to expect that they will not present the government of Philip III. and Philip IV. in a more favourable light, and that, for instance, Dr. Gindely would be able to reveal the particulars of a scheme for the assassination of Gustavus Adolphus, in which very exalted persons were implicated.

His researches at the archives in Paris prove the incomplete and extremely unsatisfactory character of the edition of Richelieu's Correspondence which is appearing with the sanction of the government. The editor, M. Avenel, inserts only those letters which were directed to Richelieu or which were signed by him. But when he was prime minister he inspired and directed the whole diplomatic correspondence of France, of which only a small portion bears his signature. Neither the letters to foreign princes nor the instructions to ambassadors are signed by him, though no documents bear more visibly the stamp of his mind. Thus the correspondence with the envoy in Sweden, who prevailed on Gustavus to invade Germany, and the whole of the correspondence with Wallenstein, will see the light for the first time in Dr. Gindely's collection; and, if we are not misinformed, a complete elucidation of the intrigues and mysterious end of Wallenstein will be the most interesting fruit of his labours. The Spanish court, it appears, wrung from the emperor the restoration of Wallenstein to

the supreme command, and supported him in his insatiable ambition, whilst he successively demanded the territory of Brandenburg, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Wirtemberg, and Hesse. Ferdinand II. persistently refused to depose the princes whom he longed to succeed; and when Wallenstein was convinced that he had nothing more to expect from his master, he began to negotiate with France. This was in May 1633. It was agreed at last that he should receive the crown of Bohemia. The Spanish agents discovered his treachery in January 1634, and instantly demanded that Ferdinand should take measures, as the phrase was, to make him harmless. The emperor refused; and the Spanish ambassador writes home on the day when the news of Wallenstein's death reached Vienna, that his murderers had acted without authority. Dr. Gindely considers this testimony decisive against the possibility that Ferdinand could have ordered the execution.

35. It is melancholy to think what would become of our knowledge of the past, but for the passions, interests, and prejudices which are the means of preserving the history they distort. The annals of happy nations are vacant; and annalists if they were wiser would probably be less industrious. It requires an impartial man to make a good historian; but it is the partial and one-sided who hunt out the materials. If all writers were disinterested and sincere, history would not be filled with lies. But there is falsehood enough to keep up the investigation of truth, and plenty of men patient, laborious, and passionate, to provide materials. The violent Liberalism and splendid unscrupulousness of Lord Macaulay provokes the excessive Toryism of Mr. Napier, whose dull and plodding industry is enlivened by an enthusiastic partiality and a resolute blindness which have all the effect of a caricature. His *Life of Dundee* contains much new matter, which would raise the world's estimate of that ruthless hero if it were allowed to tell its own tale. But Mr. Napier's text is so full of venom, bad taste, and low pleasantry, that it will be read by few who have not an ardent love of historical research, or a deep anxiety to see how a case can be made out for Dundee. The author is imperfectly acquainted with the English language, and wholly ignorant of the proprieties of literary life. His fondness for barbarous words—such as *dubiety* for doubt, *brutify* for depreciate, *flabbergasted* for confounded—is exceeded by the spirit with which he distributes epithets. The Cameronians are “truculent Thugs” and “Satraps” in the same sentence, “conventicle cut-throats,” and “deadly Western Whigs.” When Dundee mounts his horse, it is not in the vulgar way of ordinary men: “Casting his leg over his impatient charger with the most lordly contempt of all such spectators, this Prince of Cavaliers gave the order to ride on” (p. 509). And when he chides Keppoch, “that awful chief put his tail between his legs, and promised not to do it again” (p. 631).

For the campaign of Killiecrankie Mr. Napier makes frequent use of an unpublished Latin epic, of which Dundee is the hero, and



which was written by his standard-bearer, James Philip of Amry-close. Instead of the text, he generally gives us a loose translation in prose, or a paraphrase in the style of the late Mr. G. P. R. James. But a few extracts give a favourable idea of the poem, parts of which are worthy of the fame of Scotland in Latin verse. As an historical record it is of considerable value.

36. The Archæological Society of Lorraine, founded in 1848, has issued a series of volumes in a very small number of copies, containing materials, not always new, for the history of that province. Its medieval history has been written by the laborious Calmet, in one of those ponderous and exhaustive works for which the French Benedictines were famous; and the gleaners are therefore chiefly confined to the last three centuries. During great part of that period, the princes of the House of Lorraine were the leaders of the Catholic party in France, and balanced the power of the later Valois. These reminiscences seem to influence the archæologists of Lorraine. They not only exhibit in their notes and introductions a religious tone which is rare in Parisian literature, but they retain the old provincial patriotism, and a jealousy of France, which reminds us that their country was the last which was annexed by the old monarchy. In the sixth volume of their documents, there is a curious piece on the *Guerre des Rustauds*, or peasants' war, which extended in 1525 from Swabia to Lorraine. It appears evident that the movement among the peasantry of Lorraine proceeded more exclusively from Lutheranism, and far less from social oppression, than in the country beyond the Rhine. Not one nobleman, not a single castle, was attacked; and the administrators of seigniorial rights and domains were not molested. The fury of the insurgents was directed solely against the clergy.

The seventh volume consists simply of a translation of the learned travels of the Benedictines Ruinart and Martène through the east of France, which were published long ago in Latin. The translator, who is the Abbé Marchal of Nancy, has appended a commentary, in which he often censures the prejudices of the writers. "The patriotic native of Lorraine will be grieved to hear this monk, imbued with the feelings of his order, treat the House of Lorraine with great harshness, and bitterly reproach some of its illustrious members with ambition and injustice" (p. viii.). He cannot let an allusion to the dilapidated state of the palace at Lunéville pass without an apology. "The compulsory absence of the dukes from their hereditary states, which were violently occupied by France, was the sole cause of the ruin of this palace" (p. 43). The good monks are naturally indignant at the destruction of the houses of their order by the dukes. "These," says Dom Martène, "are the great services which these men have rendered the Church, or rather the scandal they caused by the accumulation of so many benefices which, according to a pious princess of the house, brought down the curse of God upon their family, and led to the terrible catastrophes that ensued" (p. 206).

The editor here explains the reason of the suppression of the monastery in question. "It was very important for the good administration of Lorraine to prepare its separation from the see of Toul, whose prelates were French, and almost always opposed to the well-understood interests of the duchy." We learn from another note how the spire of Strasburg caused the treasury of the cathedral to be one of the richest in France. Lewis XIV. admired the solitary tower, and determined to finish the other. Colbert asked how much he meant to spend on it. "A million of francs," said the king. "That," answered the minister, "will about pay for the scaffolding." Lewis then decided that the sum should be spent on the ornaments and the altars.

The most curious circumstance in the journey of Ruinart is, that in the year 1696 he drank at Strasburg a glass of wine of the vintage of 1472, and found it still good "*licet caducum*." There is more life and colour in the narrative of Martène, who visited the same part of France fourteen years later. His jealousy of the Jesuits is probably due as much to the Jansenist tendencies of the Maurine congregation, to which he belonged, as to the mere rivalry of orders. At Metz he asked the rector of the Society to be allowed to see the old charters of the house, which had belonged to the Premonstratensians; "but he assured us that he had none; and I think he told the truth, for he received us very civilly" (p. 170). At the Abbey of Murbach, to which only noblemen were admitted, he wonders whether the ancient founders selected that desolate site "with the intention of excluding all who were not of such high extraction." Sometimes he was not allowed by the monks or the canons whom he visited to see their manuscripts. Others, with greater knowledge of the world, showed him every thing, but took care to overwhelm him with so many attentions that he could not work. He calls on the Prince-Bishop of Basil, and finds him catching larks. Of the cathedral of Metz he says: "The architecture is entirely Gothic, *but handsome*" (p. 159); for which piece of æsthetics the age, and not the man, must be held responsible.

37. The memoirs of the Duke de Luynes are the most copious record of the reign of Lewis XV., and promise to equal in bulk those of St-Simon and Dangeau. They exceed the latter in historical value, as much as they fall short of the former in art and talent. Luynes was a great authority at court; and his diary used to be referred to for precedents in questions of ceremonial. This obliged him to observe extreme caution in his entries; and at last he began to keep a second journal, which was more intimate, and of course more interesting, than the other, and which has recently begun to appear in the eighth volume of the Memoirs. It may therefore be expected that the later portion of this work will be more valuable than the earlier volumes, and that there will be important revelations bearing on the period of Madame de Pompadour, and the intrigues which preceded the Seven Years' War.

The eighth volume extends from the month of November 1746 to March 1748, and embraces the period of the campaign of Laufeld, when the Marshal of Saxony was the foremost man in France. We have glimpses of the Stuart princes and of their adherents flocking to Versailles after their last defeat. There is a remarkable conversation between the writer and Maurepas, then minister of naval affairs, on the consequences of the loss of the American colonies, which the victories of Anson and Warren rendered probable. "All the conquests," said the minister, "which we can obtain on the Continent, even the conquest of Holland, could not bear comparison with what we should suffer by the loss of America,—a loss, unfortunately, only too probable, and which would be followed by that of our commerce, and a great diminution of the revenue from the *fermes générales*" (viii. 385). He declared that peace ought to be concluded, and the fleet strengthened as rapidly as possible. Thirty years later, Maurepas was the minister who avenged France by going to war with England for the deliverance of her American colonies. Luynes and his duchess were the intimate friends of the queen; and he has recorded in his *Petit Journal* some curious anecdotes which she had told him. The enemies of Cardinal Fleury attempted to obtain the assistance of the queen in their intrigues against him. She arranged an interview in her apartment between the Duke of Bourbon and the king. "The duke presented to the king a letter from Cardinal Polignac filled with all sorts of grave accusations against Fleury. The king, after reading it through, returned it to the duke without saying a word. The duke, astonished at this silence, asked the king what he said to the letter. 'Nothing,' answered the king, with a very serious air. The duke asked whether his majesty had no orders to give, and what was his wish. The second answer was as serious and as dry as the first. 'Let things remain as they are,' he said. The duke, more confounded than ever, said to the king, 'Then, sir, I have had the misfortune to displease you.' 'Yes,' said the king. The duke immediately fell on his knees," &c. (viii. 369).

There is a tone of dignity and morality about these memoirs which forms a refreshing contrast to the society described in them; and they are less disfigured with pride, bitterness, and hatred than those of St.-Simon. But the discussion of the details of ceremonial is perpetual. The duke signalises with jealous attention the encroachments of the *noblesse de robe* on the privileges of the old aristocracy, and gibbets the first magistrate who had a Swiss standing at his door, and the first who called his house an *hôtel*. He relates how the dauphiness was obliged to go without a glass of water, in consequence of an unsettled dispute of precedency. In reading the book, we are often reminded of the words of Paul-Louis Courier: "L'étiquette rend les rois esclaves de la cour." In maintaining so strictly the privileges of their rank, the courtiers were asserting an authority of tradition superior to the royal caprice, and making themselves its exponents and guardians. They recovered in the court some compensation for the influence they had lost in the state.



38. Frederick Schlegel, who describes Saint-Martin as the greatest master of a spiritual philosophy in his time, anxiously vindicates him from the charge of a silent and passive opposition to the church to which he belonged. The system of Saint-Martin, he says, nowhere contradicts the doctrine of the Catholic religion, but, on the contrary, agrees with it completely, as it is not only a Mosaic but a truly Christian philosophy. And Schlegel goes so far as to say, that his censure of Catholic things was justified by the condition in which he found them. A volume of private letters which were written by Saint-Martin to one of his disciples, and had been already seen by M. Matter, and by the authors of the article on Kirchberger in the *Biographie Universelle*, has lately been published, as the commencement of a new edition of the writings of the great mystic. They support Schlegel's estimate of the Christian spirit of his philosophy, but they also exhibit his intellect in its weakness, and prove more clearly even than his previously published works the dogmatic indefiniteness of his religious belief. They show, moreover, how widely mystic tendencies pervaded Europe in his day, and how many religious men, independently of each other, were animated by the wish to oppose the destructive infidelity of the age by a form of Christianity in which there was no room for an ecclesiastical organisation.

Kirchberger was a Swiss Protestant, who had studied deeply some of the mystics of the seventeenth century,—German writers whom Saint-Martin could not understand, and especially Madame Guyon, whom he had not read. In this way he had arrived at a system which nearly coincided with that of the French philosopher, and of which we will quote the most compendious description: "When we wish to unite two substances too different to unite naturally, it is necessary to add a third which has an affinity, an analogy, with both. Thus, if we would mix oil and water, we must add an alkali, and then they will mix freely. This fact appears to me the type of the intermediate agents. Those agents must participate of, and be assimilated to, the nature of the beings they are to unite. The principal, the most sublime, and in one sense the only, intermediate agent is the Active and Intelligent Cause" (p. 11). Saint-Martin approved this doctrine, and only reproached his correspondent with a too carnal and material notion of the manner in which the agents manifest their power. He declares that up to the age of fifty he had known nothing of the writings of the Silesian cobbler Jacob Böhme, and that when he became acquainted with him, through the English translation of Law, he discovered his own system in a much more perfect development. "I regard him," he writes, "as the greatest light that has appeared on earth, next to Him who was the Light itself" (p. 9). Thus each of these men, independently of the other, had formed a system in which they entirely agreed, and of which they afterwards found the purest expression in the same author. Several other groups of mystics and adepts are mentioned in the correspondence, all more or less endowed with the same knowledge

and pursuing the same ends. But mysticism is essentially uncritical; and the sympathy one mystic feels for another is no safe evidence of real agreement. Even Cagliostro is admitted to have enjoyed the precious faculty of communing with the unseen world. Kirchberger avers his conviction that he was an impostor, a rogue, and an unbeliever; and yet his confidence in his powers is not shaken, and he comforts himself with the reflection that the impurity of the channel does not corrupt the grace (p. 205). This credulity was put to a severe test by the discovery of the planet Uranus. According to the school, it was speculatively demonstrable that the planets must be seven, and the master, Böhme himself, had known no better. Saint-Martin consults his friend on this difficult point, and asks whether he has meditated upon it (p. 224). The sober Swiss replies: "The discovery of Uranus by Herschel has not caused me to experience any great sensation . . . . Our friend (Böhme) having made no observations himself, adopted the number observed by his contemporaries. This number does not appear to me of sufficient importance to have deserved a revelation from above" (p. 227).

It is characteristic of these men that, though of different religions, they never seem to be aware of a gulf that separates them; and their system, while it ignores the distinctions of churches, makes them indifferent even to what goes on around them. In the midst of the Revolution they are more busy with cabalistic figures than with the fate of Europe. A few hours after the fall of the monarchy, on the 11th of August 1792, while the streets about him were a field of battle, and the wounded were being carried into the house in which he lived, Saint-Martin sits down to send his friend a number of references to the works of Böhme (p. 24). Kirchberger paid more attention to the affairs of this world. He was an active adversary of the Illuminati who were spread in several schools over all the south of Germany. They had been suppressed by the Elector of Bavaria in the year 1785, but continued to subsist in secret; and the French Revolution revived their importance in the eyes of those who thought that the whole movement was the work of secret societies. Prompted rather by solicitude for religion than by political motives, Kirchberger employed his friends, the celebrated Zimmermann, and Eckartshausen of Munich, to urge on the governments the necessity of some further measures. "I communicated to Eckartshausen my observations respecting the great league which was formed against the Christian religion. He became attentive and began to look about him. He discovered so much that he took up arms. He wrote a memorial to awaken the alarm of the governments. I advised a private audience with the Elector. He obtained it, was approved, and his memorial was sent to Vienna under the protection of the court. I renewed my acquaintance with Zimmermann of Hanover, an old lion, and one of the best pens in Germany. He entered into my ideas and drew up a memorial, which he sent by one of his friends to the emperor. . . . Leopold approved of our vigilance, made Zimmermann a handsome present, and intended to

adopt serious measures in combination with the court of Berlin, when he died suddenly,—and who knows by what means?" (p. 197.)

39. Colonel Martens served with the Wirtemberg contingent in the Grand Army under Napoleon; and after a delay of half a century, for which it is difficult to assign a reason, he has published his *Journal of the Campaign of 1812*. It is not a history containing judgments which could offend, or a report of conversations which it would have been indiscreet to betray while the speakers were living. It is in substance nothing but the daily notes of a soldier, jotted down with rare perseverance, by the light of the burning cities of Smolensk and Moscow, and with stiffened fingers painfully saved in a pair of socks from the frosts of the retreat. The intense reality and interest of such a record is, however, somewhat weakened by the trouble which was subsequently taken to make it more readable.

The young officer received his first notions of warfare from the battle-fields of the Seven-Years' War. In the forest of Torgau he saw the cannon-balls of Frederick still embedded in the trees, and at Kunersdorf the ground was still whitened with the bones of his soldiers. On the 19th of June, before reaching the Russian frontier, he saw the last of European civilisation. "Who amongst us thought that, from that day to the distant Moscow, no night's lodging, no good meal would refresh him? that he would have no table, no chair, neither cup, nor knife, nor fork—at best a pewter spoon, and an indigestible morsel eaten on the ground, whilst bread became a luxury?" No other work exhibits so clearly as this diary the ruinous losses and sufferings of the army during the triumphant advance into Russia. Even on the Niemen the cavalry were furnished with scythes to cut the green crops, which were given to the horses mixed with the straw that ought to have been the soldiers' bed. On the 27th of June, the division to which the Wirtemberg regiments belonged had lost 1000 men from exhaustion. They were already hastening towards dissolution, and the pursuit of the enemy resembled a confused retreat (p. 66). On the 30th of June they bivouacked in a morass in which it was impossible to lie down, and began to suffer from fever and dysentery; and whilst some perished from fatigue and privation, others killed themselves in their despair. On the 14th of July a major cut his throat; one soldier, urged on by the officers, seized a comrade's bayonet and stabbed himself; another blew his brains out. By the 16th of July nearly half the division was disabled: eight men died that night, twenty on the following day. Twelve hundred were in hospital by the 18th, 400 more on the 24th. The division, which had been 10,000 strong, counted only 2,200 bayonets at Smolensk, where the first battle was fought. Out of 16,000 Wirtembergers only 2,000 reached Moscow, and the loss in the rest of the army, excepting the Guard, was hardly inferior. Every where the villages were gutted or burnt by the inhabitants (pp. 95, 111, 113). Even the Poles, whom Napoleon had deceived by the promise of independence, shut their doors against the starving French (pp. 166, 254). The minute details



given by a man who saw only what passed in his immediate neighbourhood, but who reports only what he saw, trace with impressive effect the real causes of the failure of Napoleon. The particulars of the retreat, which have no military importance, are familiar to all the world, and Colonel Martens adds little to what was known of them before.

40. The Russian military archives have been used but sparingly for the history of the war of 1812; but, as the events of that year have gradually become better known from French and German sources, the Russian government has permitted further revelations to be made by official writers. Buturlin and Danilewsky ministered to the national pride and imperial infallibility; but the appearance of the memoirs of Toll, the chief of the Russian staff, destroyed the flattering illusions they cherished. The archives were conscientiously used by Smitt for the first part of the campaign, and General Bogdanowitsch has published a complete history, of which the two first volumes, in the German translation, extend to the beginning of Napoleon's retreat. His work has a peculiar value for the history of the popular resistance and the organisation of the militia; and he describes, with disproportionate detail, the operations in the Baltic provinces, by which Wittgenstein acquired a reputation which did not survive the campaign of Saxony. He has used a great quantity of private memoirs and official correspondence, and writes with apparent candour, but with an exaggerated sense of the importance of official forms.

In the biography of Toll, which contains far the best narrative yet published of the Russian war, the retreat to Moscow is explained by the force of circumstances, the difficulty of concentration, and the result of great strategic mistakes; and the merit of having deliberately conceived and executed the movement to which Europe owed her deliverance is denied to the Russian commanders. General Bogdanowitsch endeavours to show, on the contrary, that the idea was currently entertained at head-quarters, that it had been for years the plan of Barclay, and that the campaign of Torres Vedras had proved its efficacy. But he is compelled to admit that the other generals scouted the idea; and it is clear that it was adopted at last only from necessity, when the scheme which was preferred to it had been baffled by the rapid advance of the French centre. At Wilna, Napoleon received the Russian adjutant Balaschef, and asked him what roads led to Moscow. "There are many," said the Russian, "Charles XII. chose the road by Pultawa." The author discusses the battle of Borodino with great frankness, and attributes the defeat to the badness of the Russian position, which brought the second line and the reserve under fire at the same time as the front rank, and to the extension of the right wing too far to be of use. In his opinion, the greatest mistake of all was committed by Napoleon when he refused to engage his reserves. He thinks that if the 20,000 soldiers of the Guard had advanced at the end of the day, the

Russian army might have been destroyed. He gives the complete text of Kutusoff's despatch, which vindicates the Russian general from the ridiculous imputation of having announced a victory to the emperor. Kutusoff acknowledged that the army had been driven from its position, and had retired on the following day; but the government suppressed this passage, and published only those in which he praised the valour of the troops. A more interesting question is set at rest for ever in this work. The persistent denial of Count Rostopchin has thrown some uncertainty over the real origin of the destruction of Moscow. General Bogdanowitsch publishes a letter from Rostopchin to Bagration, written on the 24th of August, three weeks before the conflagration, in which he declares that, if the army is defeated, the city will be given to the flames, and Napoleon shall find it a heap of ruins (ii. 291). He also quotes the report of an inspector of police whom Rostopchin commissioned to set fire to the houses, and who, after executing the commission in the presence of the enemy, swam the river at night, and escaped.

We have a picture of the disorganised state of the Russian system of defence in the letters of Prince Bagration, which are appended to the second volume. Bagration commanded the second army, and succeeded with great difficulty in effecting a junction with Barclay at Smolensk. In writing to the aide-de-camp of the emperor, he complains with incoherent bitterness of the order of retreat, urges an immediate attack, and declares that the army is clamorous to have him for its commander-in-chief. "There is such a crowd of Germans at head-quarters," he writes, "that it is impossible for a Russian to live there" (ii. 478). "It is not my fault that the minister (Barclay) is undecided, cowardly, foolish, slow in action, and endowed with all bad qualities. The whole army murmurs and abuses him" (ii. 480).

41. M. Thiers has terminated his great work with a volume written in a tone of such moderation, dignity, and repose, that it ought to disarm much of the criticism which his faults as a historian have provoked. The insolent presumption which the early glories of the empire awakened in him, and the angry bitterness with which he described its later reverses, have been succeeded by a kind of mournful awe, inspired by the grandeur of the final catastrophe. Instead of vulgar exultation and irritated pride, we have the language of forgiveness and compunction, a generous admiration for victorious enemies, a lenient judgment on the faults of partisans, and a discriminating verdict on the character of Napoleon. The consciousness of a gradual change in his views of policy and of persons has softened the lines and toned down the colouring. In the art of describing clearly the succession of events, of distinguishing those connected in point of time, and combining those remote in point of place, M. Thiers is the greatest living master. He sacrifices to perspicuity things which are the principal merit of other historians. He has no dramatic scenes, no great pictorial effects to excite the

imagination and distract the eye from the transparent and unruffled current. His reflections are generally trivial, and such as would suggest themselves to every reader. They never disturb our attention by reminding us of the writer's sagacity. Above all, M. Thiers possesses beyond almost every other historian the art of repetition. He rarely uses it without adding to the clearness and even to the interest of his narrative; but he is sometimes monotonous in the judgments and opinions which he repeats with a tenacious uniformity.

His account of the campaign of Waterloo is determined by two ruling ideas,—that Napoleon's own relation is the most authentic, and that he was guilty of no strategic errors. "Napoleon dissimulated often during his reign, sometimes he even deceived when it could serve his purpose; but at St. Helena, occupied only with history, he lied less than any of his contemporaries, because he had more memory and greater pride" (p. 49). M. Thiers defends the emperor against those who attribute to his orders the inactivity of D'Erlon's corps on the 16th of June. "That Napoleon was a very bad politician requires no proof; but a bad general,—the supposition seems to me hazardous, and for my part I cannot prevail on myself to admit it" (p. 139). These are very unsafe canons for military criticism; but they bring the author to a conclusion with which there is no reason for any body to be displeased, except those who may be interested in the reputation of Grouchy. The plans of Napoleon during the four days' campaign are related with extreme minuteness, in order to show that he made no miscalculation except as to the skill of his lieutenant. He had a right to expect that Grouchy would keep the Prussians at bay on the 18th as successfully as Ney kept the English employed on the 16th; for the Prussians had just suffered a defeat which they attributed to the tardiness of their allies, and could hardly be very anxious to save them from a similar fate. Accordingly the battle with the Prussians at Frichermont is described with greater fulness than by our historians, and is treated as the decisive event of the day. In this chapter M. Thiers does not attempt to compete in eloquence with Victor Hugo, and his peculiar powers are at least equally conspicuous in the chapter on the second abdication. The hero is no longer Napoleon, but Fouché, to whose abilities M. Thiers does less justice than to his character. He was personally hateful to almost every party: he had been a monk and a regicide; he had betrayed the first empire; he enjoyed neither the confidence of the Powers nor the respect of his countrymen; he had not eloquence to command in the Chambers; he was unknown to the army; he was without a party. Yet he compelled Napoleon to make him minister in March, and he compelled him to abdicate in June. Whilst Napoleon was still at Paris, he made himself the chief of the government, controlled men like Carnot and Lafayette, retained through Davoust the allegiance of the army, made terms with Wellington and with Talleyrand, prevented all resistance to the allies or to the Bourbons,



and ended by becoming minister of Lewis XVIII. "Without faith, without dignity, but without malevolence, the Duke of Otranto had been chosen by Providence to serve in this new revolution, as an intermediary agent between men who wished to impose the Bourbons and men who consented to submit to them, neither wishing to be discovered" (p. 517). M. Thiers explains this momentary supremacy partly by the strange reason that Fouché having voted for the death of the king, his influence was regarded by the royalists as a security for the submission of the republicans, and by the Jacobins as a security for their safety (p. 516). In this chapter we find M. Thiers's final judgment on the Duke of Wellington. "If he had not genius, he had good sense,—a penetrating and firm good sense,—to such a degree that in this respect the British general can be compared to no personage in history. But for a strong portion of vanity, pardonable enough in his position, one might have said that he had no weakness" (p. 446). Nothing in the previous volumes was more admirable than the history of Napoleon's march from Cannes. The scene shifted constantly from the advancing army to the interior of the different towns, as they prepared to receive or to resist it, and then to the capital and the measures of the government; and yet the unity was never lost, and the reader had perpetually before him, from different points of view, the marvellous progress of the invader. The interval between the battle of Waterloo and the Restoration has not the same epic unity; but the historian's masterly hand is equally visible as he passes from Napoleon's court to the Chamber, from the movements of the army to the intrigues of Fouché, and from Paris to the head-quarters of Wellington, or to the schemes of the king's old courtiers.

Nothing could be more felicitous than the idea of closing the History of the Consulate and Empire with a description of Napoleon's occupations at St. Helena. He is thus made to give his own retrospect of his career, and to pronounce, in the solitude and dejection of his last years, his own judgment on himself. With exquisite art he is made to draw the moral of the history by the testimony of his own experience; and the impression which the work leaves on the reader is heightened by that which the events themselves made upon the chief author of them. The effect is somewhat weakened by an elaborate estimate of Napoleon's character, with which the history closes. M. Thiers has learnt much during the twenty years he has spent in writing these twenty volumes. His mind has not remained stationary, or his ideas unchanged. He was a disbeliever; now he speaks with reverence of religion, and describes with manifest sympathy, if not with envy, the power of faith over Napoleon's mind towards the end. It was sweet, he said, to approach the tomb with the absolute faith of Catholics. If men did not go to mass, they would follow impostors. He rebuked his physician for his disrespect for the most venerable religion of the human race (p. 690). He was near his last moments when he said to him: "Young man, you are too clever perhaps to believe in God.

I am not so far advanced. It is not every man who likes that can be an atheist." "Nevertheless," says his historian, "this man whom God had made not only great but good, had nothing of virtue: for virtue consists in tracing an absolute idea of duty, in submitting to it all inclinations, in immolating to it all appetites, moral and physical; and that could not be in a nature more impatient of restraint than any other that ever existed. But though he possessed in no degree what we call virtue, he had certain professional virtues, and especially those which belong to the warrior and the ruler" (p. 716). M. Thiers began as a fatalist; he is now a believer only in moral causes. "Great events," he says, "depend on moral causes alone. These produce them, compel them to happen, in spite of material causes. Mind governs and matter is governed: he who observes the world and sees it as it is, can discover nothing else" (p. 297). He commenced his work at the time of the funeral of Napoleon, as an apology for Bonapartism, and it did much to revive the spirit of the Bonapartists. He concludes with a denunciation of Napoleon's politics, and with a solemn warning against the seductions of glory. He is continually separating the political from the military character. "The genius of politics consists generally in knowing how to wait, that of war in seeing rapidly the side on which to strike, and in striking instantly. Whereas the greatest politicians were patient, the greatest captains were prompt" (p. 15). Napoleon is "an extraordinary man, an incomparable soldier, whom all his genius could not save from the consequences of his political faults,— . . . a genius impotent in the presence of reason misunderstood or understood too late" (p. 297),—whose abdication "was a calamity neither for France nor for liberty" (p. 377). "That profound captain, that wise law-giver, that consummate administrator, was the maddest of politicians, we should say, if Alexander had never existed. If politics were nothing but talent, certainly nothing would have been wanting to enable him to surpass the most dexterous statesmen. But politics are character more than talent, and that is where Napoleon failed" (p. 719). "At once a despot and a revolutionist, he was not a politician; for, if he showed himself for a moment admirably politic in reconciling France with the Church, with Europe, with herself, soon after,—in growing angry with England, in breaking the peace of Amiens, in projecting a universal monarchy after Austerlitz, in undertaking the Spanish war, which he tried to terminate at Moscow, in refusing the peace of Prague,—he was more than a bad politician; he presented to the world the melancholy spectacle of genius which had descended to the condition of an idiot" (p. 721). The work concludes with the following exhortation: "Thus in this great life, in which there is so much for soldiers, administrators, and politicians to learn, let the citizens come in their turn to learn one thing,—that they must never deliver up their country to a single man, no matter what man, no matter what the circumstances. In finishing this long history of our triumphs and our reverses, this is the last cry which bursts from my heart, a sincere cry which I would send to the hearts of all French-

men, that they might all be persuaded that liberty must never be surrendered, and that, in order to its being never surrendered, it must never be abused."

42. Baron Wessenberg, for six-and-twenty years the administrator of the diocese of Constance, may be considered the most eminent and the most respectable of those ecclesiastics who preserved to our day the traditions of the eighteenth century. His life has been written, in the most offensive tone, by a friend whose praise will do more to injure the fame of his hero in the eyes of posterity than the worst of the grave faults he has recorded. As the biography is founded on Wessenberg's own diaries and papers, it possesses some value, which it owes exclusively to the importance of the materials. It is written to preserve the memory of "one of the principal authors, and at the same time a shining type, of that renewed spirit and tendency of Christian life which has arisen in our times, in opposition to that scholastic theology which ever endeavours to dissolve Christianity in an eternal self-made ecclesiastical system" (p. 3). The vague absurdity of this description gives a very indistinct idea of the hero, but a very sufficient one of the author.

Baron Wessenberg, who died on the 9th of August 1860, at the age of eighty-six, was educated for the priesthood at a time when the reforms of the Emperor Joseph, the writings of Febronius and the later Jansenists, and the influence of Rationalism and Illuminism, had conspired to reduce the religious spirit of the clergy to the lowest point of fervour. He studied under the celebrated Sailer, and then at Vienna, in the home of Josephinism; and the writers by whom he appears to have been most early impressed were Lavater and the Swiss Protestants. His industry is commemorated in an anecdote which reminds us of Goldsmith's interview with the principal of the college of Louvain. An Austrian statesman took him aside one day, and said "in a confidential tone," "What is the good of studying so hard? It is quite unnecessary. I have become a minister without studying at all. Knowledge is of no use for that. The art of paying court to ladies, good manners, fluency in talking about every thing,—art, science, music, theatres,—skill at play, in dancing and in riding,—that will carry you much farther." Although not ordained priest till 1812, Wessenberg was appointed administrator of Constance in 1801. The diocese extended over the south-west of Germany and Switzerland, and contained a million and a half of souls and 6,608 priests. Throughout this portion of the Church the spirit of the coadjutor impressed itself on the clergy and the people for a whole generation; and, while that influence was one of the main obstacles encountered at first by the present Archbishop of Freiburg, its total abolition has been the greatest result of the disputes between church and state in Baden. Wessenberg accompanied his archbishop to Paris at the time of the council in 1811, and his diary of that visit is the most interesting part of the book. The well-known weakness and incompetence of Cardinal Fesch is



illustrated by a good story. When the emperor summoned the great assembly of the Jews to meet at Paris, his uncle earnestly remonstrated, saying that according to prophecy it would be the end of the world. Napoleon asked to see the text, and the cardinal could not find it (p. 181). The old King of Wirtemberg, the worst tyrant in Germany, was excited by the French national council to hold one in his own dominions, and called his ministers to see how it could be done. They were perplexed by the novelty of the thing, until it occurred to one of them to say that a council implies bishops, and as there were no bishops in Wirtemberg, the council would have to be deferred (p. 187). In 1816 the affairs of the Church in Germany were the subject of negotiation with Rome; and Wessenberg was anxious that all the governments should come to an understanding together, in order to present a stronger front, and to prevent the compliance of one from being an instrument against the others. This scheme was baffled by the Prussian minister in Rome, who settled matters favourably to the Holy See. The minister who thus disappointed the hopes of rationalising Catholics, and incurred the reproaches of such men as the writer before us, was the historian Niebuhr (p. 257). In the following year the coadjutor was elected bishop of Constance by the chapter, but refused by the Holy See. On this occasion Wessenberg repaired to Rome, and records in his diary some curious conversations with Cardinal Consalvi. A numerous promotion of cardinals excited the astonishment of the traveller and the indignation of the cardinal secretary: "Voyez-vous ces butors? Il a bien fallu aussi les admettre pour pouvoir disposer des places qu'ils occupaient dans l'administration. Que voulez-vous? L'intérêt de l'état doit prévaloir. On les fait cardinaux pour les déloger de leurs fonctions" (p. 294). On another occasion Consalvi said, almost prophetically, "How could this state exist if the strength of religion did not support it?" (pp. 295, 300.) Wessenberg speaks of a proposal made at the Congress of Vienna for the secularisation of the higher offices. After revisiting Rome under Gregory XVI., he wrote in 1847, "I heard people lament the influence of the court of Vienna, because it puts a drag on the Roman government, which is preparing for the States of the Church the fate of Poland" (p. 306). It appears that this was the expression of his fears rather than his hopes, for he was always a defender of church property against spoliation, and his conduct in the Baden parliament was upright and dignified. But his views of church matters were extreme and perverted. "Voltaire and his associates," he says, "inasmuch as they exposed many abuses and horrors which were protected and cherished in the bosom of the Church and of Christendom, and excited public opinion against them, must be admitted to have conferred by their labours some advantage on religion. But that caste which dares to assume the proud name of the Society of Jesus, under pretence of defending and glorifying the Church, in reality only sought to make her the vehicle of their own supremacy" (p. 304). During his latter days, in consequence of deceived hopes

and disappointed ambition, all his thoughts were concentrated on the one object of reducing the authority of the Holy See. For this purpose he wrote a long and learned history of "The Councils of the 15th and 16th Centuries," the only one of his numerous works that possesses any literary value.

The man to whom Wessenberg owed his promotion, and with whom during many years he was most intimately connected, was the Primate Dalberg, the last occupant of the archiepiscopal see of St. Boniface, and the last prelate who has ever enjoyed temporal sovereignty on this side of the Alps. Dalberg had grown up in the same school as his younger contemporary, and he had imbibed more deeply than any Catholic ecclesiastic the tone and ideas of the rising literature of Germany, which had its centre in his own neighbourhood at Weimar. His attachment to Napoleon led to his elevation to the primacy of the Confederation of the Rhine and the grand-duchy of Frankfort; but in his later years he atoned for his greatness. He submitted his early writings for correction to the most venerable theologian then living, and he turned away from Napoleon in consequence of his treatment of the Pope. It is related of him by Wessenberg that, before taking his seat in the council of 1811, he urged the emperor to liberate Pius VII., in order that the whole Church might recover the freedom it had lost by his imprisonment (p. 179). One evening when he spoke of the council, Napoleon cut him short, and made the empress engage him in a game, while he himself pretended to go to sleep in a corner. Rather than release the Pope, Napoleon dissolved the council; and the German primate found himself alone in the union of spiritual and temporal power, whilst Pius VII. was in captivity. He resigned his authority, refused to make terms with the allies, and retired to his see of Ratisbon. Wessenberg was moved to indignation at what appeared to him an excessive weakness (p. 273), and laboured vainly to dissuade his friend from a step which did something to redeem the grievous errors of a chequered and difficult career.

43. The plan of traversing the same ground twice over with two distinct objects has been often attempted in literary histories. The history of books differs from the history of events in this respect, that it is obliged to combine the general historical with the personal biographical element. No writer has ever succeeded in combining the two in the same consecutive text, and the idea of treating them successively and separately was both natural and practicable. To the school of Hegel, it was particularly grateful. It was the pride of the Hegelian writers to evolve history out of the depths of their own consciousness, which they held to correspond with the eternal nature of things. The moral as well as the material universe exhibited to them such satisfactory evidence of design, so perfect a harmony of parts, and such unvarying regularity of necessary and intelligible laws, that in their system the knowledge of the laws imparted a knowledge of facts, the power of speculation was co-extensive with

the reality, and the philosopher could supply the astronomer beforehand with the results of his observations, and the historian with the inevitable instances of the laws which govern history. Histories came to be written as parts of a system of philosophy, and the necessary process of ideas and events was demonstrated *a priori*. After this, it was shown, for the benefit of the weak, or in order to enrich the memory with instances in illustration of the system, that what was foretold by philosophy was also empirically and very externally known to historians; and the real history of the world was used like the index of solutions at the end of a book of mathematical problems. The history of literature was also written as it were from within, as it must necessarily occur; and a man might be considered to have thoroughly mastered the history of a national literature, although he did not know the accidental names or works of a single writer. Then the functions of the builder were superadded to those of the architect, and the student could see as well as know the particulars of his subject. The influence of this method appears in some excellent books, such as Mager's History of French Literature since the Revolution, and in the admirable works of Bernhardy on the literature of Greece and Rome.

Mr. Arnold, in his history of English literature, for didactic and æsthetical purposes, has followed the example given him by the metaphysicians, whose doctrines, however, he repudiates. He traverses the field twice over, dealing the first time with the writers in the natural historical order, and then with their works in a critical order, and addresses himself first to instruct the memory and then the taste of his readers. In this latter respect he is a singularly safe and judicious guide. Here is his explanation of the common character of the poetical reaction of the nineteenth century: "The chief pervading movement of society may be described as one of reaction against the ideas of the eighteenth century. Those ideas were, in brief, Rationalism and Formalism, both in literature and in politics. Pope for instance was a rationalist, and also a formalist, in both respects. In his views of society he took the excellence of no institution for granted,—he would not admit that antiquity in itself constituted a claim to reverence; on the contrary, his turn of mind disposed him to try all things, old and new, by the test of their rationality, and to ridicule the multiplicity of forms and usages,—some marking ideas originally irrational, others whose meaning, once clear and true, had been lost or obscured through the change of circumstances which encumbered the public life of his time. Yet he was, at the same time, a political formalist in this sense, that he desired no sweeping changes, and was quite content that the social system should work on as it was. It suited him, and that was enough for his somewhat selfish philosophy. Again, in literature he was a rationalist, and also a formalist; but here in a good sense. For in literary, as in all other art, the *form* is of prime importance; and his destructive logic, while it crushed bad forms, bound him to develop his powers in strict conformity to good ones. Now the reaction against these ideas was twofold. The



conservative reaction, while it pleaded the claims of prescription, denounced the aberrations of reason, and endeavoured to vindicate or resuscitate the ideas lying at the base of existing political society, which the rationalism of the eighteenth century had sapped, rebelled at the same time against the arbitrary rules with which, not Pope himself, but his followers had fettered literature. The liberal or revolutionary reaction, while, accepting the destructive rationalism of the eighteenth century, it scouted its political formalism as weak and inconsistent, joined the conservative school in rebelling against the reign of the arbitrary and the formal in literature. This, then, is the point of contact between Scott and the conservative school on the one hand, and Coleridge, Godwin, Byron, Shelley, and the rest of the revolutionary school on the other. They were all agreed that literature, and especially poetry, was become a cold lifeless affair, conforming to all the rules and proprieties, but divorced from living nature and the warm spontaneity of the heart. . . . To the artificial, mechanical, didactic school, which Pope's successors had made intolerable, was now opposed a counter theory of the poetic function, which we may call the theory of the Spontaneous. As light flows from the stars, or perfume from flowers,—as the nightingale cannot help singing, nor the bee refrain from making honey,—so, according to this theory, poetry is the spontaneous emanation of a musical and beautiful soul. . . . To pretend to construct a beautiful poem is as if one were to try to construct a tree. Something dead and wooden will be the result in either case. In a poet, effort is tantamount to condemnation; for it implies the absence of inspiration. . . . For whatever of great value comes from a poet is not that which he wills to say, but that which he cannot help saying, that which some higher power—call it Nature, or what you will—dictates through his lips as through an oracle. This theory, which certainly had many attractions and contained much truth, led to various important results. . . . On the other hand, the theory produced new mischiefs and generated new mistakes. It did not silence inferior poets; but they were of a different class from what they had been before. . . . The judgment of many generations has assigned the palm of superiority among poetic forms to the epos and the drama; yet in neither of these did the school of poets of which we speak achieve any success of moment. This was probably due to the influence of the theory which we are considering. The truth is, that no extensive and complex poem was ever composed without large help from that constructive faculty which it was the object of the theory to depreciate" (p. 211).

The opening remarks on Byron are a good instance of Mr. Arnold's power of judging a particular writer. "Byron represents the universal reaction of the nineteenth century against the ideas of the eighteenth. We have seen the literary reaction exemplified in Scott; but the protest of Byron was more comprehensive, and reached to deeper regions of thought. Moody and misanthropical, he rejected the whole manner of thought of his predecessors; and the scepticism

of the eighteenth century suited him as little as its popular belief. Unbelievers of the class of Hume and Gibbon did not *suffer* on account of being without faith; their turn of mind was Epicurean; the world of sense and intelligence furnished them with as much of enjoyment as they required, and they had no quarrel with the social order which secured to them the tranquil possession of their daily pleasures. But Byron had a mind of that daring and impetuous temper which, while it rushes into the path of doubt suggested by cooler heads, presently recoils from the consequences of its own act, and shudders at the moral desolation which scepticism spreads over its life" (p. 224).

The sound religious tone which pervades Mr. Arnold's book is not put forward with a prominence that can repel any one except an enemy of all religion. As religion is not obtruded, and the æsthetical element is reserved for the second part, it became necessary to find some other element of unity, and some more available principle of progress, to connect English literature with the history of the country. Mr. Arnold supplies this in the growth of constitutional ideas. He inculcates on every occasion a reverence for the law and the liberties of England, recognises the truth that morality is involved in questions of political right, and traces with sympathetic hand the growth of the English system of government, from its root in Catholic times, through all the perils which have menaced it from absolutism and republicanism, Anglicanism and unbelief. Political truth is identical with Whiggism, and the other schools exhaust the various forms of error: the Cavalier Tories represented by Filmer; the philosophical Tories by Hobbes; the Puritan Whigs by Milton and Sidney; the philosophical republicans by Harrington. This exclusion of Milton and Sidney from the ranks of the true Whigs shows that Mr. Arnold is fully conscious of the difference between the highly constructive, positive, and definite theory of Whiggism, and the generalisations of an ordinary Liberalism. He says of Mr. Pitt, "His policy was at first purely Whig and constitutional, like that of his father; but after 1789 the attitude which he was compelled to take in relation to the extreme or revolutionary Liberalism of France gradually changed the position of his government to such an extent as to make it essentially Tory, as being supported by the Tory party in Parliament and in the country. Pitt, however, remained personally a sincere and consistent Liberal to the last" (p. 157). Speaking of Johnson he identifies Conservatism and Whiggism. "His influence upon England was eminently conservative. . . . After his death Burke carried on the sort of conservative propaganda which he had initiated" (p. 181). He is not quite true to himself when he places Locke in the line of the Whig tradition. "His political doctrines have been persistently carried into practice by his own country ever since his death, and recently by other countries also, and the results have—to outward appearance at least—been singularly encouraging" (p. 149). Now the essence of Whiggism is the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the divine will, or as we should say, if the term

had not been degraded, of divine right over the will of man, whether represented by the sovereign, or by the people, in the institutions of the past, or in speculative theories. It is the absolute exclusion from politics of that arbitrary element which asserts itself in Toryism by denying the claims of principle, and in Radicalism by rejecting the authority of fact. It upholds the laws of the country; but it clings to their spirit, not to the temporary forms by which that spirit is expressed or secured. In this way Selden shared in the Great Rebellion, Somers justified the Revolution, and Burke defended the constitutional idea in the American and the revolutionary wars. But Locke derives civil society from a voluntary contract, and thus introduces a principle as arbitrary in its nature, and as dangerous to right in its consequences, as the maxim that kings are above the law.

We observe one or two minor deficiencies in the work. The notice of Raleigh's *History of the World* is hardly just to the merits of a book which, though quite valueless in execution, is perhaps in design the greatest ever conceived by a historian. One of the profoundest of English historians is dismissed with the words that to Hooke "succeeded Dr. Ferguson, with his dry book on the Roman Republic" (p. 367). Ferguson was a man who stood on a level, intellectually, with Hume and Smith, and it would have been worth while to recall him and some other forgotten authors to their just place in the memory of their countrymen. Mr. Arnold gives as a reason for Burke's Catholic tendencies "the memory of his Catholic mother" (p. 197). It appears from a letter of Burke's to Shackleton, first published in the *Leadbetter Papers* last year, that Burke's wife was also a Catholic. We hardly know what is meant by the words that Mr. Pitt was "not exactly eloquent" (p. 194); and the notice of Erskine, about whose eloquence there is not a word, is very unsatisfactory. From a passage at page 156, the reader might be led to suppose that Lord Chatham lived to see the recognition of America by England; and there are several omissions of which we should be disposed to complain. But the object of the book was not to overwhelm the student with details or exhaust the subject in any respect, but to give "an intelligible and connected view of at least the most popular portion of our literature;" and in this Mr. Arnold has succeeded, if not with more research, yet with greater taste than any other writer.

44. Without any pretensions to historical art or scientific research, Mr. Knight has succeeded in compiling what may be justly called the most useful History of England. The superficial nature of his information is less apparent in the last volume, which is beyond comparison the best consecutive account of English history during the Peace. There is an immense mass of details and of quotations selected with much good sense; but no grouping, no proportion, no perspective, none of those changes of focus which relieve the eye, none of that variety in the points of view which is necessary in order to make the complex process of national life intelligible to



readers who are not prepared for a great spontaneous effort. Mr. Knight exhibits a sort of liberality which will make his work popular, but which is one of the gravest faults a historian can be guilty of. Wholly free from intolerance and violence, he does not understand principles and sentiments which he has never shared. He mistakes a generous suavity of temper for that many-sided sympathy which enables the historian to distribute equal justice, and to recognise, in every party and every opinion, that element of reason which gives it power over honest minds. Like a man conscious of weakness, he avoids temptation—he does not overcome it. His fairness is the negative spirit of indifference, which treats all men alike with distant respect, not an intelligent justice *suum cuique tribuens*. It proceeds almost as much from a want of mental grasp as from the determination to offend nobody.

His treatment of the Catholic question may supply an instance. He understands the point at issue, and the real character and defect of the measure of 1829, much better than the majority of those who carried, or of those who demanded, it. He points out, that to concede as a measure of expediency that which was an imperative obligation of principle deprived the act of the fruitful moral and political consequences which arise when a new principle is allowed to strike its roots firmly in the state. He quotes the words of Dr. Arnold: "It is the direct duty of every Englishman to support the claims of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, even at the hazard of injuring the Protestant Establishment; because those claims cannot be rejected without great injustice; and it is a want of faith in God, and an unholy zeal, to think that He can be served by injustice, or to guard against contingent evil by committing certain sin." Mr. Knight adds, "This was a great truth. . . . It was a truth whose constant recognition would support every conscientious statesman through the perils with which Ireland would yet be surrounded; . . . would 'assert eternal Providence' in manifesting that a righteous act would at last have its reward, in rendering the once-wronged Ireland no more a terror to England, but the sharer of her liberty and her prosperity" (p. 241). Nothing can be more true than this statement, that the abolition of the Irish Established Church is involved in the recognition of the principle of religious freedom. But when he loses his illustrious guide, Mr. Knight relapses into a species of liberalism which is as alien to the spirit of freedom as any thing that can be conceived. "The godless colleges," he says, "have flourished unharmed under the constant attempts of a bigoted priesthood to oppose, in this case as well as in the national schools of Ireland, that system of instruction without religious teaching which the soundest statesmen have constantly regarded as one of the best means of softening the religious animosities, and abating the injurious jealousies, between Catholic and Protestant" (p. 529). We will not stop to estimate the political understanding of a man who conceives that the same principles govern the theories of primary and of superior education: the error is not peculiar to Mr. Knight. But what shall we say of any one so sin-

cerely and loftily liberal who refuses to each community the right, more sacred than the election of legislators or the voting of taxes,—the right of disposing of that which is dearer than property or power, the education of its own children? The tyranny which is founded on the object of preserving peace between the divisions of the Irish people is not less infamous, or less subversive of the conditions which bind the allegiance of subjects, than that which so long maintained the ascendancy of one division over the other. Here we see the negative abstract liberalism of the modern Radical equalling in its intolerant absolutism the execrable system of the older Tories. Again, Mr. Knight says truly enough, "However eager for the application of religious toleration to themselves, the greater number of English Dissenters were ready to make common cause with the Brunswick clubs, who, without the slightest reference to political dangers, clung to the extremest assertion of Protestant supremacy" (p. 233). Yet this does not justify those supporters of the Catholic claims who at that time opposed the repeal of the Test and Corporation Act. They could not then do as Burke had done forty years before, and distinguish between the principles on which the several claims were founded; but they feared the agitation in Ireland, and were more ready to yield to a roused nation than to the teaching of political philosophy.

If Mr. Knight had been more faithful to the conviction that politics involve principles, he would hardly have fallen into the hero-worship with regard to the Duke of Wellington, which he exhibits by saying "how equal he was to the highest statesmanship, with probably the one exception of undervaluing the strength of popular opinion" (p. 229). But his character of the Duke of Wellington, and that of Lord Castlereagh (p. 180), are extremely creditable to his impartiality; and in his description of Macaulay's History, we find the following just criticism, "It required no ordinary amount of energy to turn the young men and maidens who had been nurtured upon Hume, from a sickly sympathy with discrowned Stuarts and plotting Jacobites; to give them, in place of that sugar-candy of history, which sees nothing but the misfortunes of the great, and forgets the wrongs and sufferings of the lowly, some diet fitter for a great free people" (p. 472). In his account of the famous debate on the Irish Coercion Bill in 1833, after describing the speech of Lord Althorp, he says: "Very different in tone was the speech of Mr. Stanley on the same night" (p. 323). He omits, however, the most remarkable incident of that speech, which made Mr. Stanley Secretary of State. Lord Althorp had used his materials as usual without effect, to the great disgust of his colleague. While the debate was going on, Mr. Stanley went into the library and sent a friend for Lord Althorp's box, with the papers and reports which had been so ineffective in his hands. Then, from exactly the same materials, and with the same facts that had been heard earlier in the evening, he made a speech so powerful that one who heard it said the House would have torn O'Connell to pieces if he had bade them. As an instance of the loose patchwork style of composition, we may quote Mr. Knight's version

of Napoleon's well-known saying on the morning of Waterloo: "He exclaimed, 'At last I have them! nine chances to ten are in my favour'" (p. 32): which is as much as to say the odds were ten to nine against him. And the same night, we have the eternal Cambronne, who "threw himself into the ranks of his enemies, and perished" (p. 36). That hero of many fictions lived to a good old age, and died an edifying death in 1842.

45. The idea of describing the public life of Lord Macaulay apart from his literary biography is utterly mistaken; and Mr. Arnold, who has attempted to do it, must have failed from the defect of his design, even if he had been able to show greater qualifications for accomplishing it. For Lord Macaulay's political career is attractive, not as that of a statesman who achieved great things, or pursued a great policy, but as the brilliant expression of the political ideas of one of the clearest, most consistent, and most accomplished thinkers of modern times. The interest resides not in action but in ideas. Those ideas were so splendidly expounded, and acquired, partly through Lord Macaulay's influence, so powerful a grasp of the minds of the present generation, that it would be an enterprise worth undertaking to trace the influences and modifications through which they passed from the time when he left Cambridge to the publication of his article on Pitt. This would require a power of analysis which Mr. Arnold does not appear to possess; but it would also require that Lord Macaulay's literary works should be as carefully examined as his occasional political utterances, and this is excluded by the plan of the present book. Yet, though badly conceived and feebly written, Mr. Arnold's work has some value; for it preserves many letters and speeches called forth by elections, public dinners, and other occasions which generally produce nothing that is remembered; and it contains an ample account of the famous Indian Code, which, though practically a failure and little remembered, contains some of the best efforts of Lord Macaulay's mind. We will give a favourable instance of the author's style: "Virtually our government not only abolished slavery, but abolished labour. A state of things was produced in Jamaica which would not for a day be tolerated in England. In England labour is compulsory: it is compulsory by the whole network of circumstances and framework of society. If an able-bodied man will not work, we commit him to prison, and to an amount of hard labour which it would be hard to distinguish from slavery itself. . . . Some gradual steps ought to have been adopted which should not release the Negro from the necessity of obedience to the divine ordinance of earning his bread by the sweat of his brow" (p. 162). Then we have a sentence about the Irish Established Church as silly as the following: "I would venture to refer to an invaluable little book, *Irish History and Irish Character*, by Professor Goldwin Smith, and to express a hope that the author will endeavour to elucidate this complex subject, and, I trust, arrive at a verdict very different to that pronounced by Mr. Macaulay" (p. 294). If



Mr. Arnold had ever read the little book he recommends, he could hardly fail to know that it was written for the express purpose of inculcating Macaulay's views respecting the Irish Establishment. When he wrote, "I believe that most men will be of opinion that Lord Brougham's speeches are not of so high an order of merit as those by Lord Macaulay" (p. 27), he was probably not aware that Lord Macaulay, who had heard every great speaker since Grattan, considered Lord Brougham the most eloquent man he had ever heard, and would not allow that Mr. Canning, Lord Plunket, or Mr. Gladstone could be compared to him.

Lord Macaulay was by the character of his mind averse to the niceties of political speculation. No theoretic system enslaved him, or made him deaf to the dictates of a manly and sincere good sense. Whilst, therefore, his judgment was very rarely misled, his reasoning was very seldom profound, and he shrank from the depths of disputation with the horror of a practical statesman. Accordingly, his own views on all public questions were free from the exaggerations of absolute liberalism; but he was unable to discern the speculative origin of those errors, or to ascertain the necessary applications of first principles. The nearest, simplest reason appeared to him the best; and he did not care that his argument should strike its roots into a very deep philosophy. Hence he is not always just in describing the doctrines of different parties, nor always consistent in his own relations towards them. For the party to which he belonged has a double pedigree, and traces its descent on the one hand through Fox, Sidney, and Milton to the Roundheads, and on the other through Burke, Somers, and Selden to the old English lawyers. Between these two families there was more matter for civil war than between Cromwell and King Charles. The divergency between any two systems that result in arbitrary power cannot be so great as that between either of them and a system which subjects the sovereign to law; and there were more principles held in common by Falkland and Selden, when one was Secretary of State and the other the colleague of Pym, than by Fox and Burke when they were in office together.

According to one theory, the king as well as the people was subject to the law, and both were bound to prevent or to avenge the breach of the constitution by the other. The laws of the land were not merely a privilege which the people had a right to defend, but the objects of the highest moral sanction, which it was their duty to vindicate. The people could not be justified if they neglected this duty, and they would be guilty of a great crime if they defied or resisted the sovereign except in the case of a violation of the fundamental laws. This was well understood by the old constitutional lawyers. "Our princes are tied up to the law as well as we, and upon an especial account obliged to keep it up in its full force; because if they destroyed the law, they destroyed at the same time themselves, by overthrowing the very foundation of their kingly grandeur and regal power. So that our government not being arbi-

trary but legal, not absolute but political, our princes can never become arbitrary, absolute, or tyrants, without forfeiting at the same time their royal character, by the breach of the essential conditions of their regal power, which are, to act according to the ancient customs and standing laws of the nation" (*Somers Tracts*, x. 263). One of the managers in the trial of Sacheverell said, "The laws are the rule to both, the common measure of the power of the crown, and of the obedience of the subject. . . . There is not only a power in the people who have inherited freedom to assert their own title to it, but they are bound in duty to transmit the same constitution to their posterity also. . . . The subjects of this realm had not only a power and right in themselves to make that resistance, but lay under an indispensable obligation to do it" (*State Trials*, xv. 61).

The men of the other school maintained the contrary principle of the right of every people to choose, and therefore to change, its own rulers. Not only a revolutionary but also an unpopular act on the part of the king might forfeit his crown. The legitimacy of resistance was to be tested not by the laws of the land, but by the consent of the people; and the cause which justified rebellion was not the arbitrary violation of established or unquestioned rights, but opposition to an arbitrary caprice. Macaulay began life, we are told, (p. 21) as a Tory, and was converted by distinguished friends. The Whiggism that prevailed at that time in the society to which he was soon introduced, was the Whiggism of Holland House,—the Foxite school of Lord Grey and Lord Russell. This is the school which he always acknowledged as his own. He would "defend to the last with unabated spirit the noble principles of Milton and Locke" (p. 260). "In their view, the end for which all governments had been instituted was the happiness of society" (*History*, v. 75). Again and again the utilitarian notion of government recurs in his writings, and the writer seems as sincere a believer in the sovereignty of the people as Sidney, or Paine, or Lord Russell. "The Whig theory of government," he says, "is that kings exist for the people, and not the people for kings; that the right of a king is divine in no other sense than that in which the right of a member of parliament is divine, of a judge, of a jurymen, of a mayor, of a headborough is divine" (*History*, iv. 2). It is evident that he never mastered the real point at issue between the Whigs and all other parties; for in all these passages he overlooks the fundamental distinction between sovereignty and authority, and between rights in the sense of power and rights which imply duties. He was not acquainted with the political writings of Plato and Aristotle, in which he would have found more of the Whig doctrine than in the men he delights to quote. But he was guided throughout, and preserved from many errors to which his superficial treatment of principles would have exposed him, by an unswerving admiration for the writings of Burke. It is astonishing that he should never have understood, from the example of his friend Mackintosh, the extent of the chasm which parted the two schools he had not learned to distinguish.

Mackintosh, after having made himself famous as the ablest antagonist of Burke, declared in 1804 that Burke was in every respect the wisest and ablest of human beings, and regretted deeply what he had written against him.

46. A successor of Reid, Brown, and Dugald Stewart might fairly be expected to have a system to draw out and a foundation on which to rest it; but in Professor Wilson's hands the science of moral philosophy lost all scientific method, and his principles, to the end of his life, remained extemporaneous and uncertain. Mr. Alexander Innes, one of his pupils, writes of him: "It is well known that his doctrine was never quite fixed, and he stated publicly to his class at the close of his last session that he had all along been conscious that there was some gap in it;" "his eudæmonism was in fact a sublimed utilitarianism" (vol. ii. p. 47); or, in other words, when all disguise was stripped off, he was found to be in close accord with Bentham. But he would never look his real principles in the face; he "sublimed" them. This is owned by another of his admiring pupils, Mr. William Smith, who says, "The overflowing wealth of poetical reference and illustration, and the somewhat excessive ornamentation of language, were calculated to choke and conceal the systematic philosophy of the lectures; to amuse rather than instruct the students; to deprave rather than chasten and purify their style of composition" (vol. ii. p. 43). He was not, indeed, always proof against reason, for when he studied political economy he became a free-trader. But this is the exception that proves the rule. In general, his life was devoted to making his hearers and readers accept colour instead of correctness, passion instead of argument, heat instead of light. And hence came that fine writing the habit of which he introduced into Scotland, and which consisted merely of a mist of verbiage supposed to be appropriate for all psychological essays, and for every thing connected with morals, politics, or religion.

Wilson was an excellent partisan, and fine writing is an apt partisan accomplishment; but he had the wit to add to it a quality which wonderfully increased its value. He discovered a ready means of generalising, and giving common currency to, the *réputation de salon*, and of interweaving it with his literary works. He invented the art of making himself, not merely an author, but, as it were, the host and entertainer of his readers. The *noctes ambrosianæ* were carouses where all readers were companions, and were made to see, to taste, to handle, and to acknowledge what good fellows the entertainers were,—how muscular, how handsome, how witty, how strong in the head,—what excellent caterers, what adepts in the art of eating, how able and willing to knock down and flay alive any one who justly or unjustly offended them. The later muscular school has taught us didactically the moral and intellectual worth of sinew and brawn: if Wilson did not teach the doctrine, it was because in his case teaching was superfluous. He had only to exhibit himself, and the proof was perfect. He is the father and creator,



rather than the inventor, of muscular literature. It emanated from his brain, or oozed out of his pores, like gum from a plum-tree. He was a new revelation to the world of the inherent wit, goodness, and cleverness of fishing and shooting, of wrestling and boxing, of being six feet high, and able to walk seventy miles a day and to leap seven yards without a run.

Here then was a system of influencing the intellect exactly fitted to the social instincts of Toryism, and correspondingly repulsive to the dry light of Liberalism. And Toryism made good use of its new prize-fighters. In 1817, there was a political division in English society almost as angry as that between Democrats and Abolitionists in America. If Whigs and Tories did not fight, they came very near it. Literature was political; and a man's political opponents were always scoundrels. The *Edinburgh Review* still maintained its supremacy in literature against the *Quarterly*; but its dogmas and opinions, retailed by its admirers, had become insufferably tiresome to the Tories of Scotland. Blackwood in 1817 began a monthly magazine, at first without much idea of opposition, for nothing could be more elaborately commonplace and complaisant than the first six numbers. But with the seventh number, October 1817, a new reign of terror began with a disgraceful attack upon "a most execrable performance of a miserable compound of egotism and malignity," viz. the *Biographia Literaria* of a man well-nigh the greatest of his day. Leigh Hunt too was denounced as a profligate creature without reverence either for God or man. And the famous "Chaldee manuscript" showed the reverent spirit of the new champions of religion in the double-gilt brass of a libel upon every one, wrapped up in an elaborate parody of the language of the Bible. "The sensation produced by the first number was kept up in those that followed. There was hardly a number for many months that did not contain at least one attack upon somebody; and the business was gone about with a systematic determination that showed there was ample store of the same ammunition in reserve. Most people, however virtuous, have a kind of malicious pleasure in seeing others sacrificed, if the process be artistically gone about; and the *Blackwood* tomahawkers were undeniable adepts in the art. Even those who most condemned them showed their appreciation of their performances by reading and talking of them, which was exactly the thing to increase their influence" (vol. i. p. 249). In this work, Wilson was not so great a master as Lockhart; one was known as the Leopard, the other as the Scorpion. Wilson seems more like a great Newfoundland dog that puts a clumsy paw on an unlucky frog, mauls it with blunt teeth, and ends with rolling over it. Lockhart bit like a cat, and never exhibited the good-nature which his riotous and noisy companion always allowed to glimmer through his most outrageous and unprovoked assaults. The point which these two pious revilers were most bent upon correcting in the *Edinburgh Review* was its faith. Their souls were vexed by its "occasional irreligious mockeries" (p. 250, n.); and they rebuked in "most offen-

sive strain" even Chalmers and Playfair for their connection with a publication characterised by what they chose to call infidel principles (p. 281). It is curious to see how self-reliantly a Tory, with hands unwashed and eyes still bleared from the debauch of one of the *noctes*, can proceed at once to extract the mote out of the eye of a brother whom he is charitably determined to correct.

But the club-law and calumnies of *Blackwood* would never have raised it to the eminence which unquestionably belonged to it, without some more powerful attraction. Much of this consisted in the *personality* of the magazine. In the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* the articles were such that any man might have written them; their difference was in their greater or less ability, not in the individuality stamped upon them. But in *Blackwood's Magazine* articles were invested with an individuality which did not really belong to them, by being attributed to one or other of a set of personages, partly real, partly fanciful, who were month by month kept before the public eye in the *Noctes Ambrosianæ*. The allegorical descriptions of the Chaldee manuscript, in the first number of the reformed magazine, gave men to understand that there was a host of mighty creatures in the service of the "man in plain clothes," under the direction of a veiled personage whose name it was lost labour to ask, and whose reality was itself a mystery. Wilson and Lockhart were the chief writers. "The Great Unknown" and "The Man of Feeling," Sir David Brewster and De Quincey, Hogg, Tytler, and Sir William Hamilton, all occasionally lent their aid. Hogg was not only a frequent contributor, but he also got the credit of numberless papers which he had never seen till he read them in print. "This was part of the system of mystification practised in the management, which has never been carried so far in any other publication, and undoubtedly contributed very greatly to its success" (p. 268). Not only were fictitious names signed to the papers, but also names of real persons, some of whom were willing enough to have the credit of the performance, while others were known opponents of the magazine. Such persons occasionally found their names signed to papers which would have been very discreditable to them. The public were shown a caricature of the private life of the chief contributors; they were admitted to the symposia, and heard the table-talk, which was kept up with such roaring vigour as to turn the head, and prevent any one asking whether there was any real wit under the Scotch spelling, or the extravagant names and the titles of the serial articles,—such as "The Cockney School of Poetry," "The Pluckless School of Politics," and "The Gormandising School of Eloquence." Under the excitement of the time, readers used to chuckle over the signatures of Timothy Tickler, the Baron von Lauerwinkel, Dr. Olinthus Petre, T.C.D., Ensign O'Doherty, and Mordecai Mullion. "The variety and mystification thus produced undoubtedly gave great additional zest to the writing; and this apparently multitudinous host of contributors danced about the victims of their satire with a vivacity and gleefulness which the public could not but relish

even when it condemned" (p. 279). Scott, who had no kindness for Blackwood personally, disapproved though he chuckled over the reckless extravagance of juvenile satire which distinguished the magazine (Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, v. 213); but he soon told Wilson that he hoped he had "had enough of certain pranks with his friend Ebony" (ib. p. 369).

It was not the writers in the *Edinburgh Review*—Sydney Smith, Jeffrey, Horner, Scott, Mackintosh, Brougham, and Macaulay—who gave rise to the Edinburgh tradition of coterie criticism; Wilson and *Blackwood's Magazine* are clearly answerable for this. They established a society, the members of which spoke of one another's writings in terms of high praise which was not really intended simply for the writing, but for the man. In Wilson's *Works*, we are continually meeting with paragraphs like the following,—it is to be remembered that he is writing anonymously, or under the pseudonym of Christopher North,—“the owl-moth of Brazil, whose portraiture, James Wilson, the brother of the professor, hath, in his late illustrations of zoology, with pen and pencil so finely visioned” (*Works*, vol. v. p. 131),—or like the following description of the army of contributors: “Not brighter is that Blue Chamber of the Sun than the Parlour where we hold our Parliament. North in the chair, and, unlike that solemn silence in St. Stephen's, a speaker indeed! No rat or radical from rotten borough here—each of us members for a county, Lowland or Highland—the Representatives of Scotland—ay, of England too; for lo! England sends ‘her men, of men the chief,’—Seward of Christchurch, and Buller of Brasenose. And as for Ireland, the green and glorious,—lo! the bold, the dauntless O'Doherty,—the Adjutant good-at-need,—the Ensign, with whom no hope is forlorn,—the Standard-bearer, who plants the staff of joy in the centre of our table; . . . and at every rustle of its folds, Tickler seems to rise in stature, Macrabin to become more and more the grave Covenanter, Mullion's mirth to grow broader, . . . and our Shepherd to shine like a rowan-tree in autumn. . . . Invincibles all! It is, indeed, a bright, a benign, a beautiful little circular world, inhabited but by a few choicest spirits,—some of them—oh! may we dare to hope it?—even on earth immortal! The winged words—some like bees, and some like birds—keep working and lurking, stinging and singing, wherever they alight—yet no pernicious pain in the wound, no cruel enchantment in the strain. . . . Some faint echo of the sounds that then circle round the inner shrine, not unheard by the outward world, makes its heart to burn within it, its nerves to tingle, or haply even brings the dim haze across its eye. The mean and malignant are cowed, &c. The son of genius pining in the shade,—oh! why should genius ever pine beneath the sun, moon, and stars?—feels encouragement breathed into his spirit, and knows that one day or other he shall emerge from the gloom in glory, cheered by the cordial strain of us kindred spirits, who one and all will take him by the hand, &c. &c.” (*Works*, v. pp. 203, 204).

This is the sort of writing which readers of *Blackwood*, in 1826,



accepted as prose-poetry, and the puff which they believed in as if it were a certificate of merit or a doctor's diploma. It is a very fair specimen of the volumes of nonsense which Wilson scribbled off, and which some people still seem to think deserving the name of wit. But it has its value. It serves for a type of genuine Tory literature, worked out with perfect consistency, and manifesting in equal proportions its strength and its weakness, its rhetorical and emotional vigour, and its intellectual and logical feebleness. Never was Toryism more perfectly exhibited than in *Blackwood's Magazine*, except perhaps in *John Bull*. The *Age*, the *Beacon*, and the *Satirist* never attained sufficient power. The conception of the *Quarterly Review* was not so pure. There were principles at stake when it was founded. The *Edinburgh Review* had attached itself to those of the new Whigs of Fox's school, and was passing all bounds in its policy of peace at any price, and in its discouragement of the Peninsular War. In opposition to these mistakes, the *Quarterly* had a real basis to set up; and Scott was enabled to say that it was founded on principles. But Wilson and his colleagues set themselves to combat, not principles, but the men who upheld them. They were satirists, not critics. Criticism sees no man in monochrome; it analyses him, weighs his conflicting elements, and approves or disapproves, with allowances and drawbacks. Satire, on the contrary, recognises nothing in its objects but unmixed masses of evil and corruption; and hence it is the genuine expression of emotional politics. To those who cannot understand rational principles, but take their part according to the impulse of the moment, nothing is more disgusting than the inflexible rigidity of a man who acts on principles, and nothing more welcome than a practical proof that he sometimes forgets his principles and acts inconsistently. They can laugh at all kinds of escapades which can be attributed to fun, or caprice, or youth, or ignorance, or even to indignation, or other kinds of passion; but they will say anathema to a course of action, if they are convinced that it is pursued on theory, that it depends on principles thoughtfully embraced and firmly held. The typical Tories of the *Noctes Ambrosianæ* rarely failed in their respect for the weaknesses of humanity: it was only at the shrine of reason and truth that their knees were never bent, and their tribute never paid.

47. By a very impartial criticism of the budgets introduced by Mr. Gladstone, Sir G. C. Lewis, and Mr. Disraeli, the book in which Sir Stafford Northcote proves his claims to be the finance minister of his party, describes the parallel progress during twenty years of free trade, and of the income tax as a permanent source of revenue. Avoiding the political questions involved in direct taxation, the author deals with his subject only in its financial aspects. The enquiry in his hands turns on the merits of simplicity in taxation, and he begins with the argument of Sir Robert Peel in 1842. "Another system of taxation might be proved by reason *à priori* to be better than the present; but the present being established, and the habits

and occupations of the people having accommodated themselves to it, it might, though abstractedly less perfect, be on the whole preferable to any substitute" (p. 28). In 1842 the income tax was only a means to enable the minister to reduce duties. But when in 1845 the principle of absolutely repealing instead of reducing began to be introduced, Sir Stafford Northcote thinks that Sir Robert Peel's opinion of its merits was undergoing an unconscious change. "Not that in 1845, any more than in 1842, Sir Robert Peel intended to impose the income tax as a permanent tax, or contemplated its becoming such in time of peace; but he had become a little blinder to its faults, a little kinder to its merits, and, above all, a little more alive to the magnitude of the work that might be done by its aid" (p. 70). Looking back from the year 1848, Sir Stafford Northcote says: "Whether the consciousness that such a support was available had tended to encourage our financiers to indulge in a more extensive abandonment of other sources of taxation, and a greater liberality of expenditure than was upon the whole desirable, is a question which every one must consider and answer for himself, and which lies at the root of most of the financial questions of the present day" (p. 104). Coming down to a time three years later, he says: "There can be no doubt that the budget of 1851-52, and the argument by which that budget was supported, showed a greater disposition than any Chancellor of the Exchequer had yet manifested to substitute direct taxes on property for a considerable portion of the indirect taxes on consumption" (p. 149). He is very hard on Mr Disraeli's budget of 1852, which "presented too many assailable points to have much chance of being adopted." Mr. Disraeli's theory of taxation was, that "the greater the number, and the more various the means of supply, the easier would be the task of raising a larger amount of revenue. . . . Direct taxation founded on extensive exemptions was, as he said, only another phrase for confiscation" (pp. 167, 176). Mr. Gladstone, in that speech which, as our author says, "changed the convictions of a large part of the nation, and turned, at least for several years, a current of popular opinion which had seemed too powerful for any minister to resist," laid down the very opposite principle, "namely, that of levying our revenue upon the fewest possible number of articles" (p. 217). The issue is, however, between Sir G. C. Lewis and Mr. Gladstone, rather than between the latter and Mr. Disraeli. In bringing forward the budget of 1857, Sir G. C. Lewis proceeded to run a tilt against the doctrine of simplification which had for so many years been admitted to a place of honour in the fiscal creed of the country." After quoting the words of Arthur Young, "that simplicity of taxation is the greatest additional weight that can be given to taxes, and ought in every country to be most sedulously avoided,"—"That opinion, said Sir George Lewis, though contrary to much that we hear at the present day, seems to me to be full of wisdom, and to be a most useful practical guide in the arrangement of a system of taxation" (p. 309). As the number of articles subject to duty was reduced in eighteen years from 1163 to 48, it is

clear who is the winner in this great dispute; but it is not certain that the two principles entirely exclude each other.

Taxation ought, as far as possible, to be permanent and unchangeable, and levied therefore on the most enduring and least fluctuating sources of income. For it requires time before the burden of a tax becomes distributed over those objects on which it does not directly fall. The direct source from which taxes are obtained is profits and income. Whatever tends to encourage the increase of profits and income adds to the resources of the state. All those taxes, therefore, which interfere with the growth of wealth and the operations of trade, such as customs and excise, ought as much as possible to be reduced. Here the ruling principle is simplicity. But where the tax does not hamper business or check the course of money-making, then the argument of Young is sound, and the principle of equality in the distribution of the taxes takes its place; and equality in the burden is obtained by multiplicity in the taxes. It is a defect in Sir Stafford Northcote's work that he does not explain these properties of taxation, and consequently gives a one-sided view of the financial system which has achieved such triumphs since 1845.

48. In his work on the comparative resources of the states of Europe, which has appeared in French and German, Dr. Block remembers that beet-root sugar was discovered by a German, but first made by a Frenchman; and he exclaims: "How many great things might be effected by a close alliance between France and Germany!" Dr. Block is himself an instance of the efficacy of this combination. His numerous statistical works are remarkable, because they unite the qualities of German industry with a sprightliness peculiar to France, and very unusual in the branch of literature which he cultivates. Whilst the preparation of his materials is obviously a work of extraordinary labour and accuracy, it appears as if actual composition was an agreeable relaxation to him. His *Comparative Resources*—a book in which the most authentic information is collected, in order to illustrate the most formidable questions—is enlivened with a playful wit which regards human weakness in the cheerful spirit of Democritus. The writer is too well informed, as well as too impartial, to be subject to national antipathies and prejudices, and he has for every country a little compliment or a quiet joke. His wide sympathies, and his freedom from the passions either of interest or of theory, give him a place apart from the generality of French economists. Neither the theory of national unity nor that of natural frontiers deludes his good sense. "Earth and water," he tells us, "are distinguished from each other by such marked differences, that they are considered, by the people, opposite elements. Hence rivers are preferred for frontiers, although inaccessible mountains constitute more real separations" (p. 9). Speaking of Garibaldi's demand for a million bayonets, he says: "Let us hope, for the sake of the general peace, that the million will be some time in making" (p. 39). Alluding to the treatment of the



Jews at Warsaw and at Prague, he says: "It would be easy to show that the national movement contains a strong alloy of barbarism" (p. 24). This absence of enthusiasm is invaluable in a writer who pursues chiefly the most obscure and difficult science of comparative statistics; for infinitely greater care is required in comparisons than in common statistics, not to connect things dissimilar, and to consider all influencing conditions.

Dr. Block disputes the opinion that the increase of population is parallel with that of comfort: "Science has so far succeeded only in showing that wealth and poverty may act with equal force as impediments to increase. One seems to act by the diminution of births, the other by the increase of deaths" (p. 16). Now it is not the amount of present wealth, but the security for the future, that multiplies families. Even wealth, when it is fixed and ceases to increase, becomes a conservative, not a progressive, influence, and checks population instead of encouraging it. But when there is a regular settled tendency to increase, when progress is the rule in property, there will be progress in numbers. This progress will indeed exhibit itself in the table of births; and, as Dr. Block says, the strength of a state depends on the number of grown men, and not on that of babies. He is in favour of large states, as a security for peace, and because they promote material progress; but we cannot entirely agree with the following passage: "Both large and small states have had their missions, it is true; small states, of preserving morality, and perhaps also civil and political liberty; the large, of favouring the cultivation of the mind and material improvement" (p. 23). The intellectual progress of the world is not the work of great states, but of the very smallest. The little principalities and municipal republics of Italy did more than the whole Spanish monarchy; and in Germany the number of universities, solely a consequence of the number of states, is the chief cause of the immense intellectual activity. It is the number of centres, not the extent of circumference, that promotes knowledge. The comparison between Switzerland, or the petty German states, and Russia or Spain may seem unjust, because of political or ethnological differences. But compare France and Austria without the two capitals. In France, every thing is centred in Paris, and nothing is done elsewhere. But in Austria there are other centres—such as Pesth and Prague, with great schools and homes of learning; and the balance is as decidedly in favour of the Austrian provinces against the French, as it is in favour of the French capital against the Austrian. In general, however, the remarks of the author are as just as his facts are true. "We hear of an Irish, a Polish, a Czech party, a Catholic party, and a Protestant party, all equally anti-political, and, let us add, without offence, equally unpatriotic. *Political* parties alone have a right to exist" (p. 27). Although this is perfectly true, it needs explanation. Every legitimate interest may form the basis of a party, inasmuch as it adopts as its standard that political principle with which it corresponds. Free

states differ from despotisms and revolutionary democracies in this, that their political life is a conflict of reason for the establishment of rights ; whilst in the others, as in savage life, it is a conflict of forces for the acquisition of power. Alliances may be made between interests which are entirely distinct and remote from each other, on the basis of a common principle, and this we call party ; whilst combinations in which interest alone appears, which are therefore incapable of durable alliances, or are dissolved by success, are essentially factions, and belong to the uncivilised regions of brute force and arbitrary power.

49. Professor Thonissen of Louvain, whose excellent history of the reign of Leopold I. has just appeared in a second edition, has supplemented the history of the king by that of one of the most eminent of his subjects. The Count Félix de Mérode, who was for a moment a competitor in popular favour for the throne of Belgium, is a man whose life deserves to be studied, because, uniting great talents with great virtues, he exhibited, perhaps more completely than any statesman of his time, the character of a Catholic liberal. His mind, original and independent rather than profound, was not free from paradox ; and though distinguished for both tolerance and generosity, he was somewhat irritable in temper, and sometimes impracticable in counsel. But the elevation and sincerity of his character, his wise moderation, and his extensive knowledge, gave him the most honoured place in the esteem of his countrymen ; and the manner in which he bore himself in a great crisis of history, and his mode of dealing with the most difficult problems of our age, make him worthy to be more widely remembered.

The union of the Christian spirit with a reverence for the authority of public right was a tradition in his family. His father held a high diplomatic appointment when Joseph II. invaded the liberty of Brabant. He threw himself into the insurrectionary movement, but with so little of the spirit of disloyalty or revolution, that he gave 40,000 florins to aid the Emperor Leopold in the war against France. Count Felix led a retired and studious life in France until he was nearly forty years of age ; and he appears to have been early under the influence of the Baron d'Eckstein, the first Catholic who endeavoured to reconcile the Church with the political and intellectual progress of the nineteenth century. In a pamphlet on the Jesuits and the *Charte*, published in 1828, he lays down the characteristic ideas of his later career. "Let us not be liberal for ourselves only, or by halves, and we shall gain many proselytes whom at this day we think it impossible to make our own. Abuse, bad faith, violence, proscription, philosophic intolerance, can no more serve liberty than intrigues, police, gendarmes, the Inquisition, and the censorship, can usefully protect religion. . . . Show rather to the clergy the advantage they might derive from social institutions that would protect the rights and the welfare of all. . . . A work entitled *The Advantage of Free Governments for the Catholic Church* would be the most

useful for the present day" (p. 41). As he said in one of his earliest public speeches, he "wished for the diffusion of those grand ideas of toleration destined to spread over the universe in spite of the apostolic fanatics of Spain and Portugal, and of the Anglican or Voltairian fanatics of Great Britain and France" (p. 40).

With these principles, Count Félix de Mérode naturally assumed towards the government of the Netherlands a position similar to that of his father against the Josephine system. He joined in the revolution of 1830, in order that the law might be preserved by the deposition of the king; but he desired that the course of the movement might be as legal as its aim. The object of popular anger and distrust was the despotic character of the king, and the preference given to the people and the religion of Holland. The union might have been severed, and the national and religious liberties secured, without changing the dynasty. The independence of Belgium might have been established without a single arbitrary or revolutionary act, by giving the crown to the Prince of Orange. The king himself saw nothing but faction in the resistance of the Belgians. He declared that he could govern without ministers, that he could put his grooms in their place, that he alone constituted the government. With these despotic notions, he deemed himself justified in identifying himself with the ascendancy of two millions of Dutch over four millions of Belgians, and of a million and a half of Calvinists over four millions and a half of Catholics. Against him, therefore, the Catholics and the liberals, the friends of positive liberties and the partisans of abstract indefinite freedom, were agreed. But the Provisional Government, though so far united, was divided into conservative and revolutionary opinions. The former, and Count de Mérode at their head, considered the Provisional Government justified only in necessary acts, and insisted that it could not change the condition, but only secure the independence, of Belgium. The party of M. de Potter wished for a republic, whilst others looked about them for a new king. The only point in which the Count de Mérode departed from his strictly legal course was in suddenly abandoning the claim of the House of Orange to the crown of the new kingdom. Having in August and September declared himself the loyal subject of that house, in November he voted for its perpetual exclusion. This was due to the popular fury which had been excited by the bombardment of Antwerp. The exclusion was carried by 161 to 28 votes; but it may be doubted whether the count's vote on this occasion was not the greatest error of his public life.

He ardently supported the choice of Prince Leopold. One of his Catholic colleagues having protested against the election of a Lutheran king, he replied, "Unfortunately for the views of certain Catholic theorists, whoever is elected will be obliged to swear fidelity to the constitution, of which the most precious security, in the eyes of the immense majority of Belgian Catholics, is precisely the suppression of all those special relations of the Church with the civil administration, which protects and sustains the faith only by exacting, sooner or



later, too high a price for the material assistance which it gives" (p. 161). Fourteen years later he displayed the same love of freedom in reply to M. Thiers and the Bishop of Langres. M. Thiers had said that the Belgic revolution had led to the political domination of the clergy. "If that assertion were true," replied Count de Mérode, "I could only feel a profound regret for the part I took in the revolution of which the independence of Belgium is the result, since the deliverance from the Dutch yoke would be transformed, for our provinces, into a political servitude under the spiritual power: for that servitude has always appeared to me the most fatal thing, the greatest peril of perversion, to which modern nations can be exposed." Monseigneur Parisi, having affirmed that a state must be atheistic which protects the liberty of religious belief, elicited the following answer: "If the state, according to the fundamental institutions of France and Belgium, adopts no particular religion, this rule has been admitted in order to protect the full exercise of worship, not to destroy it. . . . How can we deny the existence of the Divinity, when special care is taken to secure the celebration of divine service exercised freely and from conviction? Is the serious religion of a people in the order of official ceremonies, or in the piety that is in their hearts? A government which attempts to destroy this piety is atheistic, even if it has an ostensible worship" (p. 282).

On the eve of the revolution of February, the Count de Mérode addressed a letter to the Pope, exhorting him to abolish the censorship and establish a free press, which he proposed to qualify by reserving one-fourth of the space in every journal for articles to be supplied by government. The expedient was impracticable; but nevertheless the arguments used in this remarkable paper are perfectly sound. "There are but two remedies for the evils of journalism, censorship and true publicity. The first has become decrepit; the people will no longer accept it. Wherever old institutions are crumbling, where absolute power is compelled to grant rights and securities to the nations, it becomes impossible to fetter thought disseminated by the press. . . . But if a hostile journalism rejects a censorship exercised efficaciously in the name of religion and morality, it is in still greater fear of true publicity. . . . And what government is more capable than your own, Holy Father, of defending itself by publicity?" (p. 288).

50. Herr von Reumont has spent so many years at Florence, as Prussian minister, that he has become an excellent writer of Italian, an authority upon Italian history, on which he has published nearly twenty volumes, and an intimate friend of the most eminent statesmen and authors of the country. He delights in episodes, and, with the exception of his Florentine annals, all his writings turn on personal or secondary events, such as the censure of Galileo, the agitation of Sarpi against the Holy See, the Countess of Albany, or the Cenci. Though he shows himself always master of his subject, he writes like

one to whom writing is a pastime, with an easy negligence that betrays little literary ambition. His latest publication contains sketches of some of his contemporaries; and a whole volume is dedicated to the life of Cesare Balbo, whom he justly terms the noblest figure among the Italian reformers of his time.

Balbo did not escape in his youth the influence of the frivolous and infidel spirit of the age of Alfieri. He was converted from it; and the germ of his later opinions was laid by Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme*—a work the success of which is a decisive measure of the intellectual condition of the period in which it was admired. He was at Rome when Pius VII. was carried into captivity, and he bore witness after forty years to the effect of that spectacle on his mind. "It is forty years," he said in the parliament in 1849, "since I had the misfortune and incurred the guilt of taking part in the destruction of the temporal power of another great pope—Pius VII. . . . The example of civil courage which stood alone in Italy at that time, of resistance, protest, and refusal to recognise or yield, on the side of the Pope, the cardinals, the prelates, and the clergy, which was so little esteemed in those days—this example it was, I say, that revealed to me the vitality of that institution which was supposed to be declining. It planted the germ of those papal opinions with which I am so often reproached, but in which I am more confirmed the more I consider the question" (i. 307). He was not violently hostile to the French domination in Italy, although, soon after its fall, he projected a work which was to show that Italy was always unhappy under foreign rule, and that the first of all duties was to overthrow it. This is the political idea that inspired his most popular work, the *Compendium of Italian History*. But his patriotism was deeply influenced by two other elements besides the love of independence,—a spirit of elevated morality and devotion to the Church. "In no age and in no situation can independence be gained by the resources of Machiavellistic policy, not even by that artifice, duplicity, and dissimulation which is its least objectionable part. A nation cannot conquer and preserve its freedom by falsehood and deceit, the vice of tyrants and of slaves. The enterprise of achieving freedom requires, above all, universal consent; but universal consent, thanks to the divine element in human nature, can never be obtained without upright, outspoken, open, and even rude virtue" (i. 221). Balbo was even more widely removed from the authors of Italian unity by his religion than by his sense of honour. "His programme," says his biographer, "was always the same: the political independence of Italy combined with the greatness of the Church" (i. 7). Further: he was deeply read in history, and he studied the conditions of the freedom of his country in the experience of past times. "The character of the inhabitants," he wrote, "corresponds with the nature of the different districts, and the several parts, from Piedmont to Sicily, are perhaps more widely different than London and Paris. . . . Not the dividing, but the grouping of Italy in several distinct states is so natural, that it occurs in the earliest times, and has been repeated constantly in

later ages. And it would be repeated, in my opinion, once more, if force or accident should again convert the whole peninsula into one uniform state" (i. 222). Hence Balbo became the apostle of confederation, as the only security for Italian independence consistent with the laws of political morality, with the liberty of the Church, and with the teaching of history.

He was too earnest a lover of freedom to be acceptable to the Italian conservatives. He speaks as follows of his mission to Gaëta: "I endeavoured to induce Pius IX. and his ministers to do as we have done, and remain faithful to the constitution which has been conceded. We did not flatter ourselves with hopes of success; but at least it was an honourable protest of a government and a king who will not deviate from that course to which may God one day bring back the others" (i. 311). Yet he was eminently unpopular, especially after his alliance with Count Revel; and in his hatred of revolution he seems to have invested legitimacy with some of the virtues of legality. "Fear and love are the two instruments of governing—the first for the new, the other for the old legitimate princes. New sovereigns, if they would be loved, must pay for it: Napoleon learnt what purchased love is worth. How many were faithful to him in his repeated fall? If a legitimate sovereign had possessed but half the renown that belonged to him even at Fontainebleau, some would have abandoned, but assuredly not all would have deserted him. . . . That was not the fate of the Bourbons, or the Stuarts, even the most feeble among them. All the errors and the crimes of Napoleon sprang from the want of legitimacy,—even his persecution of the Pope, both a crime and an error. Illegitimate and an intruder, he was necessarily an enemy of the most ancient and legitimate of authorities—the Church" (i. 52). The career of a statesman who believed that objects desirable in themselves might not be attained by criminal means could not prosper under Victor Emanuel II.; and Balbo's writings have been thrust out of sight by the works of Ferrari and Lafarina, almost as completely as his politics by the administration of Cavour and the Unionists who have succeeded him. His ideas will be revived when the revolutionary crisis is over; for they are the only basis of a permanent settlement which overlooks neither national rights, like the Treaty of Vienna, nor national duties, like the policy of annexation.

51. A Frenchwoman whose life was passed obscurely in Languedoc, with few books and without adventure, who never gained or sought distinction either in literature or in society, and whose journal nevertheless attracts the reader with a rich and powerful interest, cannot have had a mind of common mould. Mlle. Eugénie de Guérin is known to the world only through the reputation of her brother, to whom she was warmly attached, and whose more cultivated mind was exclusively influenced by her deeper and stronger nature. Her affection for him is the strongest sentiment which the pages now published reveal. They consist of certain fragments and



letters, chiefly of a journal which she kept for her brother to read after he had established himself in Paris. Maurice de Guérin was at one time estranged from the faith by the influence of Lamennais. He married, and died soon after, in the year 1839. These are the outward events which, reflected in the pious and loving heart of his sister, give life and movement to her diary. Its merit lies in the singular strength and earnestness of her mind, in a simple piety which tinges all her thoughts, and in a clearness of expression which is often admirable, and never sinks into monotony, affectation, or commonplace.

The books she read were few, but of the best kind, and prevented her from dwelling anxiously and exclusively on her own feelings. Her favourites were St. Francis of Sales and St. Theresa, Bossuet, Fénelon, and Pascal. She thus describes the result of her first acquaintance with other works than books of piety. "Judge what must have been the effect of these serious studies, and how profoundly they opened my mind. Thenceforward I had another idea of things: I received a sort of revelation of the world, of God, of every thing. It was a happiness, and a surprise like that of the chicken bursting its shell. And what charmed me above all is, that my faith, nourished with all these great things, became vigorous and strong" (p. 167). Seven years are embraced by the journal, from 1834 to 1840, and some fragments are of a later date. The horizon becomes gradually wider; new subjects occupy the thoughts of the writer, and her judgment is more matured. There is a wide gulf of reflection and experience between the last extract and the next. "Illusions of esteem, love, and confidence—what a sorrow, oh, my God! and how much it costs to know mankind so well! How often I would wish to ignore the treacherous side of human nature which is exposed on each occasion! No beauty without ugliness, no virtue without its accompanying vice, no self-devotion, no affection, no elevated feelings, without a gross alloy; no unmixed admiration is left to me, even in the order of holiness. . . . This misfortune has happened to me more than once, and it is teaching me to esteem and to love perfectly only the perfection of God" (p. 434). One of the most characteristic passages is the following: "Among women, friendship is a plant of rapid growth. A single agreeable quality, a word, a nothing, is enough for an attachment; but they are commonly links of thread, so that people say there is no friendship among women. I know not; one may feel attached for a day or two, more or less, and yet perfectly:—ephemeral affection, which I have always dreaded for myself and for my friends. Nothing is more painful than to have something dead in one's heart, to make one's heart a grave" (p. 177).

A settled and increasing melancholy, which the conduct and then the death of her brother heightened almost to despair, was natural to her from a very early period. It mingles every where with her religion. "What is it that I seek in creatures, to make my pillow of a human breast? Alas! I have seen how death takes it from us. Rather let me lean, Jesus, on Thy crown of thorns. St. Augustine's feast to-day,

that saint who wept so heartily for the friend he had lost, and for having loved God so late. May I not have those two regrets! Oh, let me not feel that double-edged sorrow which could pierce my soul to death! To die without love is to die in hell. Divine love alone real; the others are but shadows" (p. 287). "Tears alone oblige us to believe in immortality" (p. 297). "Nothing in separation is so oppressive as silence. It is death anticipated" (p. 273). When she reads a book of geology, the fossils teach her the same lesson of death. "Wrecks of humanity, known to God alone, of which He has hidden the relics in the depths of the earth, as if to hide them from our curiosity. If He allows us to see something of them, it is to teach us that the earth is an abyss of sorrow, and that all we gain by disturbing its entrails is to discover epitaphs and tombs" (p. 272). In her misery after her brother's death, she composed a litany of distress, commemorating the sorrows of our Lord. This profound melancholy, joined to the want of interest in her joyless and secluded life, explains her occasional complaints of ennui, which would otherwise seem unnatural in so pious, so contemplative, and so interior a spirit.

Only once in this volume we find her peaceful thoughts overshadowed by the controversies of the day. Her gentleness and affectionate tolerance for her brother's opinions never desert her; but once she raises her voice to protest against the doctrines of Lamennais. The early Christians, she said, had suffered persecution without resistance; by what right, then, did Poland take up arms? Surely God and liberty were understood by the martyrs quite as well as by Lamennais. When she began to read the literature of her times, her taste was so thoroughly formed that she could understand its beauties in spite of her unworldly and sensitive habits. On reading Victor Hugo, she exclaims: "What a man! he is divine, he is infernal, he is wise, he is mad, he is the people, he is the king, he is man, woman, painter, poet, sculptor, every thing. He has seen all things, done all things, felt all things. He surprises, repels, and enchants me" (p. 228). There is a little malice in the criticism on Custine's book on Spain. "I like M. de Custine, who amuses me, although he is sometimes rather lengthy; but it is like the lengthiness of a ball" (p. 295).

One idea underlies every page of the diary—the hope of converting her brother. She uses neither complaints, arguments, nor exhortations, but relies on the constant presence of her own faith and piety, which the journal kept before him, to effect his conversion. "Whence, indeed, can come, except from above, all the tender, lofty, sweet, true, pure things that fill my heart whenever I speak to you?" (p. 78.) She obtained at last the consolation for which she prayed, but only at her brother's death; and the old sorrow gave way to one that could never be healed in this life.

52. The revised edition of Michaud's *Biographie Universelle* and the rival Dictionary of Didot continue to appear side by side, and

have both arrived at the letter P. Much has been done by the editors of the former work to bring it to the level of the present time, by the insertion of new and very elaborate articles, whilst the old are left pretty much as they were. It will remain always valuable as a contemporary monument of the generation in which it first appeared; for it contains quantities of information respecting the men of the Revolution and the Empire derived from private sources. The General Biography of Didot displays the character of a totally different period. It is more scientific than literary, has great pretensions to accurate learning, occupies itself largely with remote ages, and is less specifically French. The display of authorities at the end of each article is so imperfect as to mislead more than it assists the reader. For instance, out of fifteen lives of Pius V. only three are named, and they are not the three best; Gifford is not cited among the biographers of Pitt; at the end of a very elaborate notice of Plato, not a single work that has appeared within the last twenty years is mentioned. Ritschl's edition of Plautus, the pride of German philology, and Sillig's edition of Pliny, are not spoken of; in the article on Pliny, a book is referred to which the writer cannot have seen, and he knows nothing of the important fragment of the Natural History discovered a few years ago by Mone. On the other hand, some articles, such as that on Pedro the Cruel, contain a list of authorities which is very carefully compiled.

The religious tone of the work is simply that of hostility to Catholicism. In the article on Plato we read, "A mesure que l'Eglise, dans les siècles subséquents, s'écarte de l'esprit de l'évangile, ses sympathies pour le Platonisme s'affaiblissent" (p. 451). In that on Pius V. it is stated, "Suivant des documents tirés des archives de l'Espagne et des papiers de Philippe II, Pie V n'aurait pas été étranger à des projets formés contre la vie de la reine Elisabeth" (p. 105). This can refer only to the project of assassination which was entertained at Madrid, and of which Mignet gives ample details (*Histoire de Marie Stuart*, ii. 145). There is not only no evidence, but no hint or suggestion, that the Pope was privy to the design. It is clear that many of the writers are as likely to be wrong voluntarily as from ignorance or neglect. Many articles, however, are really excellent, and contain original research or new information. Among the ancients, we would point out those on Plotinus, Polybius, and Plutarch; and of the moderns, Marco Polo, Melchior de Polignac, and Piron. Lovers of art will be interested to know, that 155 letters of Poussin are soon to be published by M. de Chennevières. Many readers will learn in this volume for the first time, that an illustrious patriot has borne the ignoble name of Pot, and delivered speeches in the States-General of 1484, which have a striking likeness to those of Pym in 1641. There is a discriminating vindication of Porson from the charge of intemperance, which betrays—it must be confessed—a slight political bias: "It must not be forgotten, that statesmen and eminent persons of the Tory party did not blush to be seen under the influence of wine; and if Porson was bitterly reproached with a fault which was



not habitual with him, it is chiefly on account of his independent principles" (p. 838).

53. The revelations of M. Canler, the former chief of the Paris detectives, cannot have been of much use to thieves, for they betray but few of the tricks of the trade; and, among his numerous stories of dexterity, there is hardly one that shows extraordinary ingenuity or presence of mind. The real interest of the book, and the offence committed by the author, consist in the light he throws on the artifices of the political police, and the mode in which its work interfered with the prevention of ordinary crime. He protests vigorously against the encroachments of the state interests on the machinery for the protection of private property, and some of his remarks possess real political importance.

After the murder of the Duke of Berri, the attention of the French administration was concentrated on political conspiracies, and the regular police was weakened. Instead of two chief officers and eight inspectors for three *arrondissements*, there remained only one officer and six inspectors. The others were transferred to the political department, "and the liberals lost in freedom what the thieves gained in impunity" (p. 23). The funds allotted for the preservation of the peace were diverted from their professed destination, in order to be spent on the increased force of the secret police (p. 32). Whilst the office of the regular police force is to prevent crime, the agents of a suspicious government are employed in promoting it. Their object is to bring to light the secret thoughts of men, to provoke manifestations of discontent, in order that the government may know who are its enemies, and may be able to watch or, if necessary, to disarm them. The confusion of these two services, which inevitably happens where the numbers employed are very large, corrupts and demoralises the operations of the ordinary police, accustoms it to provide occasions for criminal enterprises, and to deceive and mislead the evil-disposed, instead of restraining them by fear. When the police engage in an insidious complicity with rogues, a real complicity soon follows; and those who practise deceit on behalf of the government come to practise it on their own. Under the Restoration, it was deemed of consequence to ascertain the extent of Bonapartist feeling in the south. Agents were accordingly sent, disguised as pedlars, to dispose of images and busts of the royal personages. But at the bottom of their pack they carried prints and statues of the emperor, which they offered secretly (p. 39). At the same period there were agents who extorted hush-money to such an extent, that Canler declares there were some who in six or seven years made 16,000*l.* and even 24,000*l.* (p. 37). He does not speak more favourably of later governments. When Blanqui was arrested in 1848, the prefect of police was obliged to have recourse to the ordinary police agents. The members of the political service were not to be trusted; and they could not act with the others, because they had been, for the most part, arrested by them before the Revolution

(p. 312). In the insurrection of June, Canler was deserted by nine of his subordinates, who joined the insurgents. He ends his memoirs with a criticism on the system which has prevailed since his time, and which showed its incapacity at the time of the attempt of Orsini. The simplest precautions, *l'alphabet vulgaire du métier*, would have effectively prevented that crime. He thinks the ostentation of a ubiquitous police, the custom of the military empire which places them as conspicuously as possible, is chiefly to blame. It is supposed to belong to a well-regulated system, that the police should line the passage of the emperor, and stand between him and the people. But, in order to watch the crowd, the front is the very place they must avoid (p. 441).

54. Since the appearance of Mr. Neale's work, though without any knowledge of it, a young divine of the Jansenist school of Utrecht has written, for his doctor's degree, a history of the remarkable community of which he is a member. The school is so silent in the world of letters, that it is interesting to learn something about its position and ideas from one of its members. Its publications have been generally nothing but protests against the repeated censures of the Holy See. Dr. Gerth van Wijk, who has been educated by the Protestant faculty of the University of Utrecht, writes chiefly, as it appears, to correct Protestant views with regard to his party. His book has been printed three years; but has, we believe, only lately come into circulation.

The favour with which the school is looked on by Protestants, who suppose that it approaches their own system, is founded, says our author, on erroneous impressions. Its members reject the principles of the Reformation; they hold salvation to be impossible except in communion with Rome: *unitatem etiam externam cum Ecclesia Romano-Catholica prorsus necessariam æstimans ad salutem æternam*; and, *etsi multo melius quam cæteri Romano-Catholici judicent de Sacræ Scripturæ lectione*, they do not entrust the Bible to the hands of the faithful, except in authorised editions and with an approved commentary. They are not Jansenists, they say, since Jansenism is a question of faith and morals, whilst their cause is a question of canon law. Nevertheless, on those points on which the older Jansenists and the Gallicans differed from the received teaching of the Church, and especially where those parties agree with each other, the clergy of Utrecht agree with them. But they represent their real dispute with the Holy See to be in their denial that the Church of Utrecht was subverted by the Reformation. *Clerus Trajectinus sibi perduratiorem postulat eorundem jurium ac privilegiorum quibus ante Reformationem fructus erat* (p. 11). They particularly insist that they do not derive their origin from Jansenism, but are the continuation of the old medieval hierarchy. The restoration of the hierarchy, therefore, put an end to the prospect of reconciliation, and they petitioned the king against its admission; but the king acknowledged their bishops, and those who were appointed by the Holy See, at the same

time (p. 173). A new occasion of asserting their opposition to the idea of development in doctrine, and to the opinions which had been defended by their old adversaries the Jesuits, arose in 1854. Their three prelates published a pastoral against the dogma which was proclaimed in that year, as contrary to the immutability of the Church—*Documentum apertum appellarant fallibilitatis papalis*.

These events, says our author, obtained for the party many new friends; but he deems it prudent to conceal the names of those who accepted communion with them as soon as they had definitely renounced an article of Catholic faith. Their whole number amounts to about five thousand souls, in twenty-five parishes in the dioceses of Utrecht and Haarlem. They profess to have many secret adherents in the Church—*etiam ipsi Romæ Cardinales communionem ostenderunt* (p. 169). But the prelate whom our author calls Archbishop of Salzburg, and claims as one of their allies, never occupied that see, and in all probability never entertained the views attributed to him. The tone of this book is perfectly moderate, but not sanguine or hopeful. Living in an atmosphere of Calvinism, nourished by the Protestant theology of Holland, and too few in number to exercise an intellectual influence, the Utrecht Jansenists have nothing but the vitality of the sectarian spirit to sustain them. Dr. Gerth van Wijk acknowledges that the possibility of their claims being admitted was destroyed by the establishment of the hierarchy; and since their rejection of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, even the outward pretence of dogmatic agreement is at an end. The want of familiarity with the Catholic system and the canon law is apparent in the book before us; and the natural course of things will be, that the sect will be absorbed by one of the parties in the disorganised Protestantism of the Netherlands.

55. When Southey was rejoicing, more than thirty years ago, in the progress and apparent success of that movement which had wiped off from English Protestantism the reproach of being indifferent to the spread of Christianity among the heathen, his thoughts turned back to the unsatisfied claims of the poor and suffering classes at home, and he added the expression of a wish, that "thirty years hence another reproach may also be effaced, and England may have its Sisters of Charity." A very few years passed by before the theological school which was destined to give form and reality to his aspiration rose into importance; and long before the time he had fixed for the commencement of the new institution, experiments had been made in it on a considerable scale, and with very decisive results. The Tractarian Sisterhoods have, in most cases, conferred on the population around them a benefit as unquestionable as the spirit of self-sacrifice from which they have sprung. But their usefulness has been greatly impaired by the hostility they have had to encounter, and that hostility has been to a great extent justified by the errors and defects in their own organisation. Founded on religious engagements, and claiming an ecclesiastical status, they essentially depend,



both for their origin and regulation, on the rulers of the communion to which they belong ; and no intelligible theory has yet been put before the world, to justify the assumption of episcopal jurisdiction with regard to them by those clergymen who have endeavoured to supply the place deliberately left vacant by their superiors. Nor is this disadvantage merely formal and abstract. A new school of thought is necessarily opposed to existing authorities, just in so far as it is new: the antagonism is involved in those conditions under which a doctrine or idea unfolds itself amongst mankind. But an organised body, claiming to discharge functions and fulfil ends which belong to it only as a member of a larger one, cannot oppose or ignore the authority by which the larger organisation is controlled, without assuming an attitude of rebellion towards it. Such an attitude may or may not be justifiable in any given case, but it must always create a presumption against the body which assumes it. From this position, and its consequences, the Tractarian Sisterhoods have not been able to extricate themselves; and it is even questionable whether those who have the conduct of them have any desire that they should do so. The result is a government, which by its secrecy becomes the fruitful mother of erroneous suspicions, and by its despotism and irresponsibility saps the strength of natural character, blunts the moral sense, and leaves a wide and mischievous scope for the eccentricities of morbid sentiment.

A desire for some less rigid organisation of female agency for charitable purposes is a natural consequence of the lessons which have been taught by the working of the Tractarian Sisterhoods. Schemes of this kind have found considerable favour among the clergy of the Established Church within the last two or three years, and especially since public attention was directed to the subject by Dr. Howson's Essay on Deaconesses in the *Quarterly Review* for September 1860. He has now reprinted this essay with large additions ; and his book is the fullest and most systematic exposition of the idea which has yet appeared in England. "By deaconesses," he says, "we understand something contrasted with desultory lady visitors on the one hand, and with strictly conventual Sisterhoods on the other. We desire to see women devoting themselves to the nursing of the sick, to the systematic care of the young, to the rescue of the degraded, to the details of parochial work, as the business of their lives; and yet we desire to see this done without ensnaring vows, without any breach of domestic ties, and without even the affectation of what is foreign to the English people and the English Church." The Tractarian Sisterhoods vainly aimed at reproducing the type of the Catholic conventual system. The new institution of Deaconesses, with an equal absence of originality, but a greater chance of successful adaptation, is derived from the well-known Protestant establishments at Kaiserswerth, Strasburg, Riehen, and other places. Of the constitution and working of these houses Dr. Howson gives some interesting details; but, from a critical point of view, his book is chiefly valuable as illustrating the prejudices by

which the subject is surrounded in popular estimation, and the kind of arguments which are naturally employed to combat them by an intelligent writer whose name carries weight among the members of his own communion. His moderate and earnest tone will recommend a scheme which he endeavours to connect with ecclesiastical antiquity, and anxiously divests of all antagonism to existing authority, as well as of all associations derived from the Catholic system. With a candour which some of his favourable critics have not evinced, he admits in his preface that the establishment of a system of Deaconesses would not do much towards redressing the evils of a redundant female population; but in his essay he does not neglect the arguments with which the Census furnishes an advocate of independent female occupation, and points out that under our actual circumstances "polygamy is the only logical result" of an opposite view. This reasoning is sound; and as the results of the Census gradually lay hold on the public mind, they will no doubt put an end to many of those social prejudices which are opposed to the organisation of women for pious or charitable purposes.

It is, however, in the permanent working of such institutions as Dr. Howson advocates, rather than in their establishment, that the real difficulty lies. The clear line of demarcation which separates a Catholic nun, or even a Tractarian sister, from an ordinary "lady visitor," makes it easy to draw a similar line between the work apportioned to each, and to secure mutual coöperation in distinct spheres. But the looser organisation of the Deaconesses' community could scarcely fail to drive out of the field that voluntary secular agency which would be likely to seem accidentally rather than essentially distinct from it, a rival rather than an auxiliary. This is a change which the advocates of the system would probably not desire, and its effect on the poor—at least outside the large towns—could scarcely be beneficial. Questions more immediately affecting the proposed institution itself, and its place in public estimation, are involved in the prospect of marriageable deaconesses working throughout the country in concert with marriageable schoolmasters, under the supervision of a marriageable clergy. Dr. Howson under-estimates this difficulty, though he frankly admits it. Nor does he sufficiently define the limits of that obedience to which the superiors of the institution would be entitled, nor the character of the engagements into which its members would be required to enter. On these points there must always be vagueness and inconsequence in any system which is not based on vows; and vows are proscribed in a society which has abolished Christian marriage by making marriage dissoluble, and only clings to the theory of the indelibility of orders as an instrument of illogical oppression. The facts have become familiar, but they are not the less portentous. The solid foundation of public morality is changed to shifting sands by a teaching which denies the irrevocable force of the free act of the individual in his relation to society, to the State, or to the Church.

56. The impression made by Dr. Döllinger's book on the churches has been as deep among Protestants as among Catholics; and it has been urged on many sides, that an answer should be written to vie with the work in popularity, and to counteract its influence upon the public mind. The new edition of Schenkel's *Wesen des Protestantismus* aimed in some degree at fulfilling this purpose. "The ignorance," said the author, "which still generally prevails among the laity, and unfortunately also among many of the clergy, concerning that which Protestantism actually is and has been, and can alone wish to be, is unquestionably the principal cause of the advantages which Catholicism has gained over Protestantism, especially in Germany, during the last thirty years, and of the defeats which it has inflicted, and still daily inflicts, upon us, in spite of great difficulties and mistakes." Professor Schenkel attempts more effectively to remove these misconceptions in a later work, written in reply to Döllinger, which derives some interest from a comparison with its predecessor. In the earlier work, the rejection of authority is pronounced the one achievement of Luther as a reformer, and the right of private judgment appears as the sole essential element of Protestantism. Judging the Reformation by this test, Dr. Schenkel comes to the conclusion that Luther was wrong on each particular dogma. His doctrine on sin, he says, "is in contradiction with his principle of conscience: the utter denial of any thing originally good in human nature involves a denial of conscience," and "a degradation of human nature contrary to experience." He maintains that Luther was not faithful to his own principles of interpretation; for his notion of the Gospel, in which his theory of justification centres, and which he prided himself so much on having newly discovered, is "erroneous," as well as his notion of the Law: "Luther is unjust to the Law, and did not appreciate its character." He entirely rejects Luther's idea of the Person of Christ; for, like many divines of Protestant Germany, he believes that the divinity of the Person is an unscriptural and irrational doctrine. Consequently he repudiates also the Lutheran idea of the Redemption; and Luther's definition of conscience he calls a demonocracy, "physiologically false, and rather mythological than ethical." His doctrine of justification by faith, he says, is "full of contradictions," which he carefully brings to light; and the end of his labour is, that nothing remains as the substance of Protestantism but a pure negation.

On this basis he proceeds to answer Dr. Döllinger's exposition of the state of Protestant theology; and an ecclesiastical journal of his party declares, with a sneer at the conservative Lutherans, that it is the only position in which a defence of Protestantism can be conducted against its latest assailant. The assertion that the revival of the German nation is only possible through the Protestant religion, can hardly be meant as a theological argument; for Dr. Schenkel himself says, in his former work, that Lutheranism ignominiously neglected its national and political office, and that, "during the great conflict of principles in the seventeenth century, the Lu-



therans intrigued with the enemy of the country, and still intrigue with him, in the presence of an impending catastrophe." In his recent work he maintains that Protestantism has failed to assist the greatness of Germany, which can only be achieved by means of the new "Church of the People" which he advocates. He defends toleration, but virtually denies the tolerance of the Protestants, for he surrenders the very idea of unity. According to him, "Luther excited the most intense passions of which the human heart is capable,—the flames of religious hatred, and of a horrible fanaticism." These he holds it to be the business of that new phase of Protestantism of which he is the prophet to extinguish. The only passage worthy of notice in his very foolish section on the Papacy, is that in which he denies that the States of the Church are defended on the principle of legitimacy. In all the nonsense that has been written on the subject, there is nothing more extraordinary than the utter blindness of a man in Dr. Schenkel's position to the peculiar circumstance which constitutes politically the strength and the weakness of the temporal power. The endeavour to make capital out of the different parties in the Church fails because the author does not understand the nature of the diversity, or of their position towards the Catholic dogma. In reply to Dr. Döllinger's appeal to earnest Protestants to fly from a house divided against itself on every essential point, Dr. Schenkel talks of a "confederation of free-thinking Protestants with liberal Catholics,"—a confederation which could be formed on no other basis than a common opposition to Christianity.

When he proceeds to speak of Protestantism, it is surprising to find that, so far from confuting his adversary, he does his best to darken the shadows in his description of the different schools. He labours zealously to show that Protestant orthodoxy has come to an end, or is at least in a state of rapid dissolution in every land; and he shows remarkable power in assailing the various parties that stand half-way between a revived Lutheranism and the inevitable concessions to the progress of controversy. After having thus made matters worse, as one would suppose, for the cause which he defends, he sets up, on the ruins he has made, that church of the future, unless it believe in which, Protestantism cannot be saved. It is to be a church of the people, not, as Döllinger calls it now, a church of the divines. Theological teachers will have but a subordinate part in it; for "it is impossible to maintain unity of doctrine on the basis of Protestantism." The establishment of it is "the second act of the Reformation." Every man will belong to it who acknowledges, 1, "the ruling authority of the Divine Word, which excludes that of ecclesiastical tradition;" 2, "justification by faith as the sole condition of salvation, which excludes the saving power of human or ecclesiastical merits," and which consequently excludes, as he proceeds to show, every consideration of religious offices, of receiving communion, &c.; 3, "the fundamental right of universal priesthood, which excludes every attempt to constitute a church on the basis of a theocratic hierarchy." Thus, as a Protestant Review re-

marks, the church of the people will be dearly purchased by a sacrifice of the essential substance of the Christian faith, and "a man may easily be a Christian without knowing it or desiring it."

57. The Austrian government has generally been unfortunate in its defenders through the press; and we doubt whether it will have much reason to be grateful for an elaborate pamphlet of 500 pages, in which Professor Buss of Freiburg defends the Concordat. In point of fact, to praise that measure is to censure the ministry, which views it with no favour, and to point out its merits is to satirise the emperor, who has failed to carry it out. Dr. Buss is not only attached to Austria by national and political sympathy, but he writes from a sincere devotion to the interests of religion, though it is questionable how far they will be promoted by the mode of advocacy he has adopted in the most recent of his innumerable writings. The basis of his argument, indeed, is a profound and most important truth. He regards the Concordat, together with the Protestant Patents, as essential portions of the new fabric of political freedom. In Austria, civil liberty cannot securely prevail unless its spirit extends to the liberty of religion; and religious liberty is a mockery, unless it belongs to churches as well as individuals. As there are two ways of understanding civil liberty, so there are two ways of viewing religious liberty; and liberal opinion in Austria is divided accordingly. The Centralist party considers liberty to consist, not in the restriction of the power of the state, but in the control of parliament over the power of the emperor. The authority they would set up beside the crown is as great as that of the absolute monarchy itself, and as impatient of checks imposed by local or corporate self-government. They carried the constitution of February; they have sustained the long constitutional contest with Hungary; they are the enemies of provincial and of ecclesiastical rights, and, in the name of their theory of freedom, oppose the freedom of the Church. The opposite extreme is held by the partisans of provincial autonomy, the authors of the constitution of October, the adversaries of a united Austria. They reject the notion of a central parliament, maintain the right of self-government in every territory, and deny the imperial character of the state. Dr. Buss is entirely on their side, and identifies the historical privileges and immunities of Hungary, Bohemia, and Tyrol, with the independence of the Church. Unfortunately, this is a foundation on which no alliance practically exists, and on which a sincere alliance is impossible. In abstract principle, the Concordat forms part of a system of self-government; but in actual aim and purpose it served a policy of centralisation, and the statesman who is politically its author is the champion of bureaucratic uniformity.

The fallacy of Dr. Buss's position appears when he speaks of the law regulating the rights of the Protestant communities. He says, very truly, that the Concordat made a corresponding measure necessary for the emancipation of the Protestants; yet he places their

independence on a level neither with the Concordat nor with the provincial institutions. He declares the free exercise of the Protestant religion "an outrage to the rights of Tyrol" (p. 424). He says that the state is obliged to permit no mixed marriages without the canonical securities, and that it would fall into dogmatic error by tolerating the marriage of an apostate priest (p. 452). He declares that religious equality must not be granted in Austria (p. 451); and he cannot mention without a sign of ironical admiration the idea of "giving equal civil and political rights to frivolous sectaries and to members of the Church that sustains the empire" (p. 451). This interpretation of religious liberty will hardly recommend the Concordat to the Protestants. And yet, but for the insincerity and incredible mismanagement of the government, the Concordat would have been popular with Protestants and liberals, and would have offended only the friends of bureaucratic absolutism and the enemies of religious improvement.

Still more unfortunate is the mistake of deliberately putting the Concordat in antagonism with the present Constitution. Dr. Buss is an admirer of English institutions, and appears to believe that if there is no imperial parliament Austria will resemble England. He imagines that twenty-one territories, with twenty-one distinct assemblies, would be knitted together in a confederacy sufficiently compact to make Austria the arbiter of Europe, to enable her to resume the protectorate of Rome, and to restore the old Germanic empire (p. viii.), with no other bond of union than the Concordat (p. vii.). The spectre of this Ghibelline ascendancy transformed into an imperial Ultramontanism,—an idea borrowed from the illustrious Gfrörer, another Freiburg professor, but misapplied by his colleague,—distorts the otherwise liberal and enlightened mind of the enthusiastic author. Austria requires a stronger framework of unity than the Concordat, and better securities for freedom than the will or the wisdom of an emperor. The self-government of the provinces might be developed into a system not resembling, but yet more perfect than, our own; but its existence is uncertain and insecure without the sanction and the guarantee of an imperial parliament. The principle of self-government must prevail in the centre as well as the circumference, in the head as well as the parts. In the constitutional system the Church will obtain ultimately more real, though perhaps less showy, rights than from the impotent favours of the monarch. Her advocates will serve her cause best, not by putting her forward as the adversary or the substitute of representative government, but by associating her cause with that of the constitution against the arbitrary power of the crown, and with that of the provinces against the arbitrary power of the central parliament.

58. The public is acquainted with two kinds of opposition to the Russian government,—that of the aristocratic liberals, represented by Prince Dolgoroukow, and that of the socialists, which comes to light in the writings of Herzen. Both are in reality



derived from Western ideas. The Slavonic communism of Herzen is essentially of the French type, and Russian liberalism is as anti-national as the Petersburg system itself. A third party, however, which arose about twenty years ago, promises to be more formidable to the prevailing system than either the aristocratic liberals or the socialists. It identifies itself with Russian patriotism, and forms its political ideas by studying the national character and the traditions of the people. This is the young Muscovite party. Its cradle and head-quarters have been Moscow, where the relaxation of the imperial despotism under Alexander II. has enabled it to come forward more openly than before. The Review which was its organ was, however, suppressed; and some of the most characteristic papers, which form the manifesto of the party, have been published in German by Herr Bodendstedt. That popular writer has lived much in Russia; he witnessed the rise of the party whose programme he now introduces to Western Europe; and its leaders were his friends. He is well-known too as a writer on the literary history of the Elizabethan age; and England is as familiar to him as Russia. A remarkable pamphlet which appeared two years ago was attributed to him, we know not with what justice. Its title was *Revelations from England*; its author made use of the dispute between Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell regarding the recognition of the *Coup-d'état*, to show that the minister had made himself completely independent of the crown, and urged that the Court, with the help of the Privy Council, should take measures to resist the dictatorship of the present Premier. As the reputed author of the *Revelations* is understood to be a friend of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, they attracted at the time more attention than they deserved.

The *Russian Fragments* constitute a work of great interest, although most of the essays are deficient in precision of thought, and in that general cultivation which in Russia is seldom profound. It is much to be lamented that these defects occur in an historical fragment by the late A. S. Chomjakow, perhaps the most original and powerful thinker among the Russians of his time. As a zealous leader of his party, he wore the national costume; and a stranger might have been astounded at meeting a common-looking personage, dressed like a Russian peasant, who was so well versed in our literature as to quote the papers of Lord Metcalfe on the government of India, and to defend with minute knowledge the views of Dr. Newman on the office of a university. The most valuable paper in the present series is an account of Russia, written in the middle of the seventeenth century. The young Muscovite party, with great self-denial, pursue the national history, not in official documents, which they do not trust, but, as far as possible, in independent sources. It is not an inviting or an encouraging pursuit. Russia has existed a thousand years; it is the most populous of the European nations, the most united and the vastest state in the world. And yet it has accomplished nothing for mankind, and has not produced a monument or an idea that men will be unwilling to

forget. The Russians have created nothing; but they have not assimilated the foreign elements which their rulers have introduced. They have preserved the national character unchanged, in spite of the elaborate efforts of the government; and under an incessant despotism they have retained the art of providing for themselves. They do not resist the interference of the state; but they do not require it, like the French. It is on these qualities that the Muscovite party founds its efforts and its hopes. Instead of the borrowed outward show of European culture, imposed and upheld by arbitrary power, they look for its natural and spontaneous development out of the character and capacity of an emancipated people. For artificial, shallow, and stationary enlightenment, they would substitute a civilisation which should be the growth of the soil and the achievement of the race, less showy than that of the capital, but more real, more extensive, penetrating deeper, and rich with the germs of farther progress. Possessing a sounder European education than the courtiers of St. Petersburg, they are not, like them, imitators of the West. They cultivate the Russian language, wear the national beard and caftan, for which Peter the Great showed so much aversion, and are the advocates of internal improvement. Whilst the imperial party considers only the interests of the empire in Europe, and the great things which may be accomplished by an enlightened despot, its antagonists have insisted on those reforms of which we see the beginning,—the emancipation of the serf, destruction of the *bureaucracy*, a free press, and a national constitution. They wish to turn the imperial policy from Europe to Asia, where it will be free from European influence, and less strongly tempted to concentrate the whole power of the country in a struggle with equal adversaries. The *Fragments* give but an imperfect idea of the system of the party. Many things perhaps are not yet fully understood, and under the censorship much must be suppressed. Thus we learn but little about the practical designs, the religious sentiments, and the actual political position of the Muscovite party. But it will inevitably derive an increasing influence from the movement which the emancipation of the serfs has begun; and it may be expected before long to speak more definitely and more vigorously.

59. Mr. Ravenstein has described the proceedings of the Russians on the Amur without having himself visited the country; but he has contrived to produce a readable book by compiling and abridging the accounts of Russian travellers and historians. So long ago as the seventeenth century, Russian soldiers and settlers, coming from Irkoutsk, and the great lake or inland sea of Baikal, endeavoured to establish themselves at various points in the valley of this mighty stream. But the Chinese government, far stronger then than now, raised a strenuous opposition to these incursions. One by one, the Russian settlements were surprised or cut off; and the treaty of Nertchinsk in 1688 gave to China the undisturbed possession of both banks of the river below the confluence of the Shilka with the Upper

Amur. A period of a hundred and seventy years elapsed, during which the relative powers of China and Russia were continually altering, to the disadvantage of the former. It was about the close of the Crimean war when we first heard in Western Europe of a transaction by which, in far Eastern Asia, our Muscovite opponent was about to conclude a treaty with China, by which a large slice of the comparatively sunny land of Mandchouria was to be annexed to the frost-bound deserts and dismal steppes of Siberia. The treaty of Peking in 1858 confirmed these anticipations. By it the frontier-line between Siberia and Mandchouria, which runs along the Argun to its junction with the Shilka about in longitude  $121^{\circ}$  E., instead of still keeping a northerly and north-easterly direction, and following the chain of the Jablounoi mountains to the Pacific Ocean at the sea of Okhotsk, was to be carried along the Amur (the river formed by the union of the two above-mentioned streams) in a general south-easterly direction to its junction with the Usuri, in longitude  $134^{\circ}$  nearly. Had the dividing line from this point followed the Amur to its mouth, in latitude  $53^{\circ}$  nearly, the advantage gained by Russia, though great, would scarcely have deserved the attention it has received. The newly annexed territory comprised within this great bend of the Amur contains, indeed, especially in its southern portion and round Blagovesh'chensk, much fine land fit for tillage, and an immense breadth of plains and hill-sides suitable for pasture. But these acquisitions would have remained comparatively speaking profitless for want of a proper outlet. For the mouth of the Amur is not, and never can be, such an outlet. It is closed by ice during six months of the year, and during the other six is not accessible to vessels drawing more than thirteen feet of water. Even the small vessels to which the trade would thus be confined would have to choose between the dangers of the intricate steering among the sand-banks of the Gulf of Tartary, and the circuitous voyage round the island of Saghalian. Nor would matters be much mended by making Castries Bay, in latitude  $48^{\circ}30'$  nearly, the shipping port of the district. This bay, though so far to the southward, is frozen up for several months in the year, and is besides shrouded in almost perpetual fogs, which make it one of the most dreary and dismal abodes imaginable; moreover, all goods landed there would have to be carried across the coast-chain to Mariinsk, before they reached the Amur. All these points must have been well understood at St. Petersburg, and the Russian diplomatists framed their stipulations accordingly. The new boundary-line, after arriving at the mouth of the Usuri, follows that river almost to its source, and crossing the coast-chain reaches the sea at the mouth of the river Toumen, in latitude  $42^{\circ}$  nearly. By this means, not only is a magnificent system of fertile valleys opened for settlement to the Russians, but one of the most safe and spacious harbours on the east coast of Asia—Olga Bay, or Port Sir Michael Seymour—is secured as the future commercial outlet of the whole Amur basin. That this result is inevitable, any one who has watched the process



of settlement in a new colony will have no difficulty in predicting. According to the report of the indefatigable traveller Veniukof, the Usuri is navigable for steamers or other vessels drawing seven feet of water, from its junction with the Amur to the confluence of the Sungachan, a distance of about 220 miles in an air-line. The valley of the river, and also the numerous lateral valleys which, running through Russian territory, join the main stream on the eastern bank, are nearly every where fit for settlement; the land is very often of the finest description; the timber is large and valuable; and the comparative warmth of the climate allows of a greater variety of vegetable productions coming to maturity than in any other portion of the Amur basin. So evident are the superior attractions of this portion of the newly annexed territory, that in 1860 twenty-four Russian stations had already been established at different points in the Usuri valley. But where will be the commercial outlet? Not up at Nicolaievsk, where, 500 miles to the north, the Amur, useless for half the year, rolls its turbid waters into the shallow Liman,—not at Castries Bay, with its eternal gloom, and the necessity of a transshipment and land-portage, in order to reach it,—but at Olga Bay, whose land-locked waters frost never congeals, and the voyage to which from Europe is shorter by some 700 miles than that to the mouth of the Amur. The only difficulty, and it is certainly a considerable one, is the land-transit between the sea and the head of the navigation on the Usuri or its tributaries, a break of about 130 miles. The coast-range, however, is low; and there is nothing to prevent a good road, and ultimately a railroad, from being carried across it. It may be fully expected that, before fifty years have elapsed, Olga Bay will be one of the most important centres of navigation and commerce in the region of the Western Pacific.

60. Three years ago the Prussian government for the first time sent an embassy to Persia. The envoy, Baron Minutoli, died in the neighbourhood of Shiraz, and his companion and secretary, the well-known Egyptologist, Dr. Brugsch, wrote an account of the mission, of which we have seen only the first and probably least interesting volume. Unfortunately, the subject affords few opportunities for the display of the great historical learning of the author; and he tells us more about physical discomforts and official pomp than would be pardonable in an experienced diplomatist. Half the volume is occupied with the journey through Constantinople and the Caucasus to the Persian frontier. Off the coast of Epirus, the travellers were shown the spot where Aphrodite sprang from the sea-foam. They found the memory of the Argonauts and the Golden Fleece still fresh among the inhabitants of Colchis (p. 53); they journeyed for many days in sight of Mount Ararat; discussed to their own satisfaction the site of Eden (p. 146); and visited, in the Armenian graveyard of Nahitschewan, the tomb of Noah (p. 150). Haxthausen relates that the daughters of Circassia prefer to be slaves with the barbarous Turk rather than to be free in their native land; but Dr. Brugsch

declares that, in order to escape the hands of Russian deliverers, they throw themselves out of the captured slavers into the sea (p. 46). This is the traveller's license; but it is hard to be told by one of the first scholars in Europe that Armenia was converted by St. Gregory of *Nazianzus*, who thereupon received the title of *Illuminator* (p. 132). Dr. Brugsch is a safer guide in profane history. Sir Henry Rawlinson assured him that the land and people of Iran have remained unchanged since the days of Cyrus. "Foreign invaders, during two thousand years, have been no more able to destroy the outward features of the Persian race than to strike out from the book of history the mental qualities, the character, and the language, of the ancient people of Iran" (p. 218). Remembering that Xerxes caused his army to defile between the two halves of the body of a human victim, our author was much pleased to find a similar custom—in which, however, the victim was only a slaughtered lamb—performed in honour of the Prussian Embassy the moment they had crossed the Araxes. It was often repeated in the course of their journey (p. 159). In other respects, the progress of civilisation in Persia has been more rapid. A great noble informed the envoy that the tedious post would be done away with as soon as the electric telegraph was completed, and shook with laughter at the notion that Persians might not be rich enough to abandon entirely the cheaper and homelier mode of communication (p. 186). At Hamadan, Dr. Brugsch saw the tomb of Avicenna, and a sepulchre which the Persians say is that of Benjamin, but which the Jews reverence as that of Esther, whose history they transplant from Susa to Ecbatana. One piece of sculptured granite was all he could find above ground of the ancient capital of Media (p. 379).

Like all other travellers, Dr. Brugsch describes the Persians as intelligent, shrewd, incredulous, patient, indolent, and corrupt. "The world may become a desert, after my death" (p. 163), is a proverb which explains both disregard for posterity and contempt for antiquity, tradition, and authority. This is the point in the Persian character in which the author finds the key to the ruin and desolation of the country. He relates another fact which possesses hardly less significance. The Persian is overrun with all kinds of vermin, but he never destroys it. If such a creature is very troublesome, he catches it tenderly, and deposits it with care on the ground (p. 166). Of men like these, slavery is the part and heritage for ever. We can well believe the Persian friend who assured our author that the people know as well as the inhabitants of Frangistan that they are villanously pillaged and oppressed, and that a European government would soon restore prosperity and open out the resources of the country. But they are apathetic, and fear that a European power would persecute the Mahomedan religion (p. 251). And yet they are not, like the Turks, a religious people. "Prayer is no affair of the common Persians," says our author; "and deeply as I was touched by the constant spectacle of Arabs at their prayers on the Nile or in the desert, rarely had I a chance of seeing a Persian pray,

and there was nothing impressive in the sight of the few believers I met with on the Persian soil" (p. 356). In spite of this indifference, the priests are extremely powerful. Their unseen influence is a constant curb on the power of the Shah, and they are in an attitude of confirmed and permanent hostility to the dynasty of the Kadjars. The present Shah, whose portrait in the volume before us expresses energy, intelligence, and craft, has increased this enmity by his fondness for the externals of European civilisation. By dismissing the Grand Vizier, and taking the government into his own hands, he has incurred all the responsibility and odium which is excited against a despotic government, not only by tyranny and corruption, but by all those ills which the state can neither cause nor cure. There is one strange difference between the Persian and the Turkish systems, which makes polygamy produce exactly opposite political effects in the two countries. At the Ottoman court, it is a tradition that brothers imperil the unity and safety of the crown, and for ages they have been destroyed accordingly. In Persia, they are reckoned the most important auxiliaries and props of the throne. All the high offices in the land are in the hands of members of the imperial family, which is numerous enough to fill them all. The Shah Feth-Ali, who died in 1834, left a posterity of 784 direct descendants. Probably this inversion of the Turkish practice, which Dr. Brugsch laments, may be due to a very simple cause. The Kadjars are usurpers. Unlike the descendants of Othman, they are not connected with the early history and the rise of the dominant race, and are not identified, like the family of Amurath and Mahomed II., with the conquest of the territory and the establishment of empire over many subject races. They are not linked by descent, or by tradition, or by interests, with any part of the population; and therefore they naturally seek to strengthen themselves by connections which Eastern habits will before long convert from a class into a tribe.

61. Captain Mayne makes very few additions to our knowledge of British Columbia. A large part of his time was spent on board the Government surveying ship; and his opportunities of investigating the capabilities of the interior were not numerous. What information he does give is mostly taken from the last Blue-book on the subject; and, though he is perfectly candid in his references, it is difficult to see what is gained by reprinting the Governor's despatches in an octavo volume when they have already appeared in a folio pamphlet. The most useful part of the book is the account of the different methods of mining, which is a record of the writer's actual observations—not in British Columbia, but in California. What we chiefly want to know about British Columbia is to what extent its soil and climate are fitted for farming; but this is just what no traveller can tell us. There seems to be a good deal of open land towards the south-east, which, from the richness of the natural grasses, might be turned to account in stock-farming. But unfortunately this district is quite removed from the gold region, and has therefore no present



means of attracting settlers. The richest mines lie some hundreds of miles away, in the angle formed by the great bend of the Fraser River; and it is now expected that gold will be found in great abundance still further to the north, along the upper waters of the Peace River. That British Columbia may some day be the seat of an agricultural population is at least possible, though its history, up to this time, has hardly justified the expectations of its founders. But while so many of our more productive colonies are still to a great extent unoccupied, this Sub-arctic region can hardly expect to make very rapid progress. The gold fever may carry people to its shores, and even keep them there; but while it has force enough to do that, it is not likely to allow them to turn their thoughts to other occupations.

62. The volume of M. Darcel on his artistic tour in Germany is written in a pleasant style, and contains the impressions of a learned French archæologist well known to art-students by his articles in Didron's *Annales Archéologiques*. M. Darcel, having been sent to Vienna by the Imperial Government, at the end of last year, to visit the Archæological Exhibition then open in that city, and to report on the industrial arts of the Middle Ages in Germany, prolonged his journey, and visited several of the principal cities. He describes not only the monuments, but the manners and customs of the people of Vienna, his visit to the Abbey of Klosternenburg, Prague, Bamberg, where he explains the cause of the analogy between the towers of the cathedral and those of Laon, Nuremberg, Ratisbon, Munich, the architecture and decorations of which he considers utterly unadapted to the climate of Bavaria, and where he makes some observations on the true principles of glass-staining, and the neglect of these by the Munich artists; and so returns by Frankfort and Cologne. His volume will be welcomed by all those who take an interest in early art. The information it contains is generally very correct; but we must except the notices of some of the early painters: thus M. Darcel has strangely confounded Gerard van Haarlem with Thierry Stuerbout, and makes William of Cologne the pupil of Stephen Lothener, who was his master.

63. Mr. Trollope is preëminently the novelist of professional life. The Clergy, the Civil Service, and the Bar have contributed a large proportion both of the characters and incidents in his later stories; and this, no doubt, is one of the causes of his great popularity. But it is not merely to add a new specimen to his cabinet of professional curiosities, that he has given us in *Orley Farm* so much about law and lawyers. He writes with a purpose, and though he does not let it run away with him, he rarely leaves it out of sight for long together. *Orley Farm* is an attack upon the whole system of advocacy—not upon its misuse, but upon its use. The opinions of Felix Graham are not put into his mouth merely as appropriate eccentricities: they are equally Mr. Trollope's own. "How can a

man put his heart to the proof of an assertion in the truth of which he himself does not believe?" That is the question to which he evidently sees no answer. To Felix Graham "the absolute truth in this matter was of great moment." That, he maintains, is the only spirit in which an honest man will undertake the defence of a prisoner. Now, without doubt, the absolute truth is the supreme object in the matter; but how is its attainment most likely to be secured? We Englishmen think, by the division of labour. That is the key to our system of advocacy. We intrust to the counsel the task of bringing out and putting in order the facts on each side, to the judge the duty of determining whether the evidence offered in support of these facts is legally admissible, to the jury the responsibility of deciding whether the facts themselves have been proved. Here is a complex machinery, the result of whose action is, on the whole, the discovery of truth; but that result can only be arrived at by the coöperation of the several parts. The counsel have no more right to usurp the functions of the jury than the jury have to usurp the functions of the counsel. Suppose the prisoner's advocate believes him to be really guilty. Upon what is his belief based? If upon direct knowledge of facts, he has no business to be his counsel; his proper place is in the witness-box. If only upon his own deductions from the evidence, he has not to return the verdict; he has only to lay before the jury one half of the materials from which they are to draw their conclusion. How does his private estimate of the worth of the half he contributes affect the question? "The fighting of a battle without belief," says Mr. Trollope, "is, I think, the sorriest task which ever falls to the lot of any man." Granted. But it is not a task which need ever fall to the lot of a counsel for the defence, however weak his case may be. In a criminal trial there is always a battle to be fought in which any man may believe,—the taking care that no accused person shall be convicted without amply sufficient proof, that the jury shall not come to a decision without knowing all that can be said for him as well as against him.

Let us take the instance with which Mr. Trollope has supplied us. Setting aside the assertions of his own individual belief of Lady Mason's innocence, which were in no way called for by his duty as an advocate, what does Mr. Furnival's speech amount to? Simply to this: he puts before the jury the strong *à priori* improbability that a woman of unblemished character and antecedents should be guilty of the double crime of forgery and perjury. Undoubtedly there was that improbability, and justice demanded that the jury should not be allowed to leave its existence out of sight. Whether it outweighed or was outweighed by the opposite improbability of the witnesses being perjured, it was not Mr. Furnival's duty to decide; nor did it become any the more his duty because he thought that the decision, when given, ought in justice to be against his client. The only consistent inference from Mr. Trollope's theory is, that instead of the prosecution and the defence being intrusted to counsel, there should be a public officer employed

to draw up a statement of both sides of every case, and lay it before the jury. Any one who has ever tried to do this kind of thing for himself will know how very inadequate his representation of the arguments on one side or the other is apt to be.

Bad, however, as the whole system of advocacy is in Mr. Trollope's eyes, there is one spot blacker than the rest. Cross-examination he can compare only to the thumbscrew and the rack: it is equally barbarous and equally useless. Let us again test his objection by his own instances. When Felix Graham hears Mr. Chaffanbrass attempting to destroy Dockwrath's credit as a witness, by showing that he had interested motives in giving his evidence, he is simply disgusted. He will not allow that the man's character can affect the truth of his statement, unless other reasons can be shown why the statement is unworthy of belief. In other words, it is irrelevant to show that a witness has any motive for telling lies, unless it has been already proved that he has told them, in which case the question of motive becomes of no moment. But in balancing probabilities for and against Lady Mason's innocence, the fact that a low attorney's interest lay on the side of perjuring himself was some small evidence, and as such was rightly brought before the jury. Still more are Graham's feelings outraged by Mr. Furnival's treatment of John Kenneby. He sees that Kenneby "is making an honest painful effort to speak the truth," and "his gall rises" when he sees his presence of mind destroyed by the process of cross-examination. The question, however, is not as to the honesty, but as to the success, of the effort; and with persons of inaccurate observation, imperfect memory, and confused habits of thought, the purpose and wish to speak the truth are not at all the same thing as actually speaking it. The servant who said, "I know I fibs dreadful; but believe me, miss, I never finds out I have fibbed till they tells me so," would never, if Mr. Trollope had his wish, have made that discovery at all; for to have told her that she fibbed would have been to destroy the presence of mind of a person who was making "an honest and painful effort to speak the truth." "I have heard," says Miss Nightingale, "thirteen persons concur in declaring that a fourteenth, who had never left his bed, went to a distant chapel every morning at seven o'clock. I have heard persons in perfect good faith declare that a man came to dine every day at the house where they lived who had never dined there once." What are we to say to these "honest and painful efforts"? Supposing that these statements had been given in evidence at a trial, would the discovery of truth be furthered by only allowing them to be disproved by other evidence, and rejecting as unfair any cross-examination which went to show that the witnesses who made them were persons of an inaccurate and confused habit of mind. Cross-examination may often fail in eliciting truth; but it is a test, though a rough one, of the witness's capacity for telling truth.

But the purpose with which *Orley Farm* has been written is not put forward prominently enough to injure the story. Mr. Trollope has never risen so high in the delineation of character as in Lady



Mason and Sir Peregrine Orme. To make the principal heroine of a novel a woman of forty, living on an estate which she gained for her son by forgery and false swearing twenty years before, is a bold effort. And perhaps to make an old man of seventy fall in love with her, be willing to marry her after her crime has been made public, and in the end die of a broken heart because he has to sacrifice his affection for her to a sense of duty, is a greater risk still. Mr. Trollope has dared both, and succeeded in both. Lady Mason never ceases to enlist our sympathy, and Sir Peregrine never becomes ridiculous. Felix Graham is not equally successful. He does not impress the reader as favourably as he did Judge Staveley; and even the Judge takes so many opportunities of telling himself how clever Graham is, that in his innermost soul he must have been inclined to doubt it. The audacity which sometimes attends greatness Mr. Trollope has certainly contrived to give him. An ordinary man, who had just been recognised as a suitor would feel some hesitation in saying to his future father-in-law, "I fear I am a barrister not intending to succeed." But the whole narrative of Graham's courtship belongs to the world of fiction; and, indeed, while the moral tone of the common-law Bar is unchanged, that is the only world in which even a judge's interest could do much for a man who will not take a brief unless he is convinced that his client is in the right, or cross-examine a witness who he thinks intended to tell the truth.

It is not, however, in the portraiture of his principal characters that Mr. Trollope's power is most conspicuous. No other novelist introduces his readers to so many pleasant people. As the days pass on at Noningsby, the pleasure derived from reading about them is like that which comes from the actual society of agreeable acquaintances. One does not care about them enthusiastically; but their company is pleasant while it lasts, and so is the underlying consciousness that we shall not break our hearts when it is over. It is unfortunate that, with his great capacity for this kind of writing, Mr. Trollope should have thought fit to give his readers so much of the home-life of Mr. Moulder. The scenes in Great St. Helen's are vulgar in quite another sense from that in which *Pickwick* is vulgar. The difference between them is like the difference between a comic photograph and one of Leech's drawings. Mr. Trollope's sketches give us something of the same sensation as the coloured stereoscopic slides which, in the infancy of that depressing instrument, occasionally found their way into drawing-rooms. Farcical incident he can render very happily, and in the comedy of society his success is conspicuous. But his pictures of low life, though they may exhibit great fidelity, have no real humour. The funny people are there, but not the fun.

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## CURRENT EVENTS.

THE distress in Lancashire and the adjoining counties has gradually assumed proportions which give it a prominent place among the economical questions of the day, and invest it with a character of political importance. The over-production of the time immediately preceding the war in America had so crowded the market with cotton goods that no scarcity of them has been at present experienced by the general public; while the uncertainty which is felt as to the duration of the war itself has been all along combined with a belief that very little cotton has really been destroyed in the Southern States, and that from 2,000,000 to 4,000,000 bales are only awaiting the cessation of hostilities to be immediately thrown upon the English market. These causes have checked the efforts which, under different circumstances, would have been made, whether successfully or not, to obtain the raw material from other countries than America. The result has been a progressive closing of the mills, and a steady continuous advance in the pauperisation of the district. The ruin of the operatives necessarily involves that of the small tradesmen who directly depend on them; and as these sink down from ratepayers into recipients of relief, they communicate to the classes immediately above them the shock which has been fatal to themselves. The master manufacturers are by no means the last upon whom the calamity falls. Two-thirds of the capital employed in their trade is locked up in mills and machinery; and not only does this remain entirely unproductive in the case of a closed mill, but the outgoings for rent and for the care and deterioration of machinery, as well as the heavily-augmented charges for poor-rate, have to be met out of the remaining third of the capital.

The state of the district was brought before Parliament as it was about to separate for the recess. There were at that time 125,000 paupers in the unions affected, of whom 70,000 were persons to whom such a position was altogether new; and the number was increasing at the rate of from 1000 to 1500 weekly. But these figures were not an adequate measure of the amount of distress. The benefit societies were breaking down; large sums had been raised in the district and contributed from other quarters to supplement the rates; and the rates themselves had begun to become a nominal charge on the smaller occupants, and a proportionately heavier burden on the others. There were parishes in which it had become necessary to deduct fifty per cent of the rate because the shopkeepers were not in a condition to pay.

The Government measure introduced by Mr. Villiers proposed to meet the crisis by a simple application of the principle of a rate in aid. It provided that when the expenditure of a parish exceeded the

average by two-thirds, the excess should fall on the union; and that when the expenditure of the union was in the same position, the excess should be thrown on the county. The principle of a rate in aid was derived from the Act of Elizabeth, and found considerable favour among members not specially connected with Lancashire and the adjoining counties. But the Bill was not popular in the districts immediately concerned; and their representatives showed a strong desire that the power of borrowing on the security of the rates should be granted, instead of the power of calling for a rate in aid. From another quarter it was urged that instead of taking the difference between exceptional and average expenditure as the test of the necessity for relief, a fixed amount should in all cases be attained by the rate before any new powers, whether of borrowing or of obtaining a rate in aid, should come into operation. The result of several discussions was a compromise, in which success was unfortunately achieved by some of the worst portions of either scheme. The measure which actually became law on the 7th of August fixes an absolute expenditure of three shillings in the pound, irrespective of the average amount of the rate, as the point at which a parish may obtain relief, and affords the relief by a rate in aid from the other parishes of the union. When the expenditure of the whole union exceeds the same absolute standard, it provides that the guardians may obtain authority from the Poor-Law Board to borrow the amount of the excess; and when more than five shillings has been spent, the Poor-Law Board is similarly empowered to apportion the excess over the unions of the county. The Act expires on the 1st of March 1863.

The English law asserts, on behalf of the poor man, an absolute right to support, so long as the community he belongs to possesses any property from which his support can be drawn. In a time of local distress, therefore, the object of special legislation is not to provide food for the poor, but to relieve the ratepayers from exceptional pressure. That pressure is measured not by the total amount of the rate, but by the amount of its excess over the average. In the ordinary course of things, the rate comes ultimately out of real property, for though it is paid originally by the occupant, it has first been reckoned in the fixing of his rent; but a sudden increase falls really on the occupant, because the natural law by which the burden passes on from him to the owner can only come into operation after an interval of time. Now, the highest object of economic legislation is to release the facts which occasion it from all abnormal and exceptional conditions, and so to restore them to the dominion of those natural laws to which they owe subjection. In the present case, the interval which divides the law from the facts is one of time; and it can only be taken out of the way by either roughly levying the extra rate at once on the owners of property, which would be a theoretically imperfect and practically impossible solution of the difficulty, or by so postponing the call upon the original ratepayers that the certain prospect of it may meanwhile restore the normal relations between rent and rates. Again: it is not consistent either with a



healthy moral tone, or with a sound economical system, that a man should throw himself on the resources of others before he has exhausted his own. The savings of the past must be applied to the needs of the present, before an individual claim for support can be established against the community. But the past and present combined create resources in the future; and a man's credit is an essential part of his wealth. Society, moreover, has an interest in the wealth of its members; so that an individual who throws himself on the community, while his own credit remains untouched, not only annihilates that credit, but in doing so robs the community to the extent of the wealth he destroys. What is thus economically true of the individual man is, in like manner, true of the larger units which compose the body-politic. Those units are differently defined in different countries, according to the history and sentiment of the nation: in France, perhaps, there is none at all between the family and the State; but with us the parish, the union, and the county, each supply a real social bond. That which possesses credit has not exhausted its own resources until it has made use of its credit; and to compel a parish, or union, or county, in such a position, to levy a rate in aid on its neighbours for the maintenance of its own poor, is to compel it to commit an act of spoliation.

Practically, a loan has this further superiority over a rate in aid, that it is voluntary instead of being forced. It confers no arbitrary powers, deranges no natural processes. It makes use of the money which was seeking employment, instead of that which was struggling to escape from it, and relieves the distress by a spontaneous instead of an artificial agency. The laws of nature are more beneficent than the devices of man. To increase the poor-rate considerably at a moment of exceptional distress is necessarily to increase the distress. It is analogous to paying off the national debt in a time of unusual national expenditure. The rate, as it rises, retreats continually from the smaller to the larger occupier; and at every step it falls with accumulated force in proportion to the spread of the ruin it has left behind. Nothing can prevent these results; and the sight and proof of them are the only conditions on which men will tolerate the barbarous expedient of a rate in aid, with its array of arbitrary powers, and its blind levelling operation. To liberate the distressed communities from those restrictions which hindered their own management of their own resources, would have been in every way a juster and sounder policy than to enable them to wind the chain of their suffering round their neighbours. Power over other men is not freedom, and to pauperise them is not the way to advance or to save our own prosperity. If authority had at once been granted to raise money on the rates, instead of to levy a contribution on the adjoining districts, there would have been far less destitution now. The operatives might have received relief on a scale which it is impossible to afford them out of rates kept down, as much as possible, by a legitimate and imperative regard to the catastrophe which must follow on

every addition to them. And this would have enabled the small shopkeepers, and others in the class immediately above the operatives, to pass through the difficulty, not, indeed, without intense suffering, but, for the most part, without absolute ruin. By an extension of the borrowing principle from the community to its members, the relief might have been given to the unemployed workmen, as far as possible, in the shape of loans to be repaid in more prosperous times; and not only would this have been sound economy, but it would have preserved the self-respect of men whose independent character is the foundation on which their material prosperity has been built. This plan was proposed by Mr. Cobden; and no serious objection was urged against it in Parliament by any advocate for the admission of the borrowing principle. But of course it became practically impossible when the borrowing principle itself was neutralised by its absurd and fatal combination with that of the rate in aid.

In August, a sudden rise in the ratio of increase of the distress vindicated the wisdom of special legislative provisions on the subject, against Mr. Bouverie and others who had depreciated the extent of the necessity. July had closed with 125,000 paupers; at the end of August there were 151,000, and at the end of September 174,000. In October the average weekly increase exceeded 10,000, the returns at the end of that month showing a total of 227,000. The first week of November added 11,000; the second week another 11,000; the third week 12,000 more; the fourth week something under 9000. At the end of the month the total was 268,969; showing an increase of nearly 200,000 over the number at the corresponding period of 1861. Of this total, 106,243 were supported solely from the poor-rates, and 162,726, besides receiving legal relief, were being assisted by the various relief committees which have been organised in the district or in London. In addition to these 268,969, however, there were 179,986 persons receiving help from the relief committees, without drawing in any way on the rates; and the total number of persons, therefore, who were dependent either on parochial relief, or on voluntary charity, or on both combined, was 448,955. The first week of December shows a further addition of 3690; but from this point the fall in the ratio of increase, which had begun in the last week of November, passes into an actual decrease; and the second week of December exhibits a reduction of 4350, and the third week a further reduction of 2580. What variation, or whether any variation, has taken place, since the end of November, in the number of persons aided exclusively by the relief committees we have at present no means of knowing. The Central Executive Relief Committee, in their report dated the 15th of December, speak of an increased pressure on their funds as probable for some time to come; but supposing the number of persons relieved by voluntary charity to have remained stationary since the end of November, a total of 445,715 gives the measure of the distress at the end of the third week in December.

The wages of an operative in the cotton district provide, on an average, an income which is variously reckoned at from five to six shillings a head for each member of the family. At the lower rate, the current loss of wages may now be taken at 111,429*l.* a week. To meet it, the rates have been raised in the proportion of about seven to one as compared with their amount at the corresponding period of 1861; and the aim of the relief committees is so to supplement the action of the Poor-Law as to ensure an income of two shillings a head to each person, exclusive of provision for clothing and fuel. This is probably the lowest rate at which the health of the population can be preserved through the winter; though hitherto there appears to have been a remarkable absence of positive disease, even in places where the relief did not average more than from one-and-sixpence to one-and-ninepence a head. Until the publication of the Registrar-General's returns for the quarter ending on the 31st of December 1861, we shall have no very complete or precise knowledge of the sanitary effects of the distress. The prevalence of disease and death amongst young children will no doubt be under the average, and amongst old persons above it; but, between those two extremes, the direct results of poverty and depression will be tempered by the operation of many countervailing influences, such as the greater purity of the atmosphere, the exemption from unwholesome employment, and the diminution of drunkenness. On the other hand, the labour of the stone-yard is a severe trial for men accustomed to the indoor work of the factories; and their necessary unskilfulness at it is said to be a fruitful source of injury to themselves and others. This work also hardens and stiffens the hands, which require to be delicate and supple in order to carry on the processes of the cotton manufacture. It thus unfits the men for their own proper occupation, and is open to serious objection on grounds of economy as well as of humanity. The labour test may be safely relaxed when the unwillingness with which relief is received is fully established without it. In addition to the sewing classes for girls, which are in successful operation through the district, schools at which boys and adults receiving relief are required to attend have been established in many places; and drill and games have been in some instances adopted by way of employment. The sanction given to schemes of this kind is abundantly justified by the effect they are calculated to produce on the moral and physical condition of the population.

The decrease of crime is remarkable. It began with the early days of the distress, and has continued to the present time. Within a period of six weeks the newspapers of the district had to report five maiden petty sessions; and the actual charges are mostly small ones, against boys who have been left without their usual restraints. The attitude of the men in this respect bears witness not only to their self-control, but also to their intelligence. It shows an understanding of the pressure under which the capital of the cotton-trade is suffering, and an appreciation of the heavy sacrifices which the masters, as a body, have made on their behalf. A similar testi-



mony to the strength and disinterestedness of their political convictions is afforded by the absence of any agitation amongst them to induce the Government to take measures to shorten the period of trial. While in other parts of England, and in other classes, the idea of mediation in America has become familiar, it is still resolutely rejected by those who would chiefly benefit by its consequences. Thus it has happened that, while the misery has fallen on that portion of the population which is least well affected towards the Government, those radical and democratic opinions which make them sympathise with the Northern cause, have powerfully aided in preventing them from seeking relief through political action. At a great meeting at Staleybridge, held on the 30th of September, a resolution declaring that the rebellion of the Southern States is the sole cause of the distress was carried by acclamation;—a lesson for those who think that material interests are supreme in their influence over popular movements.

In the course of October events occurred which made it probable that a European mediation in the American quarrel was approaching.

**Question of  
Mediation  
in America.**

McClellan had succeeded in repelling the invasion of Maryland, and had established himself on the right bank of the Potomac. Here, during many weeks, in spite of reiterated orders from Washington, he remained inactive, and steadily refused to advance against the enemy, whose outposts were in front of his own. Both parties had succeeded in repelling an invasion; and it appeared that neither was strong enough to maintain himself in the heart of the hostile territory. Whilst the balance of power was restored at the seat of war, and the military reputation of both North and South had been vindicated by alternate success, the supremacy of the War party in the Union was seriously threatened. The Democratic party was growing rapidly in strength and courage; it was certain that it would gain considerably in the elections of November; and the illegal acts of the President, especially his scheme of emancipation, had alienated the judicial authorities of the United States from his cause.

The progress of opinion in England kept pace with these events. At many public dinners and agricultural meetings, Conservative speakers expressed themselves strongly in favour of the South; and even advanced Liberals spoke of the hopelessness of a Northern triumph, and of the useless prolongation of the war. On the 7th of October Mr. Gladstone made a speech at Newcastle, in which he used the following words: "I think we are pretty much of one mind as to what is to come. We know quite well that the people of the Northern States have not yet drunk of the cup—they are still trying to hold it far from their lips—the cup which all the rest of the world see they nevertheless must drink of. We may have our own opinions about slavery; we may be for or against the South; but there is no doubt that Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army; they are making, it appears, a navy; and they have made

what is more than either—they have made a nation. I cannot say that I have viewed with any regret their failure to establish themselves in Maryland. It appears to me too probable that if they had been able to establish themselves there, the consequence of their military success in that aggressive movement would have been, that a political party favourable to them would have obtained power in that State, that they would have contracted actual or virtual engagements with that political party, and that the existence of those engagements, hampering them in their future negotiations with the Northern States, might have created a new obstacle to peace. Now from the bottom of our hearts we should desire that no new obstacle to peace should start up. We may anticipate with certainty the success of the Southern States, so far as regards their separation from the North. I cannot but believe that that event is as certain as any event yet future and contingent can be." At the same time he declared that, in his opinion, the Government had shown too much favour to the North, and that, if either party could complain of England, the South would have the best right to do it. These opinions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were contradicted almost immediately by two of his colleagues, Sir G. C. Lewis and the Duke of Somerset. It was obvious, therefore, that the Cabinet was divided on the question of recognition; and it was believed that Mr. Gladstone would be supported by several of the Ministers when the question should be brought before them.

On the 30th of October, the French Government proposed to Great Britain and Russia to join in proposing a suspension of hostilities for six months. "There was established between the belligerents from the commencement of the war an equality of force, which since then has been almost constantly maintained, and yet, after the shedding of so much blood, they now find themselves in this respect in a situation which has not sensibly changed. Nothing authorises us soon to foresee more decisive military operations. According to the last information which has reached Europe, the two armies must be, on the contrary, in a condition which would not allow either the one or the other to hope speedily to obtain advantages sufficiently marked to make the balance incline, and accelerate the conclusion of peace."

On the 14th of November, Lord Russell conveyed in a despatch to Lord Cowley the refusal of the English Government to coöperate in the proposal. "After weighing all the information which has been received from America, her Majesty's Government are led to the conclusion, that there is no ground at the present moment to hope that the Federal Government would accept the proposal suggested; and a refusal from Washington at present would prevent any speedy renewal of the offer. Her Majesty's Government think, therefore, that it would be better to watch carefully the progress of opinion in America; and if, as there appears reason to hope, it may be found to have undergone, or may undergo hereafter, any change, the three Courts might then avail themselves of such change to offer their

friendly counsel with a greater prospect than now exists of its being accepted by the two contending parties."

The position of affairs has been but little altered by this abortive negotiation. The English Government, justifying its refusal by the improbability of success, avoided giving any opinion on the question of recognition, on which it was notoriously divided. The success of the Democrats in the Northern States makes it likely that a proposal of the kind will have a chance of being entertained more favourably some months later. If this policy of conciliation succeeds, the proposal of the maritime Powers may be renewed. The Government of Washington has already been compelled to modify its arbitrary course; and the present session of Congress may alter very considerably the prospects of a peaceful mediation.

The appeal for aid towards the relief of distress in Lancashire has been responded to cordially in Ireland; though some persons, forgetting how many of the men now receiving relief in Lancashire are Irish, not merely by descent but by actual birth, have shown impatience at the notion of subscriptions being sent to England from a country suffering itself so much from want as Ireland. A meeting was held at Tralee on Tuesday, the 16th of December, at which almost all the gentlemen of the county, Protestant and Catholic, attended. The resolution in favour of the object of the meeting was seconded by the Catholic bishop, Dr. Moriarty, in a speech full of good sense and good feeling. He spoke very touchingly of the distress, actual and imminent, in the county itself, but at the same time urged the claim of the Lancashire operatives upon all Irishmen with much power and skill. Unfortunately, an amendment was proposed by the O'Donoghue, which, though hardly going farther than the original resolution itself, was the occasion of a scene of tumult and uproar especially disgraceful in a meeting summoned for a purpose of charity. This, however, is an exceptional case; and whatever feeling may exist among Irishmen towards the English Government, it would be deplorable that it should operate to arrest their natural benevolence in the case of the people of England, whose individual charity has always been abundant in seasons of Irish distress.

In the absence of themes of present excitement, Ireland has spontaneously recurred to one of her greatest memories. The movement for a statue of O'Connell has been very warmly taken up by the people; but, as if with a determination to justify what has been said of the national character, it had been scarcely set on foot when its adherents split into two classes—those who honoured O'Connell as emancipator, and those who honoured him also as repealer. Common sense dictates that any memorial of the kind

Irish Subscription for the Relief of Distress in the Cotton District.

The proposed Statue of O'Connell.



should be as comprehensive as possible; and the difficulty has, we believe, been solved by the proposal that the statue should bear upon it the simple inscription "O'Connell."

The period which has elapsed since O'Connell's death, and the extreme weakness into which Ireland has sunk, make both the man and his work seem more remarkable. Less promising means and materials for the achievement of a great political result few leaders have ever had. His early experience of 1798 had burnt into his mind a sense both of the hopelessness and the horrors of insurrection, which never left it for an hour. Yet, except in their physical force, their numbers, and their disaffection, what means had the Irish Catholic democracy of influencing the distant Government of England? What O'Connell had to achieve was, to produce a condition of standing menace without its ever becoming more than menace; to raise to the highest pitch of excitement a people among the most excitable on earth, and yet to restrain them from stepping across the boundaries of legality, or giving an opportunity to a government most vigilant to punish both by law and arms. To do this, it was essential to obtain unbounded control over the people. And this O'Connell achieved by a combination of qualities such as a thousand years may not see again assembled in one man. His eloquence, completely unrivalled in popular effect, was aided by a majestic presence, and a voice at once musical and so powerful that its tones were heard with ease thrilling to the limits of the multitude whom he used to address in the open air. His legal skill (at *Nisi Prius* he was the first lawyer in his day) inspired confidence in the prudence of his recommendations; and he had in a high degree that mixture of audacity and artifice which has always been the characteristic of men who have taken a foremost part in civil affairs. He was infinitely versatile, and not very scrupulous as to means. Like Napoleon, he was very tolerant of difference of opinion in conversation or in council, but of any public opposition utterly intolerant. He could not endure the slightest symptom which looked like a blow aimed at his supremacy. But his great key to the hearts of the Irish people was his thorough knowledge of them and sympathy with them. He had uncommon powers of humour and pathos, but both were Irish in character to the highest degree. These gifts were the secret of his marvellous ascendancy over the Irish people. It is no exaggeration to say that at one time there were close on a million of grown men who would have freely given their lives for him. He would not perhaps have succeeded in winning Catholic Emancipation, if he had not been aided by the Whig party in England; but as little would the latter have been able to make the principles of religious liberty triumph in the face of the prejudices of England, if it had not been for the power of O'Connell, and the admirable use he made of it.

Whether he was ever sincere in his agitation for the repeal of the Union has been often made a question. So far as genuine desire is concerned, there can hardly be a doubt but that the restoration of

self-government to Ireland was a measure he longed for with his whole heart and soul. It would have given to his race and people all that they yearned for, and made himself scarcely less than a king. And there seem to have been two periods—first, in the intoxication of success after 1829, and secondly, in the intoxication of the Monster Meetings of 1843—in which his temperament was too strong for his reason, and he persuaded himself that success was possible. But habitually his mind was too clear-sighted to be duped as to the possibilities of things. He must have seen that against England, resolute to maintain her supremacy, there was no means of victory short of that terrible arbitrament which he so wisely shrank from. But he thought that again, as before, the threatening attitude and formidable numbers of the Irish masses might be made the means of obtaining, if not repeal, yet many important concessions; and perhaps this would have been the case if England had been then involved in war, or less united than in fact she was.

In the spring of 1859, the general feeling throughout Germany was so strong in favour of an intervention in the Italian war, that even the exclusive Prussian press could not escape its influence. The indecision and delay of the Prussian government disabled the smaller states, and twice gave the French and Italian cause a triumph. That triumph was an epoch in the history of political parties in Germany. The Gotha party raised its head at once. Austria was defeated; the belief in her power was dissipated; she was no longer the shield of the Confederation, or the terror of its foes. France had come forth from the war victorious, and with an overwhelming strength that imperilled the independence of Germany. A closer union and more concentrated force was needed to protect it; and Prussia alone could be the uniting and protecting power. The most popular statesman in Germany, Heinrich von Gagern of Hesse Darmstadt, uttered a warning against trusting in a state which had just shown how little it deserved confidence. But the current was too powerful, and the recoil of Villafranca was the creation of the *Nationalverein*. It was founded at Hanover, in a country where the memory of Prussian perfidy in 1803 and 1806 still survived, and where the proximity of Prussia creates no sympathy or desire of annexation. Nor was its founder Prussian in his traditions. Count Bennisen, the son of the famous general who headed the conspiracy against the Emperor Paul, and who commanded the Russians at Eylau, had warmly supported, in the Hanoverian parliament, a declaration in favour of Austria as a German power at the beginning of the war. But he was the leader of the opposition against the minister Borries, and those who joined him were animated at first rather with the spirit of a liberal opposition against the Hanoverian government than by friendship for the Prussian. Liberalism was the original basis of the new association. This character was preserved when it was extended after meetings held at Eisenach, at Gotha, and at Frankfort. And the leader of the oppo-

sition in Hanover became president of the *Nationalverein* when it was adopted in all parts of Germany. The Hanoverian ministry was in greater fear of the opposition of Wuidhorst and Stüve than of Bennigsen, and succeeded in excluding the two former from the parliament. Wuidhorst and Stüve, though not of the same party in home politics, are both decided adversaries of Prussian annexation, and men of *Grossdeutsch* opinions. Hanover has a peculiar importance in the controversy, from its position. The Prussian government, in its schemes of aggrandisement, has always coveted the Hanoverian territory beyond every other, on account of its coast-line.

The *Nationalverein*, as a liberal more than as a national association, spread rapidly in the smaller states, the faults of the governments aiding its growth. For, in the diminutive territories of Central Germany, where no foreign policy, no great measures of military defence, and no vast public works, occupy the administration, the official class, whose interest it is to make work for its own employment, enquires, meddles, and interferes in all the most private relations and occupations of the people. Discontent is therefore most general, and found a ready means of exhibiting itself in the newly-organised society. Whilst the petty states inspired little loyalty or confidence, and Austria, unpopular at all times, was now considered helpless and prostrate, the safety of the nation, it was very generally believed, could rest only in the hands of Prussia. It was proposed that the military, diplomatic, and commercial concerns of Germany should be entrusted to the Prussian government, and that an inner confederation should be formed, from which Austria should be excluded. All this is not founded on the good repute of Prussia only; in Holstein, for instance, the feeling against Prussia is more violent than against Denmark, and yet the majority of political men in Holstein belong to the *Nationalverein*. Here, confessional animosity against Austria makes up for the want of confidence in Prussia; for no part of Continental Europe is so intensely intolerant as Holstein. Nor is it proposed that the existing governments should lose the direction of home affairs. They would continue, their independence would be left to them; but at Berlin a parliament elected by the Prussian people alone would decide upon the general imperial interests of Germany, and the inhabitants of the other states would occupy the position of the *Socii* to the Senate and the people of Rome. One Berlin writer, indeed, proposed in a semi-official pamphlet, that at the end of every session the deputies of the other German parliaments should be admitted to bring before the parliament of Berlin their grievances against the several governments. The liberal party in Prussia encouraged the *Nationalverein*; the conservatives and the Catholics opposed it; while the court bestowed its favour and countenance on Count Bennigsen.

Such being the character of the national association, it failed to embrace and to satisfy all the anxiety and craving for a closer and a safer union which every German shares, and which had become infinitely stronger by the events of 1859. The defects of the federal constitution were apparent; the nation was powerless in the affairs of



the world, and the desire to recover something of its old institutions and former power was supported by all the most elevated sentiments. The first scheme of reform came from the Saxon minister, Baron Beust. It was so artificial that it had only the merit of having opened the way, and was answered by Count Bernstorff with a Prussian counter-project for the creation of an inner confederacy between Prussia and the smaller states, which was almost identical with the scheme of the *Nationalverein*. Count Bernstorff cited the Act of Federation in support of his plan. As that act always speaks of equal sovereign states, this was a sophism which laid the Prussian scheme open to a demolishing reply. Austria, the four kingdoms, and several other states, protested in identical notes against this interpretation of the law. But they acknowledged the necessity of a reform of the federal system, and gave hopes of its future accomplishment. Prussia rejoined that it was impossible, and took up its ground on the side of the liberal movement. For the federal constitution guarantees the sovereignty of each member, and is a hindrance to her aggrandisement which Prussia would be glad to remove. The government of King William therefore allows no opportunity to escape of undermining the authority of the Diet, and the respect that it enjoys. Formerly occasions were not wanting in which the impotence of the federal constitution was glaringly shown. But of late there has been a marked revival in the influence and the patriotic energy of the Diet, and the opposition of Prussia has been excited more than ever. In this cause the Prussian government is always able to command the alliance of the liberal party, and argues to show that no improvements can be made, consistently with the present institutions, such as can satisfy the legitimate demands of Germany. The liberal or revolutionary unionists of the party of the *Nationalverein* proclaim, in like manner, the incompatibility of a mere confederacy of independent states with the claims of nationality, and with the just authority of Germany in the affairs of the world.

The Prussian party naturally view with extreme disgust every scheme of reform on the basis of the present constitution, and of the equal independence of all the sovereign states. The scheme proposed by Austria and seven smaller states was extremely moderate. Several measures had been prepared by the Diet for the purpose of introducing a regular and uniform system of trade, communication, and material interests generally throughout Germany. The united governments proposed that these measures, instead of being left in the hands of a federal commission, should be submitted to an assembly of delegates named for the purpose by each of the German parliaments. This was intended as a beginning, which might lead to greater changes if it obtained the support of public opinion, and which saved the constitutional principle by making the present confederation the starting-point of future reforms. For the broad question between Austria and the governments of the smaller states on the one hand, and Prussia and the *Nationalverein* on the other, is whether the reforms, which all admit to be necessary, shall be in-

troduced legally and constitutionally, or whether they shall be accomplished by violence, in defiance of the law and of the interests of the inferior states.

The liberal party treated the proposed reforms with contempt. In the course of the summer a series of demonstrations were got up against it, and at public meetings many conflicts occurred between the Gotha and the *Grossdeutsch* parties. But meanwhile the great constitutional struggle was fought out at Berlin between the military monarchy and the united liberals and democrats, and the popularity of Prussia began to wane. The liberalism which the government had so often encouraged against its neighbours turned against itself, and the traditions of the state were at issue with its modern ally. Supported by the Upper House, Count Bismarck prorogued the parliament, and refused to give up the budget which the deputies had refused to sanction. A period commenced during which the constitution was suspended, and government undertook to call public feeling to its aid, and to obtain the means of overcoming the parliamentary resistance. Prussia had forfeited the sympathies of the German liberals; and it became impossible to operate against the proposed reform of the federal constitution on the original purely Prussian platform of the Gotha party. An alternative was sought by which the opposition against Austria and the Diet could be maintained with something that appealed more strongly to the popular feeling than the prospect of annexation under the military sceptre of King William I. For this purpose the *Nationalverein* adopted the constitution of 1848, which was the combined work of the Prussian party and the democrats. The first conceded many points to the others, because they believed that, if the imperial crown was once on the head of the King of Prussia, he would be strong enough to suppress democracy; and the democrats suffered the election of the emperor, trusting that the fall of so many sovereigns would give an impetus to the revolutionary movement which the one remaining throne could not resist.

In the estimation of a great part of the German people, the adherents of this scheme have the monopoly of political intelligence and the love of freedom. They imagine that no party exists which desires to include Austria in any scheme of national unity, and at the same time to secure popular rights. On one side are the liberals of the Gotha party, or of the *Nationalverein*, some more Prussian and monarchical, others democratic, nearly all Protestant; on the other, nothing but feudalists, reactionists, and Ultramontanes. According to the current nomenclature, all nobility is feudal, all that is connected with the government is reactionary, and all the Catholics, and those Protestants who condemn the Italian revolution, are Ultramontanes and obscurantists. But there subsists in reality a great mass of liberal and constitutional opinion on the other side; and the *Grossdeutsch* party, now that the intention of the governments to promote federal reforms was evident, resolved to give them a popular and national support. On the 7th and 8th of September, a few of the leaders met on the frontier of Austria and Bavaria, and drew

up an invitation to a great meeting of *Grossdeutsch* patriots, which all the leading men of that party were asked to sign. The invitation contained only the negative sign of the party—*no Germany without Austria*. It received 92 signatures of conspicuous politicians from all parts of Germany; and, on the 27th of October, 489 men assembled at Frankfurt.

Many various opinions were represented, for the idea that Germany is indissolubly connected with Austria recommends itself from many points of view; but the tone of the meeting was harmonious, and the language held towards Prussia and the *Nationalverein* was generally pacific and dignified. The basis of discussion was the adoption or rejection of the combined project of federal reform. It was decided that the delegates ought to be accepted as a first step towards fulfilling the true wishes of the nation, because, although the scheme was insufficient in itself, it was a security for a gradual advance in the right direction, on the safe foundation of the existing law. One of the speakers, dwelling on the importance of the meeting, said, that the aid it would give to the governments, and the moral pressure it would exert upon them, would make up before long for the insignificance of the proposed reforms, and that, if an assembly of delegates from all Germany like that proposed had existed in 1859, it would have given so powerful an expression to the national feeling that all Germany would have been compelled to join Austria in the Italian War.

It is to be remarked that this important demonstration was by no means confined to the friends of Austria, and that it was not even viewed with favour at Vienna. The Radical party among Austrian public men refused to attend it; and when Gagern said that Germany wanted an aristocracy, which Austria alone could supply, he was rebuked by an Austrian speaker. A real political idea, not local interest or party attachment, presided at these discussions. They are the first great movement towards a union of the German states on really liberal principles, and the first acknowledgment by Germany of constitutional Austria. It would be easy for the Austrian and Bavarian governments to take advantage of this exhibition of public feeling with great effect. On the other hand, it is a provocation to Prussia; it organises the division of opinion in the nation; and in its protest against the commercial treaty between France and Prussia it exhibited a narrow and unstatesmanlike spirit.

After the capture of Garibaldi, the Italian Government attempted to redeem its popularity by making his expedition the ground of a protest against the occupation of Rome. An amnesty was granted to the prisoners, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs wrote a despatch pointing against France the true moral of the story. But this measure, adopted after a violent discussion by a divided cabinet, failed to conciliate either the revolutionary party or the Emperor Napoleon. Mazzini had already seized the advantages of the situation, and, in

Rome and Italy.



a manifesto unusually argumentative and coherent, had severed the link which united the national movement with the Italian monarchy. He declared that his party were separated for ever from a form of government which at Sarnico fought for Austria, and at Aspromonte for the Pope; that their hopes henceforth were in the people alone, who had taken the initiative in every thing done since Villafranca, and who alone could carry the work of unity to the end. The energy of a principle, he says, is needed in so great an enterprise, and the popular mind is the only seat, the only weapon, of principle. Monarchy is but a calculation of opportunity; it has no roots in the nation, from which it has not grown, and it depends for its existence on foreign support. It is hostile to freedom, for it governs by state of siege, by the systematic violation of individual liberty, by the suppression of a free press and of the right of association. And it exacts these sacrifices for no public purpose, but is impotent to unite Italy, since Garibaldi, the incarnation of her unity, was wounded by an Italian bullet on the path to Rome.

The first result of the appeal to France was the fall of M. Thouvenel. In the month of June, M. de Lavalette had urged Cardinal Antonelli to accept the terms of a compromise by which the sovereignty of Rome and abundant funds should be solemnly secured to the Holy See. The proposal involved two conditions. The concession of internal reforms was demanded, and, at the same time, in order that Italy might be a consenting party, and that France in assuming the responsibility should not act in open defiance of the Italian Government, it was required that the lost provinces should be surrendered with a reservation which should not prejudice the contingent assertion of the pontifical claims. The Pope rejected the whole scheme, and declared that the reforms which were prepared could be granted only when the whole of his territory was restored to him. As the terms proposed by France were the best she could offer without an act of hostility to the Italian Government, nothing now remained to her but either to coerce the Pope or to abandon the hope of an arrangement.

In the French cabinet, the general doctrines of liberalism were specially represented by the Minister for Foreign Affairs. That system of government which admires war for an idea, which considers motives of policy less than abstract principles, and carries into the administration of an absolute empire something of the temper of the doctrinaire partisan, is not generally popular among the Imperialist statesmen. But M. Thouvenel, with the ideas of 1789 to guide him, leaned strongly to the theories of modern liberalism. He was a supporter of the American Union against secession; and, on the same principle, he believed in the right of the Italian nation to absorb the States of the Church. The reply of Cardinal Antonelli to M. de Lavalette, and the despatch of General Durando, accordingly convinced him that procrastination had ceased to be useful when conciliation was hopeless, and that France ought to respond to the appeal of the Cabinet of Turin by some decisive act. On the 14th

of October, the Emperor announced to the council of the ministers his determination respecting Italy; and M. Drouyn de l'Huys immediately replaced M. Thouvenel at the Foreign Office.

Whilst the difficulties of the Italian Government increased, and the address of the Bishops at Pentecost had proved the union of all the Catholic episcopate with the Holy See, public feeling in France became, on the one hand, more ardent in support of the temporal power, and on the other, less eager to make unnecessary sacrifices for the greatness of Italy. Military glory, there is none to be had. The occupation of Rome secures the French influence in Italy; the accomplishment of Italian unity would create a formidable neighbour, from whom no further concessions of territory could be safely demanded. As the moment approached when a final decision seemed inevitable, national pride began to be alarmed at the idea of surrendering a great military position, which was the pivot of French authority in the affairs of Italy and in the concerns of the Church. The Viscount de la Guéronnière was employed in the new journal, *La France*, to encourage these views, and to translate them into a positive and consistent scheme of policy. He dwelt on the mission of France, on the freedom of the Church, on the perils of Mazzinism, which would triumph in the fall of Rome. "Mazzini," he said, "would become one of the ancestors of the new monarchy, and who can say who would be its heir? . . . . The king, who is the chief and the liberator of the great Italian country, would be nothing but the instrument of a party; and in arriving at the spot to which Garibaldi sought to conduct him, he would end where the demagogues wish to drag him. Why, then, did they treat as a rebel and a criminal the heroic adventurer who has fallen in the mountains of Aspromonte? If they carry out his programme after breaking his sword, they will only have prepared his triumph; and the culprit's bench will be nearly as exalted as that throne which he was impatient to transport to Rome, after having erected it at Naples. . . . If his judges resume the march to Rome on the track marked by the blood of Aspromonte, it is not merely an apotheosis that they will provoke, it is the dictator of the Italian revolution that they appoint." A united Italy, he argued, would be a chimera even without the obstacle presented by the temporal power. Naples could submit to unity only at the expense of its nationality. It was governed entirely by Piedmontese, who simply renewed in a different form the despotism it had suffered so long. The real interest of Victor Emmanuel was to escape from Southern Italy as honourably as possible, after having gone there without right or foresight. In this way, the public mind was prepared for the accession of a minister who, though long in disgrace, was known for his attachment to national interests, and who immediately showed, in the American as well as in the Roman question, the difference of his policy from that of his predecessor. In his first circular on taking office, he said: "The Roman question involves the highest interests of religion and of politics; it arouses all over the globe scruples most worthy of respect; and in examining

the difficulties by which it is surrounded, the Emperor's government regards it as its first duty to secure itself against all that might resemble on its part a yielding to either side, or might make it deviate from the line of conduct which it has marked out for itself."

Thus it was proclaimed to the world, that the withdrawal of her troops from Rome was no longer to be an idea by which France would operate on the hopes and fears of the contending parties; that the efforts of the revolution had provoked a defeat; and that the Italian government, by allowing Garibaldi to mature his scheme, by defeating his force and then adopting his idea, had not gained any concession from France. The intention of the imperial government was transmitted to Turin in a despatch which arrived just before the meeting of the Italian Parliament on the 18th of November. The Rattazzi ministry, after explaining their policy, avoided a hostile vote by resigning on the 1st of December. After considerable difficulty, and negotiations with various public men, which lasted a week, a new administration was formed by Signor Farini, who of all Italian statesmen is the one most nearly connected with Cavour, and whom that minister at his death recommended as his successor. He expounded a very judicious programme on the 10th of December. His chief object, he said, would be to effect the internal organisation of Italy on a system of decentralisation and constitutional freedom. The independence of the country would not be sacrificed in order to maintain alliances, nor liberty cherished at the expense of public order. He would make no promises which might not be immediately fulfilled, and would submit without illusions or despondency to the inevitable force of events. So greatly have things been altered since Ricasoli pursued his aggressive policy against Rome. The question has not, however, been left entirely to the secular arm.

The address of the bishops in favour of the temporal power has been met by a petition to the Pope, praying him to resign it, which was drawn up by Passaglia, and has been signed by nearly nine thousand of the Italian clergy. The whole number of priests in Italy exceeds one hundred thousand. It is impossible to calculate the proportion which the number of petitioners bears to the number of those who were prevented from declaring their adhesion by motives of interest or fear, as the influence of the ecclesiastical authorities was exerted strongly the other way. The importance of the event is neither in the numbers of those who took part in it, nor in the language of the petition, which simply declares, that if piety and patriotism are brought into antagonism the greatest temporal and spiritual dangers are to be apprehended. We must look for the real character of this measure in the explanations of Passaglia, and in his published extracts from many of the letters he has received from those who adopted his petition. His own argument is very simple, almost superficial, such as was required to obtain the adhesion of very many persons of different opinions, not likely to view the question from many points, and strongly moved by the popular sentiment, and by the evils of the conflict around them.



The view he puts forward is this:—"There can be no contradiction between the true interests of religion and the political welfare of the people. It is impossible that men should be attached to a religion which imposes temporal sacrifices—" *ut eam religionis famam mente animoque probent qua terrena opponuntur cœlestibus.*" It is impossible that religion can be served by a clergy who denounce civil equality, political liberty, popular rights, and national unity. The Church and society are ruined by the universal and not unjust conviction, that the will of the people and the political progress of nations are opposed to the utmost by the efforts of the priesthood. A government persistently abhorred and repudiated by its subjects cannot be deemed legitimate. A community which is unable to maintain itself by its own strength, and relies on foreign arms for protection against a discontented people, cannot be accounted to enjoy the rights and authority of a state. The nation has the right to assert its own majesty, to recover its lost unity, and to establish its freedom. These are opinions on which the Church has no authority to pronounce, which the Italians, in common with all civilised nations, solemnly believe, and which neither the bishops nor the Pope himself can refute by argument or authoritatively condemn. Pius IX., if he were not misled by those who declare themselves the only real Catholics, and believe the care of the Church, of orthodoxy, and of the Holy See, committed specially to themselves, would not be able to refuse the capital of Italy to those who claim it by the rights of man—" *almam urbem jure gentis repetunt.*"

In his way of carrying on the controversy, Passaglia often resembles his adversaries of the *Civiltà* or the *Armonia*. His theories are not less absolute, and his tone sounds sometimes strange in a grave divine, and betrays the bitterness which the dispute has created among the Italian clergy. One priest who mistook another name for his own, and wrote to protest, is reminded that things similar are not identical, and that a certain animal which is very like a horse ought never to be taken for one. Another is told, that the man whose name he mistook for his own will be sorry to have even his name in common *con bravi del vostro taglio*. A third, who had written to say that one of the names on the list is that of a priest who has been dead eight years, is advised, in a phrase which would be much shorter in English, to go where he can inform the dead man of the mistake. With singular want of tact, a letter in which Passaglia is called the Bossuet of Italy is inserted with applause. Other letters show more distinctly than his own language the nature of the feelings and opinions entertained by the petitioning clergy. One talks of "the glorious constitutional sceptre of the magnanimous King Victor Emanuel II." Another, of "the rulers of Israel led astray by earthly desires." A canon speaks of the "incompatibility of the two powers in the person of the Pope" in terms as applicable to all times as to the present. A Venetian priest sneers at the Bishop of Orleans "preaching in the barracks of the Zouaves—an audience worthy indeed of such an apostle." In another letter the *Mediatore* is

praised because it "saves the Church from the evils which the exaggerations of Rome inflict upon her. Believe that it is only the stupid and the bad among the clergy who stand by the Bourbons and the temporal power. But for the inertness and timidity of minds, natural consequences of the bygone servitude under the double yoke of the lay and of the episcopal government, the clergy of these provinces, detesting the violence (*la ferocia*) and the absurd obstinacy of the court of Rome, would almost unanimously proclaim the Church free and purely spiritual. . . . Morality is separated from the Church, because Rome sends us the robber and the assassin." Both Passaglia and his correspondents treat the Jesuits as the chief agents in support of the temporal power: "il gesuitico chiericume, capitanato dalla curia occultamente si agita." One writer, in a long and elaborate letter, declares his belief that the independence of the Holy See must rely on something very different from the "miserable and ridiculous support declared indispensable by the episcopal oracle;" that the spirit of courage and sacrifice is least where there are most bonds of connection with the world; and that "he who governs is therefore less his own master than he that is a subject." Seven Austrian priests write, "who can hesitate to declare himself between the interests of his country and those of a few unreasonable and insatiable egotists?" When the secret thoughts of thousands are brought to light, there will always be violence, ignorance, and passion; but all these sentiments are virtually sanctioned by the learned man who selects them for publication.

We find, on the other hand, many signs of the efforts made to counteract this movement. "The priests here are few and poor and full of dread of the bishop, who would certainly strike them *certo li fulminerebbe*." A Sicilian writes, "In the diocese of Trapani the inexorable bishop, Monsignore Ciciolo-Rinaldi, has secretly menaced with suspension *a divinis* all who should sign any petition against the temporal power." At Brescia many of the clergy, deeming every priest excommunicated who had given his name to Passaglia, would not give them absolution without a previous formal and public retraction. Nobody who knows how terrible this situation must be, how hard it is to bear isolation, to set at nought superiors, to resist a vast organisation, an overwhelming tradition, and the most subtle influence that can penetrate a conscience, can be surprised that no advance is made towards a settlement.

Let no man, therefore, wonder at, and let no Catholic deplore, the hopelessness of any immediate termination of the Italian question by the victory either of the royal or the pontifical cause. In resisting every proposed arrangement,—every offer that comes from Turin, every solicitation of France,—Pius IX. has saved the Church from a peril of which we may understand one portion from the speeches of Cavour, and the rest from the writings of Passaglia. Cavour, by his formula of a free church in a free state, opposed to the policy of the Church a principle which is her own, and which she cannot resist without being unfaithful to herself. It might, indeed, have

been shown that he admitted neither the canonical authority which the Church claims over her children, nor the independence of the clergy from the State; and it was easy to show that the polity which he founded was essentially revolutionary, and that its interests would continue to be pursued by conspiracy, perfidy, unprovoked aggression, and unscrupulous ambition. This is a necessity of the position which Cavour created for his country, and which, even when peace with the Church becomes the only salvation of the monarchy, and when conciliation has to be sought by every sacrifice, must make it impossible that Piedmont should ever give hostages or security to Rome. Every government that has some external object to achieve beyond the ordinary functions of all states is by its nature arbitrary. The resources of Italy will continue to be strained as long as she has to achieve and consolidate her unity. The Southern provinces must be quelled by force. The republicans must be controlled by force. The warlike impetus incorporated in Garibaldi must be restrained by force. And, besides all these elements of absolutism, a great military power must be kept up against the external foe, to resist the predominance of France, and to conquer Venetia, Tyrol, and Istria. While this position lasts, Piedmont can never tolerate a moral influence which in a free country is incommensurable, and in a religious country irresistible; she can never allow a liberty which may become opposition to the accomplishment of those objects which are the very condition of a united Italy. All this might have been easily shown by those who accept the notion of a free church in a free state. But that is not the ground taken by the defenders of the Holy See; and it is least of all that which can be taken by a Pontiff who has made more concordats than any of his predecessors. Instead of accepting the notion of right and freedom, the answer was made on that of privilege and authority; a ground, that is to say, which those Catholics who in other lands—in France and Germany, in America and England and Belgium—have upheld the freedom of religion could not consistently accept; while those who do not perceive the error of the revolutionary doctrines, seeing the flaw in the argument on the side of the Church, were driven to the other side.

Passaglia's views, however, carry the peril farther, in our judgment, than Cavour's, and justify more completely the resistance of the Holy See. All men understand why, with the captivity and the schism of the West in their thoughts, Catholics dread the notion of Popes at Avignon. But there is a nationality more to be dreaded than the French, and more insidious in its influence on the Church. We fear Napoleon using the Pope as an instrument, or Victor Emanuel treating him as a victim. Worst of all would be the patriotic clergy of Italy, the followers of Gioberti and the friends of Passaglia, who would make him their champion and hero. The Church could better bear to see him a captive or an exile than realising the ideals of 1846. Then indeed the remedy would be worse than the malady; for the temporal power has had no effect more injurious than that,



during the last three hundred years, it has more and more italicised the Court of Rome. A local and exclusive Romanism, instead of an œcumenical Catholicism, was thus created, by which the very authority of the Holy See became a party cause; and in the dispute with Gallicanism the Ultramontane extreme developed a national character which was worse than that which it opposed, because it extended its foreign tone over all countries, checked the natural growth of material elements, and, by imposing an utterly external and not religious uniformity, obscured the real conditions of ecclesiastical unity. In the Middle Ages, before the Popes were so completely tied to Rome, or even safe there, for other reasons this local character did not appear. National distinctions were less marked, and the great schools of theology drew the clergy to other centres. The great religious orders did not radiate from Rome. There was less national jealousy and less ecclesiastical centralisation. Ultramontanism was a canonical, not a geographical idea. But just as the temporal power, by making the Pope an absolute sovereign, dissociated the Church from freedom, so by giving the *curia* a national character it has diminished the harmony and intelligent sympathy with the character and tendencies of other nations. They have been compelled to pursue their intellectual and political life without the help and encouragement of Rome; and the Holy See has had no part in many of the greatest achievements of Catholicism. Men who have most loved and revered the authority of the papacy, and have been most averse to a political or an episcopal Gallicanism, have found it clad in the guise of a people neither the most enlightened nor the most congenial; and even art and literature, theology and devotion, have been dwarfed to the proportions of a particular nation, until it has been hard to distinguish Ultramontane principles from Roman prejudices, and freedom from the one has almost seemed inseparable from jealousy of the other. The subjection of the Papacy to the nation is a danger against which there are fewer securities than against its subjection to the State. The whole Church would resist the latter; half the Church would suppose the former to be the highest manifestation of papal authority. If the temporal power were abolished, and the Church were at peace with the Italian State, the current represented by the *Mediatore* would combine with so many tendencies among Catholics as to be a real peril to religion.

These reasons make the resistance of the Pope to the claims of the Italians a service not less to religion than to freedom and intellectual progress. On the same grounds it would be disastrous now if his adversaries gave way. If the party who have always opposed the desire of making Rome the capital were definitively to triumph, or if the government purchased peace by the restoration of the Marches, then the Italian revolution would be an unmixed calamity for religion. Trials are not inflicted in vain. Providence would be baffled if the result of so great an uprising were a restoration instead of an improvement of the old condition, and if there were neither compensation nor atonement for the guilt and suffering of the last three years.

That atonement and that compensation are to be looked for in things with which the liberals among the Italian clergy can hardly sympathise,—the eradication of the peculiar Italian traditions, the destruction of national exclusiveness, the alliance of religion with a system of freedom as remote from that of Turin as from that of Rome, familiarity with the highest development of religious and profane knowledge, and contact with Protestantism in its intellectual, religious, and tolerant form, instead of with a passionate, fanatical, and ignorant unbelief. This solution will be lost if either Church or State should yield.

If in our English constitution we have obtained security against both anarchy and despotism, we owe it as much to King Charles's resistance to the demands of the revolutionary parliament in 1645 as to the parliamentary resistance to his arbitrary acts in 1640. If the Catholic Church comes forth from the present revolutionary movement, endowed with greater vigour and greater influence over mankind, victorious alike over the faults of friends and the enmity of foes, it will be due both to the constancy of the Pope and to the energy of the liberal party. From a position of this kind there is no issue except by violence. Persuasion can effect nothing; and mediation, if it could by any possibility succeed, would be more dangerous than antagonism.

So far as the unity of Italy now exists, it has been accomplished in defiance of the authority, and by a violation of the rights, of the Holy See. The Pope has never ceased to protest; and he has been supported in his resistance by the whole of the Catholic episcopate, and by nine-tenths of the Italian clergy, who cannot be reconciled with the new power. The Pope cannot retract words which have been so solemnly adopted; and the clergy, even if they were won by concessions or tamed by persecution, would not be able to exert a conciliatory influence. An impulse which no authority could arrest has been communicated to the movement in favour of the temporal power. It has passed beyond the control of those who have excited it, and we may apply to the situation the words which Hallam uses of the Long Parliament: "They had permitted the populace to mingle in their discussions, testifying pleasure at its paltry applause, and encouraging its tumultuous aggressions on the minority." Even if the Italian clergy takes alarm at the perils of religion, its action will be hindered by the feeling which has been created in other countries against every scheme of compromise.

That idea never presents itself to the mind of a Catholic but with every circumstance which could contribute to ensure its rejection. First, the opposition to the Roman government involves a severe censure on the same authority which is supreme in matters of conscience, and it is accompanied by criticism of the Pope himself. Now an educated Catholic is able to distinguish fully between the person and the thing; he knows, indeed, that such a distinction is of greater consequence in the Church than in the State, and that the cavalier sentiments of a purely personal loyalty, reverence, and attachment, which in civil society obliterate the difference between right and might,

confound in the spiritual order the divine with the human cause. But the majority of men are incapable of understanding this distinction, and cannot feel towards an institution the attachment which is inspired by a person. They cling with an unquestioning confidence and veneration to their pastors, like children to their parents, and Eastern nations to their princes. For they have not the knowledge which could enable them to judge the conduct and orders of superiors; and if they emancipate themselves at all from the regular submission, they will, in all likelihood, fall into the hands of less safe and less upright guides. If they turned away now from the exhortations of the clergy, they would find no other settled and consistent view to follow, but would be bewildered amidst a chaos of vague and discordant projects. Although political morality may be a safeguard against error in the present controversy, its influence cannot extend beyond a particular nation or an instructed class. For if every people possessed an equal sense of what is right and wrong, the same principles of government would be introduced every where; whereas the immoral systems of government are maintained in a sort of legitimacy by the ignorance and the prejudices of their subjects.

If men of this kind consult those who take the lead in the movement against the temporal power, they will hear things which will most assuredly deter them from agreement. For they will find the conduct of those men based on a conviction and a hope that the downfall of Catholicism is approaching, and that the sequestration of the Pope's dominions will undermine his spiritual authority. They will be unable to understand on what grounds men of these opinions expect the coöperation of Catholics or blame their opposition, since, in their eyes, every Catholic who joins them is either a hypocrite or a dupe.

Finally, the Catholic whose religion has given him the happiness of mental repose, and a conscience free from doubt and casuistry, cannot stand apart from the great current without being vexed by new and formidable problems. The Holy See has defended its political rights and possessions with the most awful anathemas. Excommunication and interdict have been employed against nations for engaging in a war, or for obeying a sovereign hostile to the interests of the Church. Those weapons have not lost their efficacy. As it has generally been held that no government could safely define and acknowledge the conditions on which its authority may be resisted, so the Catholic is not furnished with a fixed criterion for judging when the acts of the hierarchical authorities cease to be binding on his conscience. There is little reason therefore to apprehend that public opinion, which overlooks the exact distribution of right and wrong, and acts only either absolutely for or absolutely against the temporal power, will support any surrender or concession of the Italian cause.]

The liberals and conservatives among the clergy of Italy are quite agreed in opposing that which can alone effect a serious improvement in the Church,—the absence of the Pope from Italy. On spiritual grounds there is no other alternative which Catholics can desire, or which will supersede the revolution by reforms. The



argument has been used that the Pope would be better able to govern his states after he had become acquainted with the institutions of free countries; while others have contended, with equal authority, that an exile in a country governed by law would not necessarily alter the character of the pontifical government. But it is hard to conceive how any fundamental change in the spirit of the administration can be expected without some interruption of the kind.

Spiritual reasons are not, however, the only considerations which weigh in the question. The influences by which the temporal power is upheld are far more extensively political than religious. Austria gives her moral support to a sovereign whose power is assailed by the same storm as her own. France uses the occupation of Rome to make herself arbiter of Italy. In Prussia, that political party which, when in power, shared the strongest antipathy for Catholics, considers the cause of monarchy bound up with the fate of the temporal power. The Legitimists throughout Europe identify the interests of the Roman government with their own. It has supporters among those who cling to the balance of power, among the advocates of French influence, and in all those to whom the revolution in all its forms is an object of abhorrence. And finally, there are those who rejoice at every impediment to the establishment of a powerful kingdom in Italy, and those who rejoice at what appears to them an impediment to the free action of ecclesiastical power, and a security in the hands of its enemies.

There is nothing unnatural in the combination by which men like Guizot, Proudhon, and La Guéronnière, become the impartial advocates of the temporal power. No interest can maintain itself unless it is defended on grounds which appeal to men whom the interest itself would repel. Where a question of principle is involved, it must be settled before the voice of expediency can be heard. Recent evidence has proved that the Roman government was arbitrary in its nature; and before this fact, the discussion of its beneficence or of its unpopularity is superfluous. The impulse which leads men to resist oppression is founded on a right; but the inducement to resist arbitrary government, even if not oppressive, is a duty. In one case men vindicate their own rights or interests; in the other, they vindicate, even at the risk of injuring themselves, the rights of God. The true doctrine of divine right condemns arbitrary power as absolutely as wanton rebellion. It is vain to say that a state must be preserved for the sake of religion, or that it must be destroyed to serve some great national temporal end. A legitimate government cannot justly be destroyed for one purpose, or an arbitrary government preserved for the other.

These are the two reasons which, in conjunction with each other, have guided that minority among Catholics who, on this side the Alps, have dissented from the general opinion, and contemplate without alarm the suspension of the temporal power. If religious considerations alone recommended it, they would not be enough to absolve the subjects of the Pope from their allegiance. If the politi-

cal argument stood alone, the question, What next? the doubt as to the issue, the possibility of bringing down greater evils than those it was intended to remove, would make the resistance an act of doubtful expediency and of questionable justice. But the political argument justifies it in its cause, and the religious in its end.

Whilst opinion on one side is united, on the other it is almost impotent from division. The defence of a positive existing institution collects many different motives in one given object. The starting-points are many, but there is only one conclusion. The principles are various, but they have only one application. On the opposite side, all start from the same point of satisfaction or of acquiescence in at least the temporary present removal of the temporal power; but their agreement is merely negative. The objects which they pursue, the directions in which they wish the bark of Peter to be impelled, are many and various. One broad chasm divides the enemies of the Church from the Italian liberals; a still wider separates the Italians from the Catholics in other lands. In some the political objects predominate; in others, religion. Some wish the Roman government to be reformed; others believe that it can never be restored. Others, again, believe that the question of restoration is not ripe for discussion until the question of conservation is decided; that the guide of conduct is present duty, and not future hopes; and that it is equally impossible now to imagine the conditions on which the Pope could return to Rome, if he should leave it, and to conjecture the probable duration of his absence. It is enough at present if we are not blind to the faults of the Roman government, or to the defects of Italian liberalism; if we trust neither to French protection nor to an Austrian restoration; if we understand that there is yet no permanent substitute and no possible security for the temporal power; and if we neither identify the cause of freedom with the kingdom of Italy, nor the independence of the Church with the government of the Roman States.

For many months it has been no secret that the expedient by which the great Powers had attempted to check the national and religious movement that threatens the Turkish empire with destruction, had been abandoned even by the protecting diplomacy; that the Bavarian dynasty, having failed to take root in the Greek soil, was about to fall; and that it was spared only until an opportunity could be found of effecting an unbloody revolution. The fault of the failure of the first king of independent Greece lies not in himself or his advisers only, but in the character of the Grecian people, in the constitution of 1843, and in the policy of the great Powers.

None of the European Powers have sincerely supported the kingdom of Greece. In the West, there was a constant and natural alarm lest the movement which led to Greek independence should proceed further towards its legitimate conclusion in the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. For the Greek nation is animated by the two

feelings of nationality and hatred of Mahomedanism, both of them by their nature expansive, restless, and aggressive; and they necessarily look on their present independence as the first step towards the emancipation of the whole Hellenic race, and the deliverance of the Oriental Church. Russia, on the other hand, has always seen with aversion a sovereign whose religion prevented the religious feelings of the Greeks from acting efficaciously against the Turks; and so early as 1843 she had prepared a vessel for the departure of King Otho, in the expectation that he would fly rather than yield to the threats of Kalergis. Whilst Russia gave no moral support to the king, the Western Powers repeatedly interfered to undermine his authority. First came the blockade in 1850; then the occupation during the Crimean war; then the denunciation of the government of Greece by Count Walewski at the Congress of Paris; and the note of the 2d of July 1856, in which France and England protested against the appointment of the ministry of Bulgaris, now president of the provisional government, because of its hostility to Turkey.

Nevertheless the king was not unpopular with a part of the population; he kept alive the hopes of conquest by all the means in his power; and the thing that made him obnoxious to France and England was his only merit in the eyes of the Greeks. The misfortune of his position was, that the moment he lost the countenance of the Powers he became useless to his subjects. The reproach of having neglected internal interests and material improvement was not cast on him by the people, who cared for nothing but the profits of trade and the extension of the frontiers. Too indifferent and ignorant of political life to be capable of self-government, they never adapted themselves to free institutions; and the constitution was so contrived as to effect nothing for the political education and discipline of the population. It is justly described by one of the wisest of our historians as a compilation from foreign sources, and not the production of the national mind. "National wants and national institutions were alike overlooked. . . . The section of the constitution which determines the public rights of the Greek citizen, omits all reference to those rights in his position as an inhabitant of a parish, and as a member of a municipality and provincial district. Indeed, the interests of the citizen, in so far as they were directly connected with his locality and his property, were completely neglected, and only his relations with the legislature and the central government were determined. . . . Universal suffrage was adopted for choosing members of the legislature, while the chief magistrates in the municipalities were selected by the king from three candidates chosen by an oligarchical elective body. . . . The municipalities remained in servile dependence on the king, the ministers of the day, and the prefects of the hour. The demarch was not directly elected by the people, and the minister of the crown exercised a direct control over the budget of the demarchy. Yet the people, though not allowed to elect their own local chief, were nevertheless entrusted with the election of deputies to the lower legislative chamber. And this introduction of



universal suffrage in the institutions of Greece was completely exceptional, for a property qualification was retained for the electors who appointed provincial councillors. A system tending more directly to perpetuate maladministration in the municipalities, nullity in the provincial councils, and corruption in the chamber of deputies, could not have been devised. Individual responsibility was destroyed, the influence of the court was extended, and the power of faction increased. . . . It must be confessed that in many things the Greek revolution has failed. . . . The towns, it is true, are increasing, and merchants are gaining money; but the brave peasantry who formed the nation's strength grows neither richer nor more numerous; the produce of their labour is of the rudest kind; whole districts remain uncultivated; the wealthy Greeks, who pick up money in foreign traffic, do not invest the capital they accumulate in the land which they pretend to call their country; and no stream of Greek emigrants flows from the millions who live enslaved in Turkey to enjoy liberty by settling in liberated Greece."<sup>1</sup>

A glance at the statistics of the progress of Greece in the reign of King Otho confirms the judgment of the distinguished Philhellene. The population, indeed, has increased in thirty years from 700,000 to 1,100,000, the number of dwelling-houses from 95,000 to 204,000, the olive-trees from 2,300,000 to 7,400,000, and the mulberry-trees from 380,000 to 1,500,000. At the beginning of the war of independence, Greece and the islands possessed only 449 trading vessels, which had increased in 1834 to 2891, and in 1856 to 5052 ships of 325,000 tons burden, manned by 26,000 men. At the accession of King Otho there were no roads in the country that could be traversed by wheels; even now there are hardly 250 miles of road completed. Only 11,000 children went to school; now there are above 60,000, or about one in twenty of the population. This improvement in national education was effected chiefly by the secularisation of church property; for the clergy possessed greater wealth under the Turks than since the deliverance of Greece. There were above 400 monasteries, and one priest to twenty-seven families. Of the former about 130 still subsist, and the numbers of the clergy amount to about 3200.

All the land belonging to the Turks passed into the hands of the state, which thus became proprietor of the larger part of the soil. Only 33 per cent of the whole area is susceptible of cultivation, and of this more than half remains uncultivated. The want of cattle and of beasts for the plough is severely felt, and the supply has increased very slowly. The country people consequently remain poor; and the parliament, which sometimes voted more money for military purposes than the government demanded, did little for the improvement of their condition. By an elaborate system of corruption and sale of offices, the crown had succeeded in controlling the elections, and obtaining a chamber of its own nominees. The country was without an aristocracy, the people without organic institutions, and the crown without any efficient counterpoise that could serve as a safeguard and

<sup>1</sup> Finlay's *History of the Greek Revolution*, ii. 377-382.

a limit to its authority. It had become an artificial system without the natural or legal basis of legitimacy, and without any security for permanence but the favour of the great Powers. The success of the Italian revolution was a signal to the Greeks. The actual alliance between the nationalists in the two countries is of less importance than the necessary internal connection between analogous situations. Nationality, which had triumphed in Italy, had far stronger claims for the Greeks; and the expulsion of the House of Lorraine from its Italian dominions was an example which more than justified the overthrow of a dynasty so young, so unpopular, and so foreign to the spirit and interests of Greece, as that of Otho.

The insurrection of Nauplia was a symptom of that complete disaffection which has subsisted for the last two years among all parties, with the exception of some of the country people. The leaders held back through fear of foreign interference. At length, the foreign ministers declared that King Otho had promised to dissolve the packed chamber of deputies, which was nicknamed the Chamber of Demarchs; and then it was known that the Powers which had sustained him so long had abandoned his cause. The revolution became at once a matter of certainty, and the chiefs watched their opportunity. They succeeded in inducing the king to undertake a tour in the southern provinces, which were the most faithful to him, and then with all speed the outbreak was prepared during his absence from Athens, that there might be no resistance, and that the world might understand how little support King Otho enjoyed in the nation.

On the 13th of October the king and queen sailed for Messenia. A few days later Grivas proclaimed his dethronement in Acarnania, and Ruphos at Patras. The news reached Athens on the 22d, and a provisional government was instantly formed by Bulgaris and the absent Ruphos. On the same night they decreed the dethronement of the king and queen, and announced that a national assembly should be convoked to form a new constitution and elect a king. On the following day the army declared itself for the revolution; and with little bloodshed, and hardly any violence, the dethronement of the king was accomplished. On the 24th, the diplomatic body visited the king on board his ship, and assured him of the hopelessness of his cause; and Otho, without landing, sailed away from his kingdom on board an English man-of-war.

According to law, the crown devolved on the younger brother of King Otho, Prince Adalbert of Bavaria. But the same authority which had deprived Otho of his crown, and Queen Amelia of her regency, could with equal right exclude the whole house of Wittelsbach. The power which had deposed the sovereign would not respect the claims of his heir; and a prince who had made no struggle for himself virtually surrendered the rights of his family. It might further be argued, that by the protocol of 1852 the house of Bavaria had abandoned its rights. It was a consenting party to the agreement that the next king should belong to the Greek re-

ligion; but no prince of that house had adopted the communion of the Eastern Church. Negotiations, indeed, had been opened, with primitive simplicity, to obtain the consent of the Pope to such a change; and a dignitary of the Church in Bavaria was said to approve of the idea. But Prince Adalbert had afterwards married a Spanish Infanta; and it was perfectly understood that he had determined never to abandon his religion. Semi-official articles appeared in the Bavarian newspapers, in which the revolution was condemned; whilst it was declared that only a native monarch could succeed in the arduous task of governing and contenting the Greeks.

That grievous delusion has never been entertained by the Greeks themselves. In a land without a real aristocracy, a native king can only be either the nominee of a party or a military chief. In Greece the first would be the only alternative. Prince Hysilanti was accordingly started as a national candidate. But the Russian influence was not strong enough to maintain his cause; and the Greek leaders knew the objection to a sovereign who would be Greek both by race and religion. His elevation would be an act of hostility against Turkey and a menace to the peace of Europe; and, the object of his existence being foreign aggrandisement, there would be no prospect of those internal reforms the need of which is deeply felt by every public man in the kingdom. For the purposes of internal improvements in the laws and administration, it was necessary to turn their eyes to Western Europe. A French or an Italian prince would have suited the political views of many. But France had no candidate, and it was certain that an Italian prince would not be permitted by the other Powers to assume the crown. Moreover, the strong feeling of hatred for the Latin Church, which is next to a Greek's hatred of Islamism, was an objection to any Catholic candidate. Against Protestants there is not an equal hatred, nor is there any reason to believe that a Protestant king would not be able to become popular even with the clergy. The notion which has been suggested, that Greece should elect some eminent statesman to rule over it,—a notion which was varied through all the gradations of supposed eminence,—is by no means the most absurd of the projects that have appeared. The nation ought to receive its new organisation at once from an administrator of great capacity and dictatorial powers—a Solon or Lycurgus. If that is not done, it will not be ripe for freedom, nor capable of being governed without a humiliating reliance on foreign support, or dishonest appeals to the national passions.

The Provisional Government immediately assured the Powers that the Turkish territory should not be molested, and that they would no longer insist on the king belonging to the national faith. These declarations were more than appeals to benevolence. They were the announcement that the Russian influence, which promised for a moment to command the situation, through Kanaris and Grivas, was no longer supreme. Kanaris, an original member of the Provisional Government, resigned after forty-eight hours, and the turbulent Grivas died very soon. The name of the Duke of Leuch-



tenberg had been hardly mentioned when the reaction in favour of England ensued, and Prince Alfred suddenly became the popular candidate. It is probable that the leaders relied on English help in effecting political reforms, restoring the finances, and developing the trade and the internal resources of the country; that they reckoned on the annexation of the Ionian Islands; and that they hoped, by binding up the interests of England with their cause, to deprive the Turkish empire of its chief support. The idea was not the suggestion of intrigue, and was taken up with an unreasoning enthusiasm. It was maintained that, on the principle of non-intervention, nobody could prevent them from electing whom they chose. On the theory of the supremacy of the popular vote, the nation could not be deprived of its choice by the engagements of the three Powers among themselves. France could not resist a *plébiscite*, and Russia was spoken of with a contempt which proved how completely her influence had been swept away by the current of the hour. Nothing but a spontaneous movement of extraordinary violence could have disabled so completely the great Russian party, or could have made a whole nation blind to the utter absence of any hope that a youth without political education or experience could overcome the enormous difficulties of the situation, with anarchy in the internal administration, a mutinous army, just discontent in almost every class, and a crowd of ill-disposed, useless, and ignorant officers and unemployed officials.

Alarmed at these demonstrations, Russia declared, at the end of October, that she deemed the engagements of 1830 still binding, and that no member of the reigning families of England, France, or Russia could accept the crown. This declaration, directed against Prince Alfred, did not include the Duke of Leuchtenberg, who is not in the line of the succession to the Russian throne. The English Government refused, therefore, to make a similar declaration; and the agitation for Prince Alfred was allowed to continue during the whole of November, until his election was certain. At the beginning of December the silence of the English Government was broken, and the Greeks were informed, that Russia having abandoned the claims of the Duke of Leuchtenberg, Prince Alfred would not be allowed to accept the crown. In order to overcome this obstacle, a vote by universal suffrage was immediately taken, and the Prince was elected. Under these circumstances, any other candidate supported by England would require to bring with him some very tempting bribe; and the proposal of another prince of the House of Coburg, King Ferdinand of Portugal, was recommended by the prospect of a surrender of the Ionian Islands. Nothing less would preserve the popularity of England among the disappointed Greeks.

The development of the Hellenic kingdom, and the solution of the Eastern question, depend, not on the ability with which the future king may prepare his armaments, and encourage the military ardour and national spirit of his people, but on the establishment of a pacific tranquil government that shall present to the Grecian

race under the Turkish yoke the spectacle of a well-governed, intelligent, and free community. When the people of Hellas thrive; when the State is supported by national institutions of local character and native growth; when the provinces shall offer to their leading men, in their several degrees, a sphere of action wide enough to satisfy their ambition and employ them usefully, without becoming centres of agitation and intrigue; when the abolition of the Oriental land-tax, and a wise commercial legislation, shall have opened to capital the way into the interior of the country, and to the peasant the prospect of wealth; and when the schools of Athens recover their old supremacy in the Levant, and become the chief source of knowledge and the chief arbiter of thought in the Grecian world;—then, by its influence and by its example, the kingdom will attract all the Greeks of Turkey to its standard, and there will be something to reconcile the civilised Powers to the expulsion of the Turks from Europe. Hitherto the character of the emancipated Greeks has been, next to that of their chief emancipator, the greatest prop of the Turkish cause in the councils of Western Europe.

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THE  
HOME AND FOREIGN REVIEW.

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NAVY DISCIPLINE AND EFFICIENCY.

THERE are certain military enthusiasts who declare the internal defences of England sufficient for the destruction of any invading force that might be rash enough to land on her shores; and there are naval advocates, on the other hand, who maintain that the knell of our empire will have rung before such an intrusion can happen, because our one true defence lies in the deep trench which surrounds our island stronghold. Without taking any part in the controversy between these disputants, we may safely assume it to be one of the very first duties of England, on account both of her position and of her commerce, to keep the mastery of the sea in her own hands. This can only be done by a fleet which will enable us to strike at any foe that may attack us, directly he leaves his ports; and the efficiency of this fleet will depend partly on the materials, or ships, and partly on the persons who compose it.

When the regulations of 1844 were issued, the fleet consisted chiefly of sailing ships, and it was generally thought that the only use of steam-vessels in battle would be to tow the sailing ships into action, perhaps to assist them in manœuvring while in action, and to tow them out of action again when disabled. Seamanship, therefore, still remained of prime necessity both for officers and men. But the introduction of the screw speedily demonstrated that in all future wars the screw-ship was to have the command of the seas. From that time the sailing vessel, as an engine of war, was destined to disappear from the navy. The Russian war showed how im-

mensely the screw-propeller had increased the power of the attack, and the wonderful mobility which it had given to ships of war. Thereupon many theorists, and many naval officers as well, formed the hasty conclusion that seamanship was no longer required, and that the careful training of seamen was a needless waste of time and money, since their place could be taken by artillerymen. But the experience of the last ten years has shown that, in order to be effective when wanted, the screw-ship must husband her coal almost as the miser hoards his gold, and must therefore go through the greater part of her career under sail alone.<sup>1</sup> It has shown also that the most excellent engines will sometimes break down, and that the probability of accident and damage to the machinery is much increased in battle. When the screw, therefore, may at any time fail to place the ship in the required position, it is of the first importance that officers and crews should have all the power that theory and practice can give them to use the sails to the best advantage. The same conditions which are experimentally true with respect to wooden ships may be safely assumed to be true of the new iron-clad ships, which, not carrying coal for more than five or six days under steam at full power, will have to economise their fuel, and to depend on their sails as much as the wooden ships. Even the cupola ships, with the new rig which their projector has invented to give them all the advantages of sails for cruising and steadying them in a sea-way, will require not only trained gunners, but active and efficient seamen, to use them with advantage.

The seamen of the royal navy, therefore, must still, as heretofore, constitute a class apart, endowed with all the skill that training can give, with all the mechanical power of co-operation that discipline can teach, and with all the naval enthusiasm and love for their calling that a judicious treatment and fair and honourable usage can excite.

Since 1844 many changes have been introduced into the discipline of the navy;—some cautiously and judiciously, and attended with excellent effects; others with too much regard to symmetry, or with too little discrimination, or without sufficient foresight of their results. In some cases the Admiralty seems to have been forced by the pressure of political party, or philanthropic theorists, to adopt measures which its mature

<sup>1</sup> The *Alabama* made her passage to her cruising ground under sail, and arrived there with full bunkers. Hence her power to inflict such damage on the commerce of the Northern States. If she had been obliged to use steam throughout her voyage, she would have reached the scene of operation ineffective and disabled.

judgment disapproved; or at least it has been led to issue the new regulations in such a manner as to give a rough shock to the discipline of many ships' companies. When changes are introduced into the army as boons to the men, it is difficult to resist their introduction into the navy also: for the marines form a connecting link between the two services; and privileges conferred on them in their military character by the authorities of the army must be also communicated to their naval companions. This is one reason why the changes in naval discipline have corresponded to those introduced into the discipline of the army. And yet the two services have, and ought to have, two different disciplines. In the seaman, individual dexterity and quickness are of great importance. In the soldier, individual exuberance must be pruned away, and not permitted to spoil the harmony of the line. Again, military manœuvres, when fastest, are performed only at the "double;" but the safety of the ship and crew, both in storm and battle, often depends upon the instantaneous performance of the manœuvre. There is no limit set to the silent celerity which is the perfection of naval discipline. Again, an army, even in an enemy's country, is never quite insulated; but a ship is obliged to have all her resources within herself.

One of the chief changes in naval discipline has affected the amount of power entrusted to captains of ships. Twenty years ago, though surrounded with checks and safeguards against flagrant abuses, they possessed a large discretionary power for enforcing discipline. The good officer might feel confident in the means placed at his disposal, and might know that, if he could conquer the moral difficulty of getting all his men into the habits required by the discipline of a man-of-war, he had not any technical difficulties to anticipate; while every person in the ship looked up to the captain as the wielder of an authority sufficient to meet any emergency that might arise. When any captain either abused his power, or proved himself unequal to the task he had undertaken, it was competent to the Admiralty to act in one of three ways. Either it might remove the officer from his post, and leave the regulations untouched; or it might devise new checks, of an avowedly tentative character, on the powers of captains, and require reports from the captains on the working of them before they were definitively adopted; or it might make new regulations definitively in the usual manner. The last was the course adopted. Circulars were issued contracting the powers of commanding officers, and limiting punishments. In themselves these circulars contained nothing that was objectionable; but their mode of publication gave for the moment



a considerable shock to the efficiency of the navy, both by profoundly altering the discipline of certain vessels, and by lowering the consideration of all commanding officers, the most judicious and able of whom were henceforth crippled by regulations generally needless, and devised for checking the inefficiency of the intemperate and incapable. These regulations may have been intended to attract merchant seamen into the service; but their immediate bearing upon the seamen of the fleet does not seem to have been very carefully considered.

Again, when the agitation against corporal punishment in the army had caused the introduction of classification into the service, the system was introduced into the navy as well, in spite of the fundamental and necessary difference in the penal resources of the two services. In the army the various garrisons possess military prisons where offenders are confined, with or without hard labour, under proper gaolers and warders. As a rule, there are cells attached to every barrack, and it is of comparatively small importance how many men out of a regiment are confined in them. But the space in a ship is more limited. It is only in ships of the line, or large frigates, that one or two cells can be constructed; in other vessels the only prison is a canvas-screen. Moreover, imprisonment is a very inconvenient punishment on board ship, where the strength of every individual of the crew is so frequently required. Hence the duration of such punishments is at the utmost seven days. It is only when the ships are in service at the home ports that offenders can be imprisoned for lengthened periods. In the army, then, an efficient substitute for corporal punishment was already provided. In the navy none has yet been suggested. Yet the same regulations to limit its use have been published for each service. In following the lead of the army authorities in matters which seemed common to the two services, the Admiralty has lost sight of some of the peculiarities of the navy. By circumscribing the powers and increasing the responsibilities of the captain, discipline has been made more precarious, and an occasion has been given for many ships' companies to display a mutinous spirit on the most trifling pretexts. Though this spirit has been somewhat checked, there are few commanding officers who can feel confident that nothing like a "mess-trap row" is likely to break out in their crews.

The regulations of 1844 entrusted the whole office of enforcing discipline to the captain. The amended regulations are more constitutional, and, as the habits of a newly-raised crew are not already formed, like those of an anciently-organised society, must depend for much of their supposed efficiency

on their own mechanical action. But no regulations can alter the real position of a captain, nothing similar to which exists in any other profession. Placed in charge of a floating castle, which contains every necessary element of existence within itself, he has to carry the fortress wherever it may be wanted, to keep it so organised as to be fit for all services, to watch day and night over its safety, and to maintain a careful supervision over each individual of its crew. The objects of his government must be, to keep the crew in the highest state of power, skill, and efficiency, and at the same time in such subordination that whenever their services are required they may be given in the most instantaneous and complete manner. No automaton regulations can do this; almost all must depend on the personal power and influence of the captain. All needless regulations circumscribe this power, and, instead of improving the service, only tend to diminish the responsibility of those who appoint the commanding officers, by diminishing the ill consequences of a bad choice at the expense of a similar diminution in the advantages of a good one.

From the captain let us pass to the crew. With the new regulations for training boys we have no fault to find. But there is a regulation of vital importance which affects the very outset of the man-of-war's man's career, and which goes some way to counterbalance the education he has received in the training ship. In old times officers were usually allowed to enter their own boys, whom they frequently chose from among the dependents of their families, and in whom they took enough interest to have them thoroughly taught. But now, when a ship is commissioned, all the boys are drafted into her from the training ships, and the officers select their servants from the second-class boys in turn. In the great majority of cases, the boys know nothing of their new duties, and by the time they have learned to be tolerably handy they have grown old enough for rating. The officer takes no interest in the strange lad who happens to have become his servant for a few months or a year, and who, for half the time, is useless to him. The boys get into the servile habits of petty pilfering, draining glasses, and the like, which lay the foundation of future vices; and they hear many things said which they carry to the lower deck, and repeat, to the great detriment of discipline. A still more serious objection is, that the first portion of their service at sea is spent in learning a duty which stands in the strongest opposition to their whole future career. Hence both parties, officers and boys, are discontented with the arrangement. The cost of finding substitutes would hardly be worth considering. If the number of mess-

servants (stewards, assistant-stewards, and waiters) were increased to the proportion of one to every three or four officers, and if each officer were allowed ten shillings a month, in lieu of a second-class boy, to pay the private servant he is even now obliged to keep to supply the defective service of his public servant, the commanding officer would be able to keep the boys doing seaman's duty from the first moment of their entry, and both officers and boys would be satisfied. The boys, liberated from this uncongenial service, would then be enabled to reap the full benefit of the seamen's schoolmasters; an excellent class of men, amply sufficient for the theoretic instruction of the boys. Only one thing more seems needed to complete the system of training,—the establishment of a new rating Seamanship Instructor, who should be a leading petty officer.

The clothing of the navy also demands some new legislation. At present the men take up slop-clothing from the paymasters at certain fixed and moderate prices; but notwithstanding the regulations, much of it is sold, or otherwise made away with. The Boards of Officers which reported on the subject ten years ago recommended that all the men's uniforms should be supplied by the government at something less than the present prices, that the cloth should be marked with a "rogues' yarn," to render detection easy, and that the legislature should make it a punishable offence to buy or receive naval clothing. These provisions would be of great benefit, both to the discipline and efficiency of the service, and to the men themselves.

With regard to the police of ships, some steps have been taken towards creating an efficient supply, but at present it is not equal to the demand. Few ships in commission have their full complement of police, while some are without either master-at-arms or ships' corporals. In these cases the commanding officers try to make the most intelligent of the marines supply the deficiency; but the consequent complication of duties usually makes them inefficient substitutes.

The greatest misfortune that the discipline of the navy has suffered by the recent changes is the extinction of the mates, who, twenty years ago, were the mainsprings of order. At that time an experienced mate was found on each deck, who was always there to prevent every irregularity and to enforce cleanliness. These officers were constantly among the men, whom they knew thoroughly, and they could give the first lieutenant information which it would be impossible for him to get now. The sub-lieutenants are now the substitutes for mates; but a glance at the list of the navy in commission will



show how scantily they are represented. The *Marlborough*, the flag-ship in the Mediterranean, with five decks and 1100 men, has no sub-lieutenant at all; the *Queen*, a ship with four decks and 850 men, has only one; few ships have more. On this account the place of the hard-working, experienced mate of past years has to be filled up by naval cadets and midshipmen, utterly useless for most purposes of discipline. It is true that the former advantage to the service was only purchased at the price of injustice to the mates, and we could not advise a return to the old system of creating most valuable officers by keeping them on the sub-lieutenants' list for ten, twelve, and fourteen years. But the present plan of promoting officers very soon after they have passed their examination for lieutenantcies may be carried to a pitch that becomes still more injurious to the service. More experience is required to enable an officer to fulfil the duties of lieutenant than can usually be gained during the five years of his service as naval cadet and midshipman. The service requires a permanent class of officers between lieutenants and midshipmen, which now only exists in name. The intimate acquaintance which the mates of decks had with the character and habits of the men, and which the best officers turned to so good an account, is now possessed by scarcely any; and the rising generation of officers, for want of this practical experience, can scarcely be persuaded of the prime necessity of so apparently technical a detail as cleanliness, and begin to think it derogatory to have to see to the sweeping or cleaning of the decks.

The recent changes in the relative rank of officers, although perhaps unavoidable, have introduced more than one anomaly. A few years ago the principal executive officer was in all cases the second in rank in the ship, and, as the undoubted senior of all his messmates, he had a well-defined and respected position. The increase of rank was first given to the surgeons, and, being marked by a conspicuous change of uniform, was not without influence in lowering the relative position of the senior lieutenant. The next inevitable change gave a step in rank to all lieutenants, masters, paymasters, and engineers, of eight years' standing. This act of justice had its injurious effects; because where the senior lieutenant, as was not unfrequently the case, was of less than eight years' standing, he found himself the fourth or fifth, instead of the officer of highest rank, in the wardroom mess, though in the absence of the captain the supreme command of the ship devolved upon him. Alterations of some similar kind had become necessary; but the changes actually made seem to be rather the effects of external agitation and clamour than the results of a careful

comparison of what was due to each class of officers, and an intelligent estimate of their probable effects on the discipline of the service. They are very generally considered to be acts of one-sided justice, detrimental to the harmony of the service afloat.

But the harmony, and even the efficiency, of the executive officers is affected most injuriously by the existence of the class of masters,—a body of men who, considered as officers, are able and zealous, performing their duties in the most satisfactory manner, and relieving the commanding officers of much care and anxiety, but who cannot, without an anachronism, be kept up as a separate class. The origin of the separation belongs to a day when ships of war were commanded by soldiers or civilians, courtiers or squires, who had no quality suited to their post but courage. The master, or sailing captain, navigated, conducted, and commanded the ship until she was alongside the enemy, when the nominal captain fought her. But when the naval service became a profession, into which persons entered as boys, to follow it diligently all their lives, the separate classification of masters and other officers became an anomaly; and it doubtless would have ceased long ago, if the masters had not been useful in enabling the Government to appoint boys of eighteen or nineteen to the command of frigates. The masters, then, are most useful and valuable officers, because from their youth they have been in the constant performance of duties of great responsibility, not because they have any special training. The records of the Royal Naval College show that in the examination on “navigation,” the sub-lieutenants, on the average, gain at least equal numbers with the second masters, the subjects and papers being the same for both. The masters’ superiority in navigation, and some points of seamanship, must therefore be acquired by subsequent experience; and this experience is gained at the expense of the sub-lieutenants and lieutenants, who, never being required to navigate their ships, naturally lose all interest in that branch of their profession. No Admiralty circulars or regulations will cure this radical evil, or force men to devote time to improving themselves in an art which they know they will scarcely ever be called upon to practise. No doubt it is a support to the captain to have an experienced navigator by his side, who by force of routine mechanically makes calculations which would be a severe intellectual labour to the superior officer. But this relief is obtained by the sacrifice of all exterior motives to scientific study on the part of all the other executive officers in the ship.

The moral injury to the harmony of the wardroom result-

ing from the peculiar position of the class of masters is greater than the intellectual injury to its professional culture. The inferiority in the prospects of this class must always tend to embitter it against the rest of the executive officers. A master's assistant and a midshipman may join a ship on the same day; they are of precisely the same standing; they "pass" on the same day; one becomes a sub-lieutenant, the other a second master. So far their careers have been equal. But the equality ends here; for the sub-lieutenant may count upon getting his promotion within two years; but the second master has to plod on in the gunroom for four or five years. Or a ship may be commissioned, where the lieutenants, other than the first, may be officers of three or four years' standing, whilst a master may be appointed, himself an executive officer, who has been longer in the navy than those officers have been in the world; yet he is their junior, and, in the absence of the senior lieutenant, is absolutely under their command. Thus it may and frequently does happen that a master serves in one ship with a midshipman many degrees his junior in rank, and within a very few years finds himself again a shipmate with the same officer, who has meanwhile become his superior by being promoted to be lieutenant. Add to this, that the boundaries between the duties of the master and those of the senior lieutenant are undefined, and constantly clashing; the effect of the whole being, that steady coöperation is rarely found between these two of the principal officers of the ship.

The natural jealousy which the masters feel for the lieutenants brings them into closer connection with the captain, to whose personal comfort their services are so necessary. This sometimes leads them to seek from his countenance an importance which is contrary to the spirit of the instructions, and subversive of discipline.

The existence of the class is therefore injurious to the other officers, to the captains, and to the masters themselves. But while the classification deserves no mercy, the masters themselves deserve the highest possible consideration. They ought to be liberally dealt with, and for the benefit of the service their extinction should be gradual. First, all further entries of masters' assistants might be stopped. All the second masters at present on the list might be put upon the list of sub-lieutenants, and all masters' assistants rated as midshipmen. The vessels commanded by lieutenants might have sub-lieutenants appointed to them as navigating officers; those of commanders might have lieutenants in the same capacity. Then, as the senior masters went off the list, lieutenants might be appointed to perform the navigation duties



in frigates and ships of the line, till the whole class had disappeared; the store duties now performed by the masters might be given to the commander or first lieutenant, and thus one fruitful source of discord would be removed from the service.

Another defect in our navy, which is highly prejudicial to the efficiency of officers, might be remedied, if we would condescend to follow the example of the French. The French Admiralty deals wisely with its officers, working them while they are fit for work, and then withdrawing them from active service. Some such system of retirement at a certain age is much wanted in the British navy, both to provide efficient flag-officers, and to secure a sufficient amount of employment to keep those officers who are on the active list in a state of efficiency. Constant practice is more necessary to the naval officer than to almost any other professional man; in hardly any other profession does the adept so rapidly deteriorate through want of employment. The naval officer should never be permitted to remain for more than a year without work, except in case of ill-health. Constant employment would not only keep officers in a state of efficiency, but would generally ensure their readiness to retire at the appointed age. It would also be necessary to adopt a perfectly just system of equally apportioning foreign and home services, so that after an officer had served for three years abroad, he should at least have the option of taking his turn at home. Captain Coles's suggestion of a flotilla to form our coast-patrol would furnish a ready means of carrying out such a system of rotation of home and foreign service, and would give occasion for other indulgences which are earnestly demanded by the service. The flotilla might cruise during the fine season, while in winter half the officers and men might be constantly on leave. Again, an officer on his return from foreign service might have six weeks' leave on full pay for every year that he has been absent, and on the expiration of his leave might be appointed to the flotilla for a year or two. Thus the hardship which the naval officer alone, out of all the public functionaries, has to endure—the loss of half his pay while taking his needful relaxation after hard work—would come to an end.

Another improvement, which we believe is universally desired in the navy, is the establishment of some kind of professional check upon the central authority at the Admiralty. The French navy has its *Conseil d'Amirauté*; but the English navy has no professional representative to watch over its interests. Yet a board of naval officers, which might consist of a flag-officer, two captains, and two commanders, chosen

from the officers who had shown judgment and knowledge, and had recently seen service abroad or at home, would be found a most useful appendage to the Admiralty, to prevent ill-considered changes in discipline. We have already seen how the Admiralty has followed the lead of the War-Office in making new regulations for the navy; another instance will show what injury may be done to the service abroad by a measure which was excellent in relation to the home service. In 1861 a new regulation was made regarding the mode of paying the men. Twenty years ago the crews of ships were paid a small portion of their wages monthly, while the bulk was reserved till the return of the ships to England. This system was much improved by paying larger monthly sums, while a moderate balance was still kept in hand to enable the men to enjoy their holiday in England. A further improvement was introduced in 1859, when an annual balance-sheet was made up every 31st of March, and the men were permitted to send home the whole or any portion of the sums due to them. So far all was excellent. But in 1861 a circular was issued directing that the annual balance-sheet should be made out on the 31st of December, and that all who demanded it should receive the whole of the money due to them. This was an admirable measure for the home stations, where the crews, immediately after payment, could obtain leave, and where, indeed, most of the men in the harbour-ships had their families at hand. But on foreign service the case was different: many ships had been two, some three, years in commission, and very large sums went down to the lower decks, often in places where no leave could be given, and in very many cases to the extreme prejudice of discipline. Many such cases found their way into the newspapers, but many of the most disreputable were never heard of outside the service. Now it is evident that, in making this change, the Admiralty was aiming at a most praiseworthy object; and it is probable that, from the eyes of the Board being chiefly directed to the service at home, the effect of the change upon the service abroad was not foreseen. No greater proof of the advantage of some consultative board could be wished for than this well-intentioned blunder affords.

Every such mistake brings his isolated position more and more home to the consciousness of the naval officer. The proverb, "out of sight, out of mind," applies with singular force to his calling. If even the Board of Admiralty forgets the interests of the service abroad in comparison with those of the service at home, how can the naval officer who keeps watch and ward on the solitary sea, or on distant coasts, hope

for a share in the attention of the nation, equal to that bestowed on the services, military and civil, which throng the capital and pervade the whole country?

The average of the service of naval captains is altogether thirty-five years and nine months, of which twenty-five years and five months were previous to obtaining their rank; and for these services they receive<sup>2</sup> 228*l.* a year as half-pay, while their full-pay (550*l.*) is accompanied by so many additional outlets of expense that in their case Hesiod's paradox is fulfilled, and the half is found to be more than the whole. The average service of commanders is twenty-five years and a half, of which nineteen years and a half were previous to their attaining their rank. Their half-pay is 168*l.*, and their full-pay 346*l.* a year, subject to the same drawbacks as that of the captain. Lieutenants receive 182*l.* 10*s.* full-pay and 91*l.* 5*s.* half-pay. Sub-lieutenants receive 66*l.*

For this payment the captains and commanders represent British power, and protect British lives and property on every coast and in every sea. They are frequently entrusted with delicate diplomatic duties. Their position is of such responsibility that an error might sometimes involve the country in a war. They are also responsible for all that occurs in the ships which they command.

Next to the captain comes the commander in a ship of the line, or the first lieutenant in a frigate. This officer conducts, under the captain's direction, all the executive duties of the ship. His work begins at four o'clock A.M. and ends at nine P.M., at which hour he visits every part of the ship, ascertaining, by personal observation, that every thing is in its place, that the decks are clean, and the fighting materials ready for instant service. He is responsible for the cleanliness of the ship, the order, discipline, and exact obedience of the men, and the good conduct, attention, and diligence of the officers, each in his own sphere. He must be constantly about the decks from four A.M. to nine P.M., must personally direct all the work in which the whole crew is employed, must be responsible to the captain for all that goes on in the vessel, and must take the command of the ship in the captain's absence. Of all positions in a ship of war his is the most trying to body and mind. For performing these duties he is paid, if a commander, after an average of twenty-three years' service, 300*l.*

<sup>2</sup> In the text the average pay of all officers of the same rank is given; but they are often classified: *e.g.* captains are divided into three classes, receiving 264*l.*, 228*l.*, and 191*l.* respectively; 550*l.* is the mean of the pay and allowances, as calculated from the naval estimates, of eighty-six captains, most of whom are serving on foreign stations with less pay than this average amount.



a year; if a first lieutenant, after sixteen and a half years' service, 200*l.* a year.

The junior lieutenant, besides having charge of his own division or company of seamen, is responsible for the safety of the ship for at least eight hours out of every twenty-four. The sub-lieutenant's duties are almost the same, as in all ships under the size of first-class frigates he usually keeps officer's watch.

Let us next examine whether the rate of pay is compensated by the prizes which are to be attained by men who live long enough to reach the top of the flag-list. The first thing to be remembered is, that these prizes are in fact never reached by those who have not had interest to gain their captain's rank at a very early age. Of the twenty-two flag-officers who headed the list at the beginning of 1862, four were captains after eight years, and two after nine years, while the average of the whole number gives twelve years and a few days between their entry and their promotion to be captains. For the vice-admirals the average time is sixteen years and a half; for the rear-admirals, twenty-one years and a half. The proof is complete that the prizes of the profession are already beyond the reach of those who become captains after the average service of twenty-five years and three-quarters. The other prizes of the profession are ten appointments of naval aides-de-camp to the Queen, and twenty-one good-service pensions, among 350 captains. Of the 717 captains who were on the list in 1843, when the junior rear-admiral on the 1st of January 1863 obtained post rank, 87 are now flag-officers. Of the 837 commanders, 115 are now captains; and of the 2637 lieutenants, 110 are captains, and 138 commanders on the active list. Now out of the twenty-two admirals, four have had four commands; two have had three; two have had two; six have had one appointment; and the remaining eight have never hoisted their flags. Of the twenty-seven vice-admirals, two have had three commands; eight have had two; five have had one; and the other twelve have never been afloat as flag-officers. Of the fifty rear-admirals, three have had two commands; fifteen have had one; and the remaining thirty-three have never hoisted their flags.

In spite of the conventional importance attributed to the navy, the executive officers of the service are very inadequately remunerated. The saying of Lord St. Vincent, "Keep your navy poor, and it will serve you well," has been accepted too literally; and the result has been to engender a chronic dissatisfaction. The pay given to all public servants is of necessity calculated on the market-value of the work required of

them. But the officers of the navy very generally consider that, under existing conditions, the lowness of their pay is exerting an injurious influence on the efficiency of the service; and they also believe that the question would not have been evaded so long if it had affected in an equal degree the army or the civil service. It would be obviously impossible to discuss the matter without a minuteness of detail altogether beyond our present scope. The subject is a very proper one for parliamentary enquiry; and it is to be hoped that the committee will not dismiss it without a full and searching investigation. There is no other way of rectifying inaccurate views on either side, and establishing a basis for dissipating the general discontent which at present exists among the officers. Again, notwithstanding the responsibility which is necessarily attached to the commander of the isolated sea-fortress, the sudden and unexpected nature of the dangers he has to encounter, and the supreme necessity of his possessing habits of independent self-reliance and "initiative," he has been more and more hampered by Admiralty regulations and circulars, so that his former free-agency is grievously narrowed. By means of the electric telegraph, the Admiralty regulates all the details at the ports, where the admirals therefore do captains' duty, the captains lieutenants', and so on through all ranks. There can be no more fatal damper to earnestness and zeal, and no more stupid contrast to the policy which has raised private firms like Cunard's, Penn's, Laird's, and Napier's to national importance. In these companies the managers and foremen are carefully selected, and left to work out the orders entrusted to them, under a careful supervision which never amounts to interference with each detail. This is the only way to procure a hearty and enthusiastic service.

The irritating interference of the Admiralty with the mess-accounts has reduced the wardroom officers to the rating of the nursery, and has given the captain the maternal, housewife-like occupation of "chronicling small beer." In one frigate the wardroom mess had laid in an unusually large stock of wine; she was wrecked, and the whole stock was lost. Here was a knot which could only be untied by bringing the gods on the stage, and enacting a universal law that all stable-doors should be always kept locked because one steed had been stolen. A similar meddling spirit is visible in the recent circular on the issue of mess-traps to officers' messes. It is not to be expected that a fidgety change, involving expense to underpaid officials, will be very thankfully received by them. The same may be said of the frequent changes of naval uniform, which are totally unnecessary to the service,

and made, apparently, in favour of the tailors. Under these inflictions the officers, as a body, are fast losing that family feeling which distinguished them twenty years ago; and their high tone will not be restored without some mitigation of the causes of their just offence.

The system of centralisation, already carried much too far, should be limited. There should be a fair and searching enquiry into the position of naval officers with regard to their service, promotion, pay, and rewards. The regulations about officers' messes and servants should be revised. And a consulting board might be established to discuss and report on all proposed changes in the service.

Let us turn from the officers to the seamen of the fleet. One effect of the late severe paroxysm of regulation-making has been to increase the trade of a very objectionable character, the "sea-lawyer." Each new circular is discussed even more keenly on the lower deck than at the officers' mess-tables; and discipline is affected accordingly. With all its good effects at the home-ports, and perhaps in the Mediterranean, the last change in the system of payments has made the men on the other foreign stations hold less firmly to their ships, has made desertions more frequent, and has caused vast sums to be spent abroad which formerly went to the men's families at home. The effect of the regulations about corporal punishment, and of that on classification especially, has been, as shown by the reports presented to the House of Commons, to increase and not to diminish corporal punishment. The continuous-service system is a success; but a danger threatens it which should be especially guarded against. When the system was first adopted, a distinct promise was given that the men should be allowed to volunteer for any ship they liked, on their return from the leave always granted to them when their old ship is paid off. By degrees this privilege has been more and more curtailed; and it is now virtually abolished, though no order against it has been issued. Now, therefore, a man just returned from service on the East-India station may, at the end of his six weeks' holiday in England, be drafted to a ship going to that station, when he would probably wish, and his health would make it advisable, that he should rather be sent to any other station. This departure from the original intention of the continuous-service system has quite broken the previously frail tie between officers and men. For, however anxious a man may be to serve with an old captain, the drafting system effectually prevents it. The pay and privileges of the able and ordinary seaman are probably up to the market-standard of remuneration for labour.



Not so those of the petty officers, who, considering their responsibilities, are not paid highly enough to make their rating valuable to them, or to make them anxious to retain it. Hence they are not so careful in their conduct as they would otherwise be. At present the chief petty officer receives 3*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.*; the first-class petty officer, 3*l.* 2*s.*; and the second-class petty officer, 2*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* a month. These sums should be increased to 3*l.* 15*s.*, 3*l.* 10*s.*, and 3*l.*

Some improvement in the pay and prospects of warrant-officers—gunners, boatswains, and carpenters—is needed to overcome the reluctance felt by the men to qualify themselves for these stations, which are, in fact, the only officers' positions open to them. By the present regulations a warrant-officer does not retire before sixty, unless he is invalided. Now the age of fifty-five would be a much fairer limit, on account of the wear and tear of a sailor's life. The young men see that their messmates of forty-five and fifty are already old men, and have little inclination to tie themselves to the service for ten or fifteen years beyond those periods. Again, the pay of the warrant-officer on harbour-duty is less than his sea-pay by 1*s.* 2½*d.* a day; and his harbour-service counts, as compared with his sea-service, in the ratio of four to seven for his retiring pension. This would be fair if the warrant-officer had his choice; but as he is almost always anxious to serve at sea, it is a hardship. Then, with regard to his pension, each year during which he has served as seaman or petty officer before his promotion entitles him to 1*l.* additional, besides his retiring pension. "But," say the instructions, "in this case the additional time allowed for service as seaman-gunner is not to count." Once more, why have the warrant-officers no relative army rank, though in the navy they rank next to second masters, who rank with lieutenants in the army? The comfort, respectability, and travelling allowances of warrant-officers are so much affected by this anomaly that it should be immediately rectified.

The economical idea which has excluded from "service" the extra time allowed the seaman-gunner for becoming perfectly acquainted with the exercise and working of great guns, pivot, broadside, and field-piece, for learning the sword-exercise, and at least as much of rifle-exercise and company and battalion drill as an artilleryman, and for becoming a competent instructor in each of these departments, happily has not influenced the measures which the late and present governments have adopted to simplify the great problem of the manning of the navy. The service has been made to a great extent self-supporting by means of training-ships, and

the annual entry of enough boys to supply the greater part of the losses from death, desertion, and other causes. The question of manning the peace establishment of the navy has been solved, and a nucleus created, round which a great development of the fleet may accrue during war. The greatest care, however, is required to maintain this nucleus in such a condition of vitality as to be capable of at once assimilating the whole addition which the sudden expansion of a war-footing would throw upon it. In ordinary times, the nucleus must consist chiefly of thoroughly-trained men-of-war's men; but as its sudden expansion must always be fed from the merchant service, the channel of this alimentation should always be kept open by recruiting some portion of our navy from merchant seamen. Now that the books are full, and the walls are no longer placarded with invitations to the British sailor to enter the national service, a provision might be made for entering, at each of the chief mercantile ports, a certain number of men carefully selected for character and ability. For a time probably this provision would be regarded with suspicion; but, if the merchant seamen found that only men of good character and ability were accepted, there would soon be no difficulty in filling up the lists.

There are 75,000 men, excluding 1000 coast-guard civilians, voted for the service of 1863-4. Of this number 41,750 are seamen, to man 265 ships, and 48 coast-guard tenders. There are also, as appears by the naval estimates, 16,000 of the royal naval reserve, and 8000 coast volunteers, making 24,000 seamen. But not more than half this number can be counted on for sudden emergencies, because many of the men will be engaged in ocean voyages, and because of the probable diminution in the number of the coast volunteers under the proposed change in the law affecting them. We have, then, in round numbers, 42,000 trained men-of-war's men, including artificers, stokers, idlers, and servants; 2000 effective out of the 4500 pensioners, and 12,000 reserve and coast volunteers; or 44,000 trained, and 12,000 partially-trained men,—for we cannot place the reserve man on the same level as the man-of-war's man.

It is impossible to say what fleet would be found requisite in a great naval war; but it is certain that, although iron-clad vessels may supersede wooden ships for the defence of our shores and the neighbouring seas, yet on wooden ships must, for the present, be placed our great reliance for foreign service. Our naval force, in any given part of the world, ought to be at least equal to the most powerful foreign squadron in the same waters. In the Channel, the Mediter-

anean, the West Indies, and North America, we must have iron-clad ships ; and if *Monitors* are constructed at San Francisco, we must have them at Vancouver's Island. But in every other sea the protection of commerce and colonies is, and probably will be, dependent chiefly on wooden ships. As long as such vessels exist in the navies of other nations, so long they may hold their ground in our own, till it can be shown that wood and iron, or iron alone, can make a ship strong enough to carry five and a half inches of armour in heavy seas, without needing constant repair. Wherever an enemy sends iron-clad ships, we must do the same ; where he employs wooden ones, wooden ones may be sent against him. The war establishment of the navy consists of 595 ships (including those building), requiring 127,000 men, besides boys, to man them. Deducting one-fifth for officers and marines, we have 101,000 seamen, stokers, and artificers. The force in commission consists of 265 vessels (excluding tenders), manned with 37,240 seamen (besides 4500 coast-guard, serving on shore, but available for a sudden emergency), of which 150 vessels, with 30,307 seamen, are on foreign service. If, in case of war, this force were increased to 416 vessels, they would require the whole of the reserves at home, including the men serving in England, the coast volunteers, the royal naval reserve, and 2000 pensioners, besides 13,000 merchant seamen to be raised in the handiest way. There would still remain a reserve of 179 ships, requiring 41,350 men, but not a single seaman. This analysis shows that the force voted for the present year cannot be considered as more than barely sufficient.

Owing to the scientific improvements in the *matériel* of the navy, the problem of manning it becomes yearly more difficult. The new weapons especially require highly-trained gunners to use them, and the employment of shells and incendiary projectiles requires the most consummate discipline to keep the men steady in action. It was proposed by the Gun-nery Committee of 1857, that there should be at least one sea-man gunner to each gun in a newly-commissioned ship. But the number of gunners hitherto available has not enabled the Admiralty to carry out this recommendation. The French navy has adopted a larger proportion ; the example should be followed, and at least three trained gunners should be allowed to every two guns in ships on active service. At present, not one trained man for every ten guns could be supplied, if the navy were suddenly placed on a war-footing.

The navy complains that, on every financial pressure, it is the first department of the public service to suffer reduction.



It does not protest against incurring its share of the *general* reduction which, from time to time, may be necessary in *all* the departments ; but it objects both to the one-sided reduction of the navy in general, and to the special modes in which this reduction is made. The army is reduced by the discharge of bad characters ; the navy by paying off whole ships' companies. In the navy, wages are economised by employing the young and rising seamen in doing labourers' work in the dockyards, where they soon lose their most valuable qualities, smartness, neatness, and submission to discipline. As long as a man is on the active roll of the navy, he should be guarded against such demoralising influences as are rife in the dockyards, where the labourers are not under naval discipline, and where large gangs of convicts are often employed on the same work as the seamen. It is, moreover, a mistake to suppose that the moral tension necessary to naval discipline can be kept up by "boons" and voluntary supererogatory kindness. The qualities which sailors esteem the most are justice and fair dealing. They are always most docile when they feel that they have fair play ; and they esteem their superiors more for the justice and uprightness of their decisions than for any other quality. The sailor does not wince under the strictest discipline, when he sees that one rule prevails for all, high and low. Let him know what he has to expect, and what is expected of him ; and in questions concerning his pay, let him be treated with due regard to the market-value of his labours. Thus he would gradually lose the distrust which is now such a marked element in his character. He would cease to look on the Admiralty as the wiser Trojans looked on the Greek horse, and would speedily learn to have confidence in its decrees, and to receive its gifts without the scrutiny of a pardonable suspicion.

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## TENURE OF LAND IN IRELAND.

MR. CARLYLE somewhere computes that it would be well worth our while to add another two hundred millions to the national debt, if at that price we could get rid of Ireland as a neighbour, and shove her some thousand miles off into the Atlantic. The suggestion is only a milder form of the old proposal to pacify the sister island by sinking her for four-and-twenty hours under water; and it exhibits about as much wisdom, moderation, and justice as commonly display themselves in the politics of its author. The schemes of a sound theorist or a practical statesman would take a direction very different from this. Such a man would desire to see Ireland thoroughly pacified and loyal, annexed to Great Britain in reality as in name. His aim would be to enlist the military spirit of her people for the hearty defence of the empire; to be able to marshal corps after corps of Irish volunteers, and look to them with the same proud confidence as to our own; to make Ireland, armed and organised, our sharpest sword and strongest buckler, instead of refusing her arms and organisation, through a reasonable and deep-seated fear lest they should be turned to civil war. A change like this would be more than equivalent to an army of a hundred thousand men. It would be inestimable. It would make all the difference between a sense of almost unassailable security and a risk of irreparable disaster.

The obvious sources of disaffection in Ireland are two,—the Church question and the Land question. There is indeed another and more subtle cause of discontent, which we indicated in a former article,—the want of due political power and influence on the part of Ireland collectively; but this last manifestly springs from the two others, and can be cured only when, by their removal, the inveterate disunion of Irishmen has no longer a cause for existence. The question of the Established Church, difficult as it may be to deal with in the teeth of the strong prejudices engaged in it, is at least a simple one to this extent, that it falls entirely within the domain of legislation. It is a grievance plainly remediable by law, hard as it may be to get the law passed. The mischief of the Irish Church Establishment consists not so much in its being an injustice and absurdity, nor even in the insult which it daily presents to the Catholic people, and above all to the priesthood of Ireland, as in this,—that, by being the basis of a separate Protestant political interest, it aggravates

the ill blood between the aristocracy and the people, and thus becomes another ingredient in that alembic of all evil, the relations between those who own and those who till the soil.

This subject is one which cannot be approached without reluctance and pain. On the very threshold of it, the memory of the manifold miseries and crimes of which it has been the occasion,—oppressions and exterminations on the one hand, outrages, conspiracies, and murders on the other,—recalls the phantoms thronging the vestibule of the realms of death :

“ Vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci  
Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia curæ  
Et metus et malesuada fames et tristis egestas,  
Terribiles visu formæ letumque laborque.”

Avenging cares and sullen sorrows, fear and penury, ill-counselling famine, toil, and death—by what dark enchantment has the fair soil of Ireland borne such progeny ? Both classes in Ireland, the high and the low, have not only fine qualities, but qualities of almost the same temper ; both are high-spirited, generous, hospitable, and open-hearted, except to one another. The peasant has sympathies only too keen and lavish for his own kin and class ; for them he is capable of almost any stretch of fidelity and sacrifice ; but the misfortunes of the upper class find his heart shut and hard, and when one of that class lies murdered he can hardly repress a secret sense of exultation, and a fellow-feeling with the slayer. The gentry, on the other hand, constantly speak of the peasantry, and treat them, as if they were less deserving of human sympathy than any creeping thing. “ The ruffians,” they say of them, “ they come sneaking to your honour hat in hand ; and they cheat you with eternal lies, and shoot you from behind a hedge. There is but one way of dealing with them,—to make them fear you.” We do not represent this state of things as universal—God forbid ! There are large exceptions, we know, and large portions of Ireland where the relations between the classes are far more natural and wholesome ; but that it is unhappily true of a great part of Ireland, any one familiar with the country will bear witness. One proof of it is the tone of the press. The political organs of the Irish aristocracy hardly ever speak of the mass of their countrymen but in terms of unmeasured contempt and aversion ; and this spirit is reciprocated by the organs of the popular party. This is a state of things which may well baffle the art of legislation. It is a moral evil which no clause of an act of parliament can cure ; still it has been undoubtedly aggravated by the legislation of past times, and



may therefore, perhaps, even now be capable of being mitigated by legislation. But why, it may be asked, does this state of things exist? Are not the laws relating to land the same in Ireland as in England? And what can Ireland ask better than the full enjoyment, in all respects, of those institutions under which England has thriven and is contented? It is true that the laws are substantially the same; but we must add the obvious comment, that it is not the letter of the law alone, but the spirit in which it is worked, which makes it good or evil. To give one illustration. How many proprietors are there in England to whom the principle that property has its duties as well as its rights does not seem a truism plain almost to puerility? It is a principle which every landlord in England has learned, not from books, but from the very atmosphere around him, and the practice of his fathers and his father's fathers for long generations. Yet when this simple axiom of natural law was proclaimed in Ireland a quarter of a century ago by a Scottish chief secretary, it excited a perfect ferment amongst the aristocracy of Ireland, who denounced it as the preaching of revolutionary novelties from the seat of government. The more revolutionary doctrines of that kind are preached, imbibed, and practised, the less need be the fear of revolution of another kind. It is impossible to consider the land question in Ireland merely as a matter of actual law; its present condition is the growth of a long and unhappy history; and we are forced, therefore, to consider how the injustice of the past has borne its fruit in the sufferings of the present.

If ever that great work be accomplished which, with far more serious interests, sustained so heavy a blow in the deaths of John Donovan and Eugene Curry,—we mean the translation of the Brehon laws,—we shall probably know a great deal of which we have now no conception concerning the ancient tenure of land in Ireland. The subject possesses more than a merely antiquarian interest; for the lapse of two centuries has perhaps hardly sufficed to eradicate, amongst a people profoundly tenacious of tradition, every trace of the ancient mode of life of their fathers. So far as we can judge, the Celtic land institutions seem to have been impressed with much the same characters as those of other nations in the early stages of civilisation, before the great idea had become rooted of progress founded on the exclusive possession and hereditary transmission of wealth. The ultimate property, the *altum dominium*, was not in the possessor; much less was it in the chief. The land, according to the fundamental idea of Celtic jurisprudence, was the domain of the whole sept or tribe. No clansman

could assert that a single *Bally betagh* of it had become absolutely his, to the exclusion of his kinsmen; and thus a redistribution seems to have taken place from time to time, made by the chieftain, not arbitrarily, we may infer, but guided by some rules of custom. To the chieftain himself, whether of a royal or a tributary sept, there were allotted demesne or mensal lands for his appanage; and he was entitled to receive from his clansmen dues of corn and cattle in kind, resembling outwardly the rent-service of the feudal system, but differing from it in essence; for the idea of a yearly service payable by the tenant to the lord, in return for the grant of the land itself, was alien from the whole spirit of Celtic law. It was more strictly a tax or tribute, not a payment given for the land, which the chief had not granted, and which was not his to grant, but yielded in requital for his protection and government, and for the maintenance of his dignity as the ruler and the head of the clan. These tributes were in time of peace far from onerous; for, indeed, beyond maintaining his immediate retinue, what use could the chief make of his revenues? In time of war, however,—and war had become unfortunately almost a normal state of things amongst those petty princes,—the right of exaction became naturally quite unlimited. The war had to support the war; and, so far as the creaghts and bouaghts could not be fed by plundering the agriculture and pastures of the enemy, they had to be fed from the agriculture and pastures of their own clan. The mensal lands of the chief were held by him strictly for life, and were transmitted, not to his son, but to his tanist, the oldest and worthiest of his name and blood, elected by the clan in the lifetime of the chief, like the king of the Romans in the German Empire. The lands of the inferior clansmen descended to all their children, legitimate and illegitimate, in gavelkind, subject to the right of redistribution to which we before alluded.

This whole system was undoubtedly primitive and semi-barbarous. It was strongly imbued with those inherent defects of uncertainty and insecurity of tenure denounced by Sir John Davies in a passage to which we shall hereafter advert. It was better, however, than the merely annual possession of the early Germans; and it would probably have developed in time into a kind of peasant proprietorship, yielding some fixed rent to the lord, but stripped of the feudal notion of forfeiture. For with all the manifest imperfections of the old Celtic tenure, there was at least a strong idea of justice and equality lying at its root, as, indeed, is the case with the institutions of all countries till conquest intervenes. When

the English settled in Ireland, they naturally brought with them their English habits and institutions, of a type totally different from those of Ireland, and, we need hardly say, far in advance of them in all the essentials of civilisation. That tract which after a time became designated as the English pale was of necessity a little England in itself, with all the mixed Saxon and Norman ideas which had become welded together in the constitution of England. The Irish laws and the Irish race had become substantially banished from its limits; so that down to the middle of the sixteenth century there were in fact two nations, with a territorial line of demarcation, as distinct as England and Scotland, though, as in the latter case also, with confusion and intermingling of the races upon the borders. Inside the pale were the three estates of the realm,—were lords mesne and lords paramount, tenure in chivalry and tenure in socage, rents and services, escheat and forfeiture, mayors and burgesses of corporations, and, above all, the essential principle of feudalism, the theory that the king was chief lord and ultimate owner of every acre of the soil. Without the pale were tanistry and gavelkind, fosterage and gossipred, and the ties of blood and lineage predominating instead of homage and fealty. There was, indeed, the mixed case of the degenerate English, the MacWilliams eighter and oughter, the Butlers and Geraldines, who became simply Celtic chieftains of Norman race, speaking the Irish language, and impregnated in all respects with Irish feelings and habits; a result which arose, not, as Spenser and Davies indignantly complain, from the treacherous design of breaking with England and establishing themselves as an independent power, nor, as Irish writers are fond of believing, from the seductiveness of the Irish mode of life, and the kindly milk of Irish nurses,<sup>1</sup> but from the simple necessity of the case. Planted with large possessions in the Irish country, with no means of obtaining or keeping on foot an armed force of Englishmen, they had to maintain themselves by means of their Irish retainers, and could do so only on condition of accommodating themselves to the feelings and traditions of their followers.

Down to the close of the sixteenth century, three-fourths of Ireland remained, as regards tenure of land, as well as all other social arrangements, as thoroughly Irish as in the days of Niall of the nine hostages. It was with the reigns of Eli-

<sup>1</sup> "The Geraldines, the Geraldines, not long our air they breathed,  
Not long they fed on venison in Irish waters seethed,  
Not often had their children been by Irish mothers nursed,  
When from their full and genial hearts an Irish feeling burst."

*Thomas Davis.*



zabeth and James that the real conquest of Ireland commenced,—the conquest, not of dominion and revenue, but of the soil itself, and the means of life of the population. The last, as Thierry says, of the territorial conquests in Europe, it was by many degrees the most cruel; and to the mode in which it was effected are those deep wounds to be attributed which have so sorely festered throughout the whole subsequent life of the Irish nation, and which even yet, at the end of two centuries, refuse to heal. The victories of the generals of Elizabeth had made the field clear for the designs of the advisers of James. The frightful Geraldine war had left Munster, as Mountjoy expresses it, nothing but carcasses and ashes; and the defeat of O'Neill at Kinsale had broken the power of the confederate clans of Ulster. Yet O'Neill was still powerful enough to make the English shrink from pursuing him to extermination. He and all his tributary clans were admitted to the Queen's pardon; he received back his dominions on condition of exchanging his Irish title of chieftaincy for that of English nobility, and calling himself Earl of Tyrone. Seven years after that treaty had been ratified, and in a time of profound peace, the ruin of O'Neill and O'Donnell, and the confiscation of their lands was resolved on in the Castle of Dublin. They were made the victims of a pretended conspiracy, of which no tittle of evidence was ever adduced. Appreciating truly enough the justice of those days, and discerning too clearly what the end must be, they fled in panic to the Continent, and were duly attainted by act of parliament; and their enormous possessions were confiscated to the crown. The design, which had been maturely formed, of distributing the greater portion of these lands amongst English and Scottish planters, was then executed.

The chief agent in effecting and, we believe, in devising this great revolution was Sir John Davies, the attorney-general for Ireland,—a man of great natural talents, possessing in a high degree the instincts and qualities of statesmanship, devoted heart and soul to the English interest in Ireland, and full of the genuine aversion of the civilised man for a barbarous and disordered state of society. This remarkable administrator has left on record his mature conclusions with respect to the evils of Ireland, and the proper mode of dealing with them, developed with much fulness of detail, and in the nervous English of his day. To Sir John Davies, a statesman, but a statesman of thoroughly English mould, having all the indisposition and almost incapacity of our countrymen to perceive the slightest germ of good in the institutions of others, it is no matter of wonder that the Irish tenure of land seemed incurably vicious, and incapable of being dealt with in

any way short of its entire extirpation. We will let him detail in his own words his indictment against it. Our extract from him is long, but not unduly so; every word of it is worthy of being weighed by those who have to sit in judgment upon modern Irish tenure,—a system which Sir John Davies himself would assuredly have regarded with aversion, but which, unconscious of the results, he was a main instrument in establishing.

“In England,” he says, “as in all well-ordered commonwealths, men have certain estates in their lands and possessions, and their inheritances descend from father to son, which doth give them encouragement to build, and to plant, and to improve their lands, and to make them better for their posterity. But by the Irish custom of tanistry, the chieftains had no longer estate than for life in their chiefries, the inheritance whereof did rest in no man. And these chiefries, though they had some portions of land allotted unto them, did consist chiefly in cuttings and cosheries, and other Irish exactions, whereby they did spoil and impoverish the people at their pleasure.

“And when the chieftains were dead, their sons or next heirs did not succeed them, but their tanists, who were elective, and purchased their election by strong hands; and by the Irish custom of gavelkind the inferior tenancies were partable amongst all the males of the sept, both bastards and legitimate; and after partition made, if any one of the sept had died, his portion was not divided among his sons, but the chief of the sept made a new partition of all the lands belonging to that, and gave every one his part according to his antiquity. These two Irish customs made all their possessions uncertain, being shuffled and changed, and removed so often from one to another by new elections and partitions; which uncertainty of estates hath been the true cause of such desolation and barbarism in this land, as the like was never seen in any country that professed the name of Christ. For though the Irish be a nation of great antiquity, and wanted neither wit nor valour, and though they had received the Christian faith above 1200 years since, and were lovers of music, poetry, and all kind of learning, and possessed a land abounding with all things necessary for the civil life of man; yet (which is strange to be related) they did never build any houses of brick or stone—some few religious houses excepted—before the reign of King Henry II., though they were lords of this island for many hundred years before; and since the conquest attempted by the English, albeit, when they saw us build castles upon their borders, they have only in imitation of us erected some few piles for the captains of the country; yet

I dare boldly say that never any particular person, either before or since, did build any stone or brick house for his particular habitation, but such as have lately obtained estates according to the course of the law of England. Neither did any of them in all this time plant any gardens or orchards, inclose or improve their lands, live together in settled villages or towns, nor made any provision for posterity; which being against all common sense and reason, must needs be imputed to those unreasonable customs which made their estates so uncertain and transitory in their possessions. For who would plant, or improve, or build upon that land which a stranger whom he knew not should possess after his death? for that (as Solomon noteth) is one of the strangest vanities under the sun. And this is the true reason why Ulster and all the Irish counties are found to waste and decay at this day; and so would they continue to the world's end if these customs were not abolished by the law of England. Again, that Irish custom of gavelkind did breed another mischief; for thereby every man being born to land, as well bastard as legitimate, they all held themselves to be gentlemen. And though these portions were ever so small, and themselves ever so poor (for gavelkind must needs in the end make a poor gentility), yet they scorned to descend to husbandry or merchandise, or to learn any mechanical art or science. . . . . But the most wicked and mischievous custom of all others was that of coign and livery, often before mentioned, which consisted of taking man's meat, horse meat, and money, of all the inhabitants of the country, at the will and pleasure of the soldier, who, as the phrase of the Scripture is, 'did eat up the people as it were bread,' for that he had no other entertainment. This extortion was originally Irish, for they used to lay bonaght upon their people, and never gave their soldier any other pay. But when the English had learned it, they used it with more insolence, and made it more intolerable; for this oppression was not temporary, or limited either to place or time; but because there was every where a continual war, either offensive or defensive, and every lord of a country and every marcher made war and peace at his pleasure, it became universal and perpetual; and was indeed the most heavy oppression that ever was used in any Christian or heathen kingdom. And therefore, *vox oppressorum*, this crying sin did draw down as great or greater plagues upon Ireland than the oppression of the Israelites did draw upon the land of Egypt. For the plagues of Egypt, though they were grievous, were but of a short continuance; but the plagues of Ireland lasted four hundred years together. This extortion of coign and livery produced two notorious effects: first, it made the land waste; next, it made the peo-



ple idle : for when the husbandman had laboured all the year, the soldier in one night consumed the fruits of all his labour, '*Longique perit labor irritus anni.*' Had he reason, then, to manure the land for the next year? or rather might he not complain as the shepherd in Virgil :

'Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit?  
Barbarus has segetes? En, quo discordia cives  
Perduxit miseros! en queis consevimus agros!'

And hereupon of necessity came depopulation, banishment, and extirpation of the better sort of subjects; and such as remained became idle and lookers-on, expecting the event of those miseries and evil times: so as this extreme extortion and oppression hath been the true cause of the idleness of this Irish nation; and that rather the vulgar sort have chosen to be beggars in foreign countries than to manure their own fruitful land at home. Lastly, this oppression did of force and necessity make the Irish a crafty people: for such as are oppressed and live in slavery are ever put to their shifts. *Ingenia mala sæpe movent.* . . . This extortion of their coign and livery was taken for the maintenance of their men of war: but their exactions extorted by the chieftains and tanists by colour of their barbarous seigniory were almost as grievous a burthen as the other, namely, cosherings; which were visitations and progresses made by the lord and his followers among his tenants; wherein he did (as the English proverb is) eat them out of house and home; sessings of the kerne, of his family, of his horses, and horse-boys; of his dogs and dog-boys, and the like. And lastly, cuttings, tallages, or spendings, high or low, at his pleasure; all which made the lord an absolute tyrant, and the tenant a very slave and villain; and in one respect more miserable than bondslaves. For commonly the bondslave is fed by his lord, but here the lord was fed by his bondslave.<sup>2</sup>

It is plain that Sir John Davies was animated by a desire not merely that Ireland should become wholly subject to England, but that it should thrive as England had done, by the uniform and exclusive operation of English institutions. With all the instincts of civilisation strong within him, he perceived that the continuance of Irish tenure in the form which it then wore was incompatible with genuine progress. To build and plant, to plough and drain, to enrich the land by daily labour, and transmit it so enriched to his posterity,—man, before he even conceives these things, must have a sense that what he has made his own will remain so. What Davies

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Davies: A Discovery of the true Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued, pp. 135-143.

contemplated, and in great part effected, was that the Irish form of tenure should be swept away, root and branch, and the English form substituted. We may regret that it did not occur to him or to any other English statesman, merely to reform the Irish tenure, preserving the fundamental idea of the ultimate property being vested in the tillers of the soil, giving security and perpetuity to the owner, and changing a loose and variable tribute, payable to the lord, into some definite composition. But it is not in the least surprising that the statesmen of that day should not have so conceived the matter, or endeavoured to build up an organic and civilised polity out of materials which to them seemed radically bad. They had seen England become rich and powerful under her own institutions. Her people had built cities, and covered their lands with castles and granges; divided, fenced, manured, and planted the soil; produced merchants and handicraftsmen; and invested their country with all the attributes of a strongly organised and vital state. What better could be done for Ireland than that she should possess in all respects kindred institutions? In all good faith, therefore, Davies set before himself the task of eradicating, as far as possible, all traces of Irish customs in the holding of land, and supplanting them by English law. To that end, he caused the Court of King's Bench in Ireland, in two celebrated cases, to declare the customs of tanistry and gavelkind absolutely null and void. It was the characteristic of the common law of England to be especially tender towards established customs, however different from its own theories. In Kent it respected the custom of gavelkind, which divided the lands amongst all the children of their owner, and the custom of Borough English, which made the youngest son inherit instead of the eldest, and denied to the lord the right of forfeiture or escheat, according to the axiom, "the father to the bough, the son to the plough." The English lawyers in Ireland, however, felt that there was a total incongruity between the fundamental ideas of the common law and these Irish customs, and that they could not be tolerated as mere exceptions engrafted upon it as the English customs had been. They declared that the Irish tenures were absolutely illegal, and that all land should be held, and should descend, according to the common law of England.

Undoubtedly these decisions, however unpalatable to the bulk of the Irish nation, were, so far as they rendered the descent of land permanent and uniform, a clear step in the direction of civilisation, and were calculated in time to produce all the beneficial effects of property. But there lurked

behind them another idea pregnant with the most fatal consequences, namely, the application of all the feudal doctrines of escheat and forfeiture. How rapidly, and with what momentous results, these doctrines were applied in the distribution of the Ulster lands, we shall presently see. It was the fixed conception of Sir John Davies, that a people cannot be reclaimed from semi-barbarism to civilisation without the intermixture among them of civilised, or as he terms it "civil," men; he therefore looked with the greatest hope to the plantation of the English and Scotch settlers in Ulster, as the means not merely of establishing a powerful English interest in that part of the country, but also of reclaiming the whole province. And if that plantation could have been accomplished without committing outrageous injustice, and if, moreover, the deadly element of difference of religion had not intervened, there is scarcely a doubt but that his views would have proved in all respects sound and wise. But the proceeding was radically unjust. Sir John Davies himself, in a letter written to the Earl of Salisbury in 1610, gives a curious and highly instructive account of the progress of the commissioners, of whom he was one, delegated to distribute the forfeited lands amongst the English and Scotch planters to whom the king had assigned them. It will be remembered that the land in the actual possession of the attainted chiefs was comparatively little; by far the larger proportion was held by their tenantry, upon whom no attainder had fallen, and to whom, since the last general pardon, no crime of rebellion could be attributed. The problem therefore was, not by barefaced power, which was disavowed, but in the name and under colour of law, to evict from their holdings a mass of people tainted by no legal crime, and to give their possessions into the hands of strangers.

The commissioners began in the county of Cavan, of which Davies gives the fuller account to the earl, "because the best precincts in this county fell to your lordship's lot to be disposed." In Cavan the inhabitants bordering upon the English pale had learned to talk of a freehold and of estates of inheritance; "and so, when the proclamation was published touching their removal, a lawyer of the pale retained by them did endeavour to maintain that they had estates of inheritance in their possession, which their lords could not forfeit, and therefore, in their name, desired two things: first, that they might be admitted to traverse the offices which might be found in those lands; secondly, that they might have the benefit of a proclamation made about five years since, whereby the persons, lands, and goods of all his majesty's subjects



were taken into his royal protection." Surely more equitable demands never were made by aggrieved men. Davies, in his larger work, expatiates with great force of reason upon the folly and wickedness of the English rulers in Ireland during the previous centuries, in denying to the Irish people what they had so often demanded,—the benefits of English law. Yet, as one instance more how the immediate passions and purposes of men blind them even to their own principles, it is instructive to read the artificial sophistry with which the constitutional lawyer and civilising statesman replies to the pleadings of the men of Cavan. He told them that "it was a fundamental maxim of law that the king was lord paramount of all the land in the kingdom, and that all his subjects held their possessions of him, mediate or immediate. And that when the estate of the tenant did fail and determine, the lord of whom the land was holden might enter and dispose thereof at his pleasure, and that by the attainder of their chieftain their lands became held immediately of the king." So much for the estates of the lords. Those of the tenants or possessors presented greater difficulty; but for them also the attorney-general had a legal argument. He could not find, he said, that the tenure under which they held their lands presented any better analogy than the English tenure in villeinage. The people of the tribe, whose perpetual property and inheritance the land in truth was, and from whom the lord could not take an acre for his own use, more than he and his ancestors had been accustomed to do, were (to serve the purposes of the hour) declared to be mere English villeins, holding by villein service at the will of the lord, and forfeiting therefore all rights by the forfeiture of the chief. In this beneficent form did feudalism practically dawn upon the people of Ireland. "These and other arguments," he continues, "were thus used by the attorney to prove that his majesty might justly dispose of those lands both in law, in conscience, and in honour. Wherewith the natives seemed not unsatisfied in reason, *though they remained in their passions discontented, being much grieved to leave their possessions to strangers which they had so long after a manner enjoyed.* Howbeit, my lord deputy *did so mix threats with entreaty, precibusque minas regaliter addit*, as they promised to give way to the undertakers, if the sheriff, by warrant of the commissioners, did put them in possession." The whole scene—sheriff, and commissioners, and lawyers, and the people aghast at the learned discourse out of Lyttleton's tenures, but yielding in despondency to the menaces, understanding only that they were to leave their homesteads to the sheriff and the

undertaker—is one which any body acquainted with modern Ireland finds no difficulty in vividly conjuring up.

This same scene was repeated over five counties. Out of the rich and well-watered plains of Derry, Tyrone, Down, and Fermanagh, the Irish were every where driven to the mountains and cold marsh-lands; so that to this day a geologist can in great degree point out the race of the inhabitants by the characteristics of the soil. They made no resistance at the time, for they were powerless and leaderless; but a hoard of vengeance was treasured in their hearts, which at the end of another generation found a frightful issue. The men who supplanted them were no doubt of a more civilised stock, a thrifty and industrious race. But it was inevitable that they also should look with fear and hatred upon the Celts who had been ousted to make way for them,—a hatred aggravated by the unrelenting spirit of religious intolerance. Thus one of the professed objects of Davies in effecting this intermixture of “civil” men, namely, that the natives might be won over by their example, was frustrated by the iniquity of its execution. It is hardly wonderful that the Irish did not appreciate those just and beneficent intentions of his majesty, which to them assumed the practical form of expulsion from their lands, and the total proscription of their religion. *Hoc fonte derivata clades.* When, after the lapse of a generation, civil war again, in the year 1641, burst forth in Ireland, the Catholics of the pale rose in arms for toleration in religion and security of property, but the Ulster Irish for land and life. The barbarities which attended that outburst on the one side and on the other, frightful as they were, contain unhappily nothing exceptional in the history of man, but were such as under similar circumstances have been and will be. It is no portion of our present design to enter into the detail of that war, or to examine by whom the first example of massacre was set. It is enough to say that the barbarities committed by the Irish, exaggerated a thousandfold by fear and hate, excited the passions of Englishmen, already filled with an abhorrence of the name of Irishman and Papist, to a height which nothing short of some tremendous act of vengeance could satisfy. And the vengeance came. The massacres of Drogheda and Wexford, and the remorseless statute of the Puritan Parliament of England for the settlement of Ireland, form the third act of the drama commenced by King James’s plantation, and Davies’s ingenious invention of the tenure in villeinage.

History has few pages to compare with this tremendous act of spoliation. It did not leave untouched the estate of a single Irish Catholic who possessed property above the amount

of ten pounds sterling. It confiscated to the Commonwealth the lands of every individual resident in Ireland from the first of October 1641 to the first of March 1650, except those who had been in the employment of, or done service to, the Parliament of England:—subject, indeed, to the proviso that those who had taken no part whatever in the war should receive two-thirds of their estates, *or other lands to the value thereof*, in such situation in Ireland as the Parliament, for the more effective settlement of the peace of the nation, should think fit to appoint; and that such of those who had been in arms as the Parliamentary Commissioners should think fit to receive to mercy, and as would swear allegiance to the Commonwealth, should receive one-third of the value of their land, to be assigned to them in like manner. But by far the greater number—every one who had been in arms before the 10th of November 1642, every one who had sat in the general assembly of the Catholics, and a host of noblemen and gentlemen by name—were excepted from pardon for life or estate. Thus the whole land of Ireland was placed at the mercy of the English Parliament to do with it as they pleased. It was divided and allotted, as all the world knows, amongst the soldiers of Cromwell and the adventurers who had speculated on the spoils of the Irish. Those of the Catholics who came within the milder clauses of the statute were evicted equally with the rest, and obtained their compensation in lands beyond the Shannon.

When the Restoration came, the question arose whether the spoliations of Cromwell were to be confirmed; and whether men, numbers of whom had lost their estates for the sole cause that they had fought for Charles I. against his enemies, were to be left in beggary by his son, in favour of those who had dethroned and murdered him. In the end, the estates of the Cromwellians were secured to them. The soldiers and adventurers were fully confirmed in two-thirds of their lands, the remaining third being given up to form a small and most insufficient fund for remunerating those who had suffered in the royal cause. “But,” says Lingard, “when compensation had thus been made to a few of the sufferers, what, it may be asked, became of the officers who had followed the royal fortune abroad, or of the three thousand Catholics who had entered their claims of innocence? To all these the promises which were made in the first act of settlement were broken; the unfortunate claimants were deprived of their rights, and debarred from all hope of future relief. A measure of such sweeping and appalling oppression is perhaps without a parallel in the history of civilised nations. Its injustice could not



be denied; and the only apology offered in its behalf was the stern necessity of quieting the fears and the jealousies of the Cromwellian settlers, and of establishing on a permanent basis the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland." In England and in Scotland civil war had raged as well as in Ireland; but the course of the civil war and its termination left property as it found it. The attainder of a dozen regicides in England was all the vengeance that the Puritan party suffered for the dethronement and execution of the king. For in England happily the interests of the State coincided with the path of wisdom and moderation. In Ireland one full half of the island was torn away from the rightful possessors to punish the Irish for the crime of which they had been too often guilty,—the crime of being found the weaker. Thus, by the combined action of the regicide and the king, was the new aristocracy of Ireland created. The mass of the people remained the same—Irish and Catholic,—but they were given over to the absolute dominion of a landed gentry, who, so far from having a spark of sympathy with their dependents, were animated by the most profound antipathy towards them. The Cromwellian settlers, feeling that they had won their possessions by the sword, looked only to the sword to maintain themselves, and regarded the mass of the people beneath them merely as a horde of rebels, to be kept crushed and disarmed.

In the year 1672 Sir William Petty, the founder of the Shelburne family, published his *Political Anatomy of Ireland*. Petty was an extraordinary instance of a self-made man. He was the son of a clothier in Hampshire, and by profession a doctor of medicine. He came over to Ireland in 1652, as physician to the army; he was in good practice in his profession, but his taste as well as talent lay in a remarkable degree in the direction of mathematics and mensuration, of arithmetic, and statistics of every kind. In 1654 he obtained a contract for measuring and surveying the forfeited lands; and his measurement, called the Down Survey (because it was laid down with chain and pole), was accomplished with striking success, and was adopted as the basis on which the acts of settlement proceeded. He acquired immense estates in Ireland; and having begun life, as he states in his will, with a capital of 60*l.*, he came to be in possession of an income of 15,000*l.* a year. Having during a great portion of his life made Ireland his adopted country, he devoted much attention to the study of her condition and prospects. As a theoretical statesman, he wants the breadth and strength of conception which distinguishes Sir John Davies; and he had a love of paradox

and curious political speculation, which reminds one at times of Fletcher of Saltoun, great as the difference between the two men is in all other respects. But in observation and analysis he is almost unrivalled; and his account of the state of Ireland in the reign of Charles the Second is among the most valuable contributions to Irish history. He computed that there were about seven millions and a half of acres (Irish measure) of profitable land in Ireland, and that of these over five millions, in the year 1641, belonged to Catholics, and about two millions to the Protestants planted by Queen Elizabeth and King James. The effect of the forfeitures and acts of settlement had been very nearly to reverse these numbers, leaving over five millions of acres in the hands of English and Protestants, and something over two millions in the hands of Catholics; so that the result of the civil war had been to strip the Irish of three millions of acres of good lands, close upon three-fifths of all that they possessed.

“Upon the playing this great game or match on so great odds,” says Petty, “the English won, and have, besides other pretences, a *gamester’s right* at least to their estates; but as for the bloodshed in the country, God best knows who did occasion it.” The material or physical condition of the Irish in 1672, as he describes it, bears much resemblance to their condition at the present day, except that they seem in the earlier period to have been better clad and fed. Their housing he described as very wretched, much perhaps as it still remains; but certainly the extreme penury which a multitude of causes introduced in later times did not then exist. “Their housing is, as hath been said, very wretched; but their clothing is far better than that of the French peasant, or the poor of most other countries; which advantage they have from their wool, whereof twelve sheep furnish a competency to one of these families; which wool, and the cloth made of it, doth cost these poor people no less than 50,000*l.* per annum for the dyeing of it, a trade exercised by the women of the country. Madder, alum, and indigo are imported, but the other dyeing stuffs they find nearer home; a certain mud taken out of the bog serving them for copperas, the rind of several trees and sawdust for galls; as for wild and green weeds they find enough, as also of Rhamim berries. The diet of these poor people is milk sweet and sour, thick and thin, which is also their drink in summer time; in winter, small beer or water; but tobacco taken in small pipes, seldom burnt, is the pleasure of their lives, together with sneezing; in-somuch that two-sevenths of their expense in food is tobacco. Their food is bread and cakes, whereof a penny serves a week

for each ; potatoes from August till May ; mussels, cockles, and oysters near the sea ; eggs and butter, made very rancid from keeping in bogs. As for flesh, they seldom eat it, notwithstanding the great plenty thereof, unless it be of the smaller animals, because it is inconvenient for any one of them to kill a beef, which they have no convenience to save, so as 'tis easier for them to have a hen or rabbit than a piece of beef of equal substance. Their fuel is turf in most places ; and of late, even where wood is most plentiful and to be had for nothing, the cutting and carriage of the turf being more easy than that of wood."<sup>3</sup>

We have thus a picture of the people of Ireland such as it had become under their native aristocracy ; for the few years since the new settlement could have wrought no change in the mass of the people. Their condition was not very advanced certainly ; but, on the other hand, it was far from touching on any extreme of misery. Thriftless and sluttish, indeed, but with no want of the necessities of life, the people had better food than the mass of their descendants at this day ; they sheared their own wool, dyed it, and manufactured it at home ; had substantial woollen clothing ; and almost every one of them, as Petty says, a garron to ride. The agriculture was no doubt backward, as compared with England ; but whatever the produce of the land was, the people substantially had it, for the rents were low and easily met. We shall see the change that took place in another half-century, when the soldiers and adventurers developed into an ostentatious and expensive aristocracy. This result was one which Petty was far from foreseeing. He also, like Davies, conceived that the result would be that the poorer Irish would be all the better for the change ; for he thought that the new English landlords would deal with Irishmen just as they would have done with Englishmen in England, and that the Irish tenants would gain fixed interests in the soil, which would induce them to improve and enrich it. "It is the interest," he says, "of the Irish to deal with the English *for leases for time*, and upon *clear conditions*, which being performed, they are *absolute freemen*, rather than to stand liable to the caprice of their landlord, and to have every thing taken from them which he pleases to fancy." Less than twenty years after, another era of confiscation followed the unsuccessful war of the Irish in defence of James II. These last confiscations were stamped with a peculiar illegality. A statute of Henry the Seventh, made at the close of the wars of the Roses, had expressly enacted that no confiscation should take place on the ground of

<sup>3</sup> Petty's Political Anatomy of Ireland, cap. xi.



treason committed in sustaining a king *de facto*. This very statute had been strongly urged by the lawyers upon Cromwell as one of the most powerful reasons for his assuming the royal title, since by that means his adherents would obtain the protection of having supported a *de facto* king. And surely, if ever the terms of the statute were applicable, it was to the adherents of James in Ireland. But the desire of wholly crushing under foot the last remnants of Irish power was too strong; the statute was set at naught, and the followers of William rewarded by further forfeitures.

These successive operations had totally destroyed the Irish or Catholic proprietors of land; but then commenced the era of legislation. It was determined that what had been overthrown should never rise again. It is not our intention here to recapitulate the penal laws. It is sufficient to say that, as regarded land, Catholics were absolutely incapacitated from acquiring a single acre by devise, gift, or purchase, with the characteristic exception that Papists might take leases of unprofitable bog to reclaim and improve for their landlords. These landlords were meantime growing more and more exacting towards their tenantry. The austere Puritan soldiers had become transformed into what Mr. Goldwin Smith terms the worst aristocracy on the face of the earth; and the condition of the people, instead of advancing, as Petty anticipated, had been growing more and more wretched. Swift, in that bitter vein in which his *sæva indignatio* found vent, thus speaks, in a sermon preached in his own deanery, of the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland: "Lastly, a great cause of this nation's misery is that Egyptian bondage of cruel, oppressing, covetous landlords, expecting that all who live under them should make bricks without straw, who grieve and envy when they see a tenant of their own in a whole coat, or able to afford one comfortable meal in a month, by which the spirits of the people are broken and made fit for slavery; the farmers and cottagers, almost through the whole kingdom, being to all intents and purposes as real beggars as any of those to whom we give our charity in the streets. And these cruel landlords are every day unpeopling the kingdom by forbidding their miserable tenants to till the earth, against common reason and justice, and contrary to the practice and prudence of all other nations, by which numberless families have been forced either to leave the kingdom, or stroll about and increase the numbers of our thieves and beggars." The theme was one to which he returned again and again. He speaks in one place of "teaching landlords to have at least *one* degree of mercy towards their tenants;" and in another place he

says "that the exactions of landlords have indeed been a grievance of above twenty years' standing;" showing that it was subsequent to the revolution, and owing to the growing desire of the proprietors to augment their incomes in order to meet their expenses, that the real oppression of the tenantry began.

We mentioned the penal code as directed against the landed interests of Catholics; but there was another code which began in the eighteenth century—the special code as between landlord and tenant, uniformly directed to the end of augmenting the powers and simplifying the remedies of landlords. By the common law it was almost impossible to take advantage of a forfeiture. Every lease contained, indeed, a clause enabling the landlord to reënter upon non-payment of rent; but so odious were such conditions to the spirit of the common law, that it hedged round the exercise of that right with a perfect thicket of technicalities, in which the landlord was sure to be entangled. A series of acts of the Irish Parliament, beginning with the reign of Queen Anne, created a statutable remedy of ejectment for non-payment of rent. Later legislation has simplified this remedy to the utmost degree of perfection; so that the very moment that a year's rent is in arrear, the landlord is entitled to proceed in the most summary manner for the recovery of the land itself. Down, however, to a later period, ejectment for non-payment of rent did not apply to tenancies from year to year, where, until lately, the tenants could only be evicted by the process of a notice to quit. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, when the restrictions of the penal laws were removed, the tendency to grant leases became pretty general; and by much the larger portion of Ireland was held on lease. To the granting of leases political causes very powerfully contributed. The Relief Act of 1793 conferred the elective franchise upon Catholics; and, as the county franchise was then vested in all who had an estate or freehold to the value of forty shillings, the result was a powerful encouragement to landlords to grant freehold leases for the strengthening and extension of their own political interest. It was a great misfortune that the qualification was so low in point of value; and it was a further misfortune that the landlords of that time did not make sufficient provision against the undue subdivision of farms. But the principle of giving the franchise to those only who had a durable interest in the soil was in every respect just and salutary. In those days, and down, we may say, to the year 1829, county elections were determined solely by the preponderance of landed interest in the county; and therefore there was no apprehension on the part of the landlords that in granting

leases they might create a political interest adverse to themselves. During the earlier years of this century the farming, and, above all, the grazing interest in Ireland may be said to have been on the whole in a flourishing condition, owing to the high prices resulting from the war. After the peace, the high rents and low prices produced a great deal of distress; and farms had become divided and subdivided to such a degree that for the most part it was impossible to maintain a family. These causes, combined with absenteeism and neglect on the part of landlords, produced a great deal of wretchedness. Still it was not till after 1829 that the very evil state of the relations between landlord and tenant commenced. The Clare election was pregnant with momentous consequences; the great county interests, as Sir Robert Peel has described in his *Memoirs*, totally broke down in the face of the popular enthusiasm. The serfs of Clare assumed the spirit and attitude of free men; and the Irish aristocracy stood aghast at the new political power which the long denial of Irish rights had called into existence,—the power of the Catholic clergy. The landlords began to feel keenly the danger to their political party of creating votes which might be exercised independently of them. The forty-shilling franchise was abolished, indeed, by the Act of 1829; but the new franchise conferred by the Reform Bill still restricted the right of voting to those who, either as freeholders or as leaseholders, had a permanent interest in the land: so that with the landlords it was a choice between their tenantry having no votes at all, or having votes under leases. But by later legislation the county franchise has been bestowed upon all occupiers of a certain value, according to the poor-law rating, irrespective of the fact of their having or not having leases. It thus became in a striking degree the interest of landlords to refuse leases, and to keep their tenants as mere tenants from year to year, whom they could punish instantly and terribly for an adverse vote; and this power is one that has been exercised to a frightful extent in Ireland.

The religious question, again, has acted in the same direction. There has never ceased to be in the breasts of at least a portion of the aristocracy of Ireland, the idea that the material powers which their position gives them can be used, and ought to be used, for the furtherance of Protestantism. This idea has been repeatedly stated by the most ardent amongst the proselytisers. The practical form which it for the most part assumes is that of the establishment of schools, in which the faith of the children would be gradually undermined; and this object would, we believe, have been systema-



tically pursued, upon a large scale and with considerable success, if it had not been for the establishment of the national system of education. Even as it is, great efforts have been made, and are still being made, in that direction. It is plain that, so far as any landlord cherishes such a design, it is his policy to keep his tenantry in a state of dependence as tenants-at-will. The love of power and a very short-sighted cupidity act in the same direction. It is miserable to think that any one should so speculate on reaping where he has not sown, as to keep his tenant in his power for the express purpose of raising his rent when he has increased the value of the lands by his improvements. Yet any one who knows Ireland can say how common this practice is. Again, all later legislation, down to the very last Act for the consolidation of the law of landlord and tenant, has tended as far as possible to discourage the granting of leases. Under the old landlord and tenant acts, designed though they all were to favour the landlord, ejectment for non-payment of rent was not permitted in the case of a tenancy from year to year. In such cases the landlord was forced to proceed by the dilatory process of a notice to quit. That distinction has been now swept away; and, to render the landlord's remedy more easy, jurisdiction up to rents of a hundred pounds a-year has been conferred upon the court of the assistant-barrister. All technicalities which the law formerly permitted for throwing difficulties in the way of the landlord's recovering possession have been industriously swept away, and ejectment is now perhaps the simplest proceeding known to the law. It is of course correct in point of principle that the exercise of any right which the law gives should not be embarrassed by intricate formularies; but in this case the course of legislation has been most unfortunate in putting the tenant more helplessly and completely in the power of his landlord than he was before. And while all these conspiring causes have tended to diminish and discourage leases, the law confers no right whatever upon the tenant to the value of improvements made by him upon the farms. Nor does usage confer any such right, with one remarkable exception.

That exception is the tenant-right of Ulster, the nature of which is this:—when by death, eviction, or surrender, a tenant's interest in the farm expires, it is customary with the landlord to permit the tenant's interest to be disposed of for such price as he can get from the incoming tenant, subject of course to the landlord's acceptance of the new tenant. The rent is not raised unless under circumstances which make it manifestly according to justice that it

should be so. This custom has not any force in law; and a landlord in Ulster, as well as in Munster, might turn out his tenant by notice to quit; but public opinion acts so powerfully, that this is never attempted. Many causes have been assigned for the origin of this custom; but it simply grew up under the influence of that spirit of justice and concession to mutual rights, which always takes place when high and low are of the same or kindred race and religion, and when their natural relations are not poisoned by the action of conquest. Its influence in giving stability to the social system in Ulster is enormous; and though it began, of course, with the Scotch and English settlers, its action now embraces Protestant and Catholic alike. And this is one debt at least which the Catholics of Ulster owe to the sons of those who once supplanted them, and with whom they have, to this day, but too many a bitter feud, arising out of the memories of their ancient warfare.

The value attached to this custom by the people, Protestant and Catholic alike, is immense. It has been often assailed upon theoretical grounds, as diminishing the capital of the incoming tenant, and thus interfering with the cultivation of the farm. But the sense of security which it gives to the holder distances all other considerations; and prices are constantly given for this goodwill, which would seem dear for the very fee simple of the land. If any attempt were made to interfere with it, all the force at the disposal of the Horse Guards, as was justly said before the Devon Commission by a gentleman well acquainted with Ulster, would not suffice to keep the peace of the province. This tenant-right of Ulster is a striking but most natural instance of the just relations which in time will grow up amongst all classes of men, if they be not prevented by unnatural antipathies. The law of landlord and tenant in the south and in the north of Ireland was and is the same; but in the north the landlord, reserving to himself such moderate rent only as a sense of justice and the public opinion of the neighbourhood define, permitted the occupier to bear away with him all that any solvent tenant would give as a fine for the farm, over and above that rent. The price thus paid formed of course a remuneration to the tenant for any improvements which his own labour and capital had made in the value of the farm. In the south, and still more in the west, no such principle exists or is dreamed of on the part of landlords. There may be some rare and exceptional cases in which a landlord, when he evicts a tenant, may make an allowance to him for improvements; but the general rule is, to put on the utmost

rent the land will bear, to keep the screw steadily applied, and to absorb for the landlord's benefit every shilling which the tenant expends upon the farm. And it is to be observed that the English system, according to which the improvements are made by the landlord, and the land is given to the tenant with all the appliances for high cultivation, is next to unknown in Ireland. The tenant is expected to provide every thing himself; naturally, therefore, the savings of the farmer class never find their way to the land; for savings there are, in spite of all impediments. It is common to speak of the Irish as a thriftless and lavish people; but there cannot be a greater error. They have not, indeed, either the orderly industry or the enterprise of the English race; but, like their Celtic brethren in France, they have a strong turn for saving. Their little accumulations are invested in the thatch, or of late in the savings-banks, hidden most jealously from their landlords; and the landlords too often, instead of rejoicing in the gains of the tenantry, regard with the utmost jealousy the fact of the tenant having saved money. They look on it as so much taken from themselves, so inveterate is the notion that the peasant should have nothing from the soil beyond his bare subsistence. We know well-authenticated cases of farmers raising money at a large interest on bills of exchange to pay their year's rent when they had ten times the amount lying by, but feared to make it known; for fraud of every kind becomes habitual to a people so circumstanced. The landlord bitterly complains that he never can get the truth from them, and such is too frequently the case. Truth is not and never was the virtue of serfs; it is the attribute of free men.

Under the existing system it is not a little astonishing that Ireland should be even so cultivated or so civilised as she is. No doubt she is far behind every land where advanced progress has been born of confidence; but still there she is with a great part of her soil at least tolerably fenced, and manured, and ploughed. The labour and capital which did all this were the labour and capital of the peasant; for the proportion of improvements made by landlords has been so scanty as scarcely to be computed in comparison. This was strikingly brought forward in Parliament by Mr. Lucas, who took one county—the county of Kilkenny—and showed in figures not to be refuted the enormous value which the labour of the peasant and the capital of the farmer had bestowed upon the land.

To provide a cure for this miserable state of things has occupied and tortured for years the best minds among the



best friends of Ireland. That landlords should, as a general rule, give leases at fair rents and for fair terms, such as would of themselves afford to the tenant, during their continuance, a remuneration for his outlay, would be the solution most natural, and most consonant to the spirit and arrangement of English law. But to enforce the granting of leases by legislation is a thing manifestly impossible.

The only other alternative was to legislate for granting compensation to tenants for their improvements. The earliest agitators on the subject went, indeed, much farther, and required what was termed fixity of tenure—that is, that Government should intervene with a high hand in imitation of what Stein had done in Prussia, and should declare the lands vested in perpetuity in the actual occupiers, giving to the landlords, mediate and immediate, the rents issuing out of them, by way of perpetual rent-charge. Such sweeping interference with the rights of property could only be practicable in or after the throes of a revolution. The form which all the later demands upon the subject assumed was that of compensation for improvements. To this object the efforts of the Tenant League were bent—an organisation which was founded by Mr. Duffy and Mr. Lucas, with the aid of several representatives of the Northern Presbyterians, and which was joined by almost all the members of Parliament returned by popular constituencies in Ireland. The intrinsic justice of the claim was hardly denied; and both the Government of Lord Derby and the Liberal Government consented to sanction a measure for that object. But such was the extreme jealousy of an assembly of men of property, lest a door should be opened to the committing of frauds by tenants, and lest landlords should be, as it was said, “improved out of their estates,” that they insisted upon circumscribing the tenant’s right to the uttermost, and guarding it with so many conditions and technicalities as to make it literally worthless. Meantime the organisation of the Tenant League was broken to pieces by the defection of some of the leaders, who had made it the stepping-stone to office. Mr. Lucas died disheartened; Mr. Duffy emigrated to Australia, where his great talents have raised him to be a minister of the Crown, and where he has devised and carried a comprehensive and admirable measure for the settlement of the land question in the colony of Victoria.

At last, in the year 1860, an Act of Parliament<sup>4</sup> was passed, by which a tenant from year to year, or for a term not exceeding twenty-five years, is entitled to make certain specified

<sup>4</sup> 23 and 24 Vict. cap. 153.

improvements, and to be compensated for them by an annuity of seven pounds two shillings per cent upon the outlay. This is secured to him by a charging order upon the land, made by the chairman of the county, and payable to him, in case of eviction, for the then residue of a term of twenty-five years, computed from the date of the order. But if the tenant seek to make these improvements without an express agreement with the landlord, he must serve him with notice of the intended improvements, of the manner of making them, and of the estimated expense, together with a description of the land proposed to be charged. After the service of this notice, the landlord has three months to notify in writing his disapproval of the proposed improvements, or any part of them; and if he decline to sanction them, from his will lies no appeal. No tenant whose landlord so disapproves will be entitled to a farthing of compensation. Even where the landlord does not signify his disapproval, the tenant has to lodge with the clerk of the peace a statement of the expenditure. Notice of this is again to be given to the landlord; and the whole case is to be heard and discussed before the chairman of the county, who is to give his award, specifying the amount of expenditure allowed by him, and fixing the annuity accordingly. This Act has now been law for two years and a half. We have not heard of a single case of a tenant taking advantage of it; and at the end of two hundred years there would probably be the same story to tell.

Side by side with this inoperative act, a statute was passed of very different quality — the Landlord and Tenant Law Amendment Act of 1860. By this act every power given by any previous act of Parliament for putting the tenant more absolutely and thoroughly in the power of the landlord was reënacted, and even forgotten and obsolete enactments in that direction were taken down, and burnished and pointed anew. During the last fifteen years, the power of eviction which the law bestows upon the landlord has been exercised to a tremendous extent. Evictions were always more or less common in Ireland; but since the failure of the potato, and the repeal of the corn-laws, there has been a perfect mania for clearance. A great part of Ireland is naturally much more suited for pasture than for agriculture; and it is plain that there cannot be lands devoted to pasture and at the same time occupied by a considerable population. Thus, when the naked facts of the case were made plain by the failure of the potato and the competition of foreign corn, it became almost a question between the landlords and the mass of the people whether the former should lose their rents by keeping on a tenantry

whom the soil could do little more than support, or whether the people were to be cleared off. We cannot wonder at the wholesale evictions which followed. Out of those evictions, and out of the general despair of the people to find the means of life in their own country, came that enormous emigration which acquired the name of the Celtic Exodus. The result is visible in the figures of the census. The population of Ireland decreased nearly three millions in fourteen years. All that Germany suffered in the Thirty Years' war; all that France suffered in the wars of the Armagnacs, or the wars of religion, or in the great revolution, was hardly worse than the agony which Ireland had to undergo in a time of profound peace, and when she was called an integral portion of the wealthiest empire in the world.

One measure dealing with the question of land in Ireland still remains to be noticed—a measure which, in effecting its immediate objects, has been strikingly successful, but has yet proved a grievous disappointment in so far as it was expected to soften and improve the relations of landlord and tenant. We refer to the Encumbered Estates Act. It was a serious error not to endeavour to make the working of that act the means of creating peasant proprietors, by putting land up for sale in lots sufficiently small to be purchased by the farmers in occupation of them. As it was, the land was generally purchased either by the creditors or by persons who had made money in business, and sought an investment for it, looking merely to getting the best return for their capital. This class of proprietors has, for the most part, dealt hardly with the tenants. Their purchases being purely a money speculation, their management of the land has been almost solely regulated by notions of profit. Great good has been done in many ways by getting rid of insolvent proprietors; but no one could say that the Encumbered Estates Court has in any sensible degree diminished the difficulties of the landlord and tenant question.

In looking forward to the future, we must be prepared to encounter a still greater diminution of population. The economic interests of the landlords tend so largely to the consolidation of farms and the substitution of pasture for tillage, that there is little hope of the tendency in that direction being checked. The civil war in America has for the time discouraged emigration; but it is generally believed in Ireland that the conclusion of peace will be followed by another flight across the Atlantic, as great as that which occurred in the years after the famine. But supposing another million to be lost to the population of Ireland, even that diminution will,



we fear, leave the question of landlord and tenant much as it is at present, or rather still more embittered by the process gone through.

What, then, is it possible for legislation to effect? First, it is essential to establish perfect religious equality in Ireland. We have seen how political causes have acted most injuriously upon the disposition of landlords to grant leases; and in Ireland all these political causes are linked to the question of the Established Church. It is bad enough that natural and economic causes should be at work against the Irish tenant; but it is something worse to have those causes artificially embittered by throwing the landlord and the tenant into distinct political camps. And the Established Church works evil, not merely in that way, but in the almost entire social separation of the aristocracy and the Catholic clergy. One most healing influence, if it could be brought about, would be that the landlords and the priests should in some degree come to know and sympathise with one another. Again, something may be done to encourage leases, by discouraging tenancies from year to year. We have seen how legislation of late years has been doing precisely the reverse. On this point Parliament ought to retrace its steps. The right of reëntry for non-payment of rent should be taken away in cases of tenancies from year to year, leaving the landlord to proceed as formerly by notice to quit; and the power of distress should also be taken away from such tenancies. Moreover, supposing the Established Church were abolished, then, but not till then, we should propose to take away the elective franchise from all who did not hold for a term certain. It is naturally right and proper that the landed interests should be the possessors of political power. If, therefore, the day came in which the landlords could not consider themselves as having separate political interests from their tenants, it would be an enormous encouragement to the granting of leases that they should feel that to be the only way in which they could increase their political power. But if such a law were enacted at present, there would be but too much reason to apprehend its being made use of by landlords so as to exclude from the franchise all who were not of their own religion and politics. Again, the principle of compensation for tenants' improvements has been admitted by Mr. Cardwell's act, but in such a complex form as to be almost unworkable. That act should be simplified, so as to secure remuneration to the improving tenant, even though his improvements should not have met with the sanction of the landlord.

Of effecting even so much we confess we are not very

sanguine, nor can we bring ourselves to look with much hope upon the future of the Irish tenant farmers. Is it not something singular and melancholy in the extreme, that the very evils denounced by Sir John Davies,—the uncertainty and insecurity of holding, the utter absence of all inducements to improve the land, the absolute power of the landlords over the tenants, the oppression on the one hand, and the craft and fraud on the other, for which he arraigns the old Irish tenures,—should be reproduced at this day, with some darker features superadded, and without the softening influence of identity of name and blood?

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## THE FINANCES OF THE FRENCH EMPIRE.

UNDER the government of the Restoration, when the French budget first amounted to a thousand millions of francs (40,000,000*l.*), and people were complaining of the extravagant expenditure, M. Thiers said, "You may bid farewell to the *milliard*, for you will never see it again!" The saying was fulfilled; and in our own days it might be repeated, with equal truth, of a budget of two milliards. It cannot be denied that the expenditure of France has increased with a regularity and rapidity which are any thing but satisfactory. The prosperity of the country, indeed, has hitherto kept pace with the taxation; but no one knows that the progressive rate of expenditure may not some day be found to have much exceeded the progressive increase of wealth.<sup>1</sup>

Most European states have raised their estimates in a similar ratio; and it is worth while to enquire into the causes which have driven them to an increase of expenditure, which is not compensated by any proportionate increase of services rendered by the State. The first of these causes is a purely material one, against which no precaution is possible,—the diminution in the value of money. The fact, no doubt, has been denied; but, without any wish to treat the question in an incidental way, it may be observed that the price of commodities is not absolute, but relative; that in our civilised society money is the measure of this relative value; that the multiplication of the circulating media must diminish the value of money in comparison with the commodities which it purchases; and that in fact the price of commodities has risen. This is the important point in the argument. But the rise in the price of commodities has had only a small share in the increase of budgets, and its influence has been only indirect. Probably it does not account for more than 5 per cent of the

<sup>1</sup> The progress of receipts for the under-mentioned countries is as follows:

|                           |               |            |                |
|---------------------------|---------------|------------|----------------|
| Great Britain, 1828-1847, | 1.6 per cent; | 1828-1861, | 33.0 per cent. |
| France                    | " "           | " "        | 76.6 "         |
| Austria                   | " "           | " "        | 188.0 "        |
| Prussia 1829-1847         | 21.1 "        | 1829-1861  | 166.1 "        |
| Russia 1828-1852          | 323.7 "       | 1828-1861  | 346.6 "        |
| Belgium 1833-1847         | 18.1 "        | 1833-1861  | 52.1 "         |
| Denmark 1828-1847         | 19.8 "        | 1828-1861  | 95.0 "         |
| Holland                   | " "           | " "        | 94.2 "         |
| Spain                     | " "           | " "        | 275.8 "        |
| Portugal 1828-1850        | 28.5 "        | " "        | 49.7 "         |

The amount of revenue for Russia in 1828 is from an estimate of a high authority; but we do not guarantee its exactness.



increase ; and if we set it down at 10 per cent, we allow it an ample margin. We shall see farther on that this cause, or pretext, has only in a few cases influenced the ways and means of French finance. Another cause, the influence of which has been immensely greater, is to be found in the principles on which the administration in general, and especially the administration of the finances, is conducted abroad. England is often reproached for the illogical, or rather, it should be said, the unsymmetrical, character of her institutions. Our country, however, is the only one whose financial policy is reasonable either in appearance or in reality. We begin by estimating the necessary expenses of the government, and Parliament votes the necessary supplies. On the Continent also they begin with the budget of expenses ; but there the likeness stops. They are contented with the shadow, and allow the substance to escape them. For the continental states first calculate how far the receipts can be increased, and then manipulate the estimate of expenses so as to correspond with the sum thus discovered. Hence, whatever they may pretend, they first calculate the budget of receipts, and then make arrangements for using up all the money. But the receipts of every European state are increasing, because wealth is increasing in all civilised countries. There is nothing astonishing in this. For the last century, daily discoveries have been made, each of which multiplies the productive power of mankind. First it was steam, then electricity ; then some combination of mechanics, or chemistry, or some other science. Many enjoyments of which the masses of men were formerly deprived are thus brought home to them ; and the possibility of satisfying the desire creates fresh wants. Now since many of these luxuries are taxed, they must continually tend to increase the receipts of the treasury. Still, if out of the enjoyments, or, as political economists would say, the wants, which are to be made subjects of taxation, statesmen had only chosen those which are represented by real, immovable property, such as land or houses, the increase of receipts would have been slow. But, without neglecting the land or house-tax, they have chosen to make charges on a multitude of perishable commodities, which charges constitute what is called the indirect taxation. Now the predominance of indirect taxation, combined with the administrative usages of the continental states, is one of the chief causes of the uninterrupted increase in their budgets. We are obliged to insist upon the continental practice, because here in England we sometimes repeal or reduce a tax which is too productive. Too great productiveness is not a quality which the statesmen of any other country in

Europe have ever discovered in the most productive of their imposts.

In the continental states, all the additional income that can be obtained, either from indirect taxation or the general increase of wealth, is absorbed in one of two ways,—by centralisation, or by the conscription. This important truth is probably familiar to our readers; but nevertheless we must say a few words about it.

The passionate attacks and obstinate defence of which centralisation is so often the object prove that it has a good and a bad side. They prove too that it is a thing to which the maxim *ne quid nimis* applies. The question is one of degree; to determine it, we must take account of national temperament, and perhaps also of local circumstances and political complications. Centralisation could not be suddenly imposed, or sensibly aggravated, by the mere will of a law-maker; nor could it be suddenly done away with in countries where the people have become habituated to its routine. It must go away as it has come, by degrees; and it is the business of the people, rather than of the prince, to hasten its departure. Here the proverb is applicable, "Help yourself, and God will help you." Happy is the people which has not to run the gauntlet of this emancipation! Now the essence of centralisation is to multiply the functions of the government. To avoid misconception, we use the term 'government' in the sense usual on the Continent, where it means only and solely the executive power. Many of the functions which, wisely or unwisely, are assumed by Parliament in England, are on the Continent entrusted to officers appointed by the prince; and many services which under the system of self-government are performed by the subjects for each other are in the other system undertaken by government. We see, then, why centralised governments want much money; it is because they have to perform many services. This would be the case if the relation between their services and the cost of them was always constant. But experience shows that the cost of each branch of their administration has for many years been steadily advancing.

It is said, in reply, that at the present day there are more wants to supply. It may be so. We may admit that, in proportion as a nation increases in wealth and power its habits become more luxurious, and its duties more costly. But who is to decide how far these new expenses shall be carried? In justice, it should be the people, who pay the cost; in most continental states it is, in reality, the government. When a rich man who employs his wealth systematically sets apart a

certain sum for his carriages, another for his horses, another for his dinners, and another for his collections of books and pictures, he knows perfectly well what he is doing. So in former days, when nations granted their princes special subsidies for special purposes,—one tax for a war against the infidel, another to build a cathedral, and another for a third specified object,—every subject also knew what he was doing and what engagements he was accepting. Now the progress of events had led to the amalgamation of the whole revenue. The expenses, doubtless, are separately enumerated; but in many states one vote covers a multitude of them; and the representatives of the people are obliged to allow a number of expenses which they would refuse if they were free to vote each item separately. But many continental politicians would think it hard if the government did not spend all the money in hand for which it could find use; and they tacitly assume that a tax once imposed cannot be repealed. They are even more ready to create a tax than to abolish one. This evil would be only partially remedied by a return to the earlier method, and by applying each tax to a special purpose. Though there is nothing new under the sun, yet when old things reappear, they come back not in their old form, but adapted to the new conditions in which they are placed. The old idea of separate application of special taxes is capable of a further development than it has yet received. Instead of ordinary and extraordinary budgets, there might, in states which require such an expedient, be three distinct divisions,—ordinary, supplementary, and extraordinary; the first containing those expenses which are indispensably necessary, the second those whose utility is manifest, the third those which may be called ornamental. As a corollary, special taxes might be appropriated to each of the three divisions of the budget; and thus the ways and means also would be divided into ordinary, supplementary, and extraordinary taxes. The result would be that the representatives would know exactly what they were voting, and the subjects would know for what particular services they were paying.

The two milliards of the French budget might thus be approximately divided into five hundred millions for necessary expenses, a thousand millions for useful expenses, and five hundred millions for ornamental expenses.<sup>2</sup> But in what category are we to place the conscription? Are we to make a fourth division, and call it the budget of useless and hurtful

<sup>2</sup> For instance, if 200 millions are sufficient for security, out of a military budget of 450 or 500 millions, we should call from 250 to 300 millions simply ornamental.



expenses? For the conscription is the means of keeping large armies on foot; and large armies are rather an instrument of aggression than of defence. It has given France the power of raising its annual call for the military contingent successively from 40,000 to 60,000 men, from 60,000 to 80,000, till it now stands, provisionally, at 100,000 men a year.

The factors, then, in the increase of the continental budgets are (1) the decreased value of money; (2) the increase of wealth; (3) the predominance of indirect taxation; (4) centralisation; and (5) the conscription. This increase will never be counteracted until the indirect is balanced by direct taxation, the conscription suppressed, and in most states the receipts and expenditure divided into three distinct branches, so separated that one cannot be made to eke out the other on any pretence whatever. To these factors of growth some economists have added the power, which the chiefs of the state have reserved for themselves, of opening "supplementary and extraordinary credits;" and they have considered that the suppression of this power would be sufficient to reëstablish, and to consolidate, the equilibrium between the receipts and the expenditure. We will hereafter explain why we doubt the sufficiency of this remedy. But we must now compare the condition of the French finances at two epochs, as exhibited in the budgets of 1852 and 1864, and examine the details of the increase of taxation and the growth of expenditure.

I. The total of ways and means in the budget of 1852, including special and extraordinary sources of revenue, amounted to 1,447,091,096f. For 1864 the estimates amount to 2,107,967,109f. If from these totals we subtract the *receipts from special sources*, which, like our county and parochial rates, are reserved for the departments, communes, and various establishments, and the *extraordinary receipts*, we shall have left, as the ordinary receipts of the state, 1,135,048,592f. for 1852, and 1,781,762,982f. for 1864; this gives an increase of more than 646,000,000f. in twelve years. We will try to analyse this sum into its constituent elements, after we have shown what are the sources from which it is derived.

A considerable portion of the revenue arises from direct taxes. For the last half-century these have been four in number; last year a fifth—the carriage-tax—was added; but as it will only produce a few millions of francs, it will soon figure among the "miscellaneous products." The other four taxes are, the land-tax (*l'impôt foncier*), which cannot be redeemed in France, as it is in England, constituting a first charge on lands, fields, meadows, vineyards, forests, and houses. It produced 160,000,000f. in 1852, and will produce

167,000,000*f.* in 1864. The next two taxes together supply the place of our income-tax. They are the personal and rent-charge (*contribution personnelle-mobilière*) and the door and window tax. In England it has been found more simple and natural to make each person certify the amount of his revenue, even at the cost of some concealment and fraud. In France the despair of ever being able to discover the real income of individuals has obliged the government to assess the tax on the external signs of wealth. It is supposed that the wealthy man will live in a large house or in convenient apartments; the government has therefore laid a tax on rentals, and on each door and window. Persons who live in their own houses are taxed as if they paid rent to a landlord. The rent-charge produced 35,000,000*f.* in 1852, and is put down at 49,000,000*f.* for 1864. The door and window tax figures for 25,000,000*f.* and 30,000,000*f.* The fourth direct tax is *the patent*, a charge upon all persons engaged in industry, and paid by merchants, manufacturers, and artisans, according to a fixed tariff. It figures for 32,000,000*f.* in 1852, and for 50,000,000*f.* in 1864. These amounts only give the *principal* of each tax. But to every one of them there is added a certain percentage, an augmentation of so many pence in the pound (*centimes additionnels*), so that the gross totals of the direct taxation stand at 267,000,000*f.* for 1852, and 312,000,000*f.* for 1864, exclusive of the portions which belong to the departments and communes.

The second great branch of revenue is stamps and registration. Registration includes a host of different imposts. First there is registration proper, which not only brings in money to the State, but gives the subject legal evidence of the dates of the various acts which are liable to this formality. Next come the charges on sales and changes of property, real and funded, and the succession-duties, varying from one to twelve per cent, according to the degree of relationship between the heir and the former possessor. Third stands a number of accessory duties, on mortgages, deeds, passports, &c. The total of the items classed under the head of registration stands at 219,000,000*f.* for 1852, and at 334,000,000*f.* for 1864. Stamps stand at 52,000,000*f.* and 72,000,000*f.* for the two periods respectively.

It must be observed, that the assessment of these four direct taxes has undergone scarcely any alteration; the modifications introduced in 1858 into the law of patents were chiefly intended to exempt certain classes of artisans, and had little influence on the revenue. Hence the increase in the productiveness of the direct taxes is entirely due to the in-

crease of wealth. The land-tax is more productive, because more houses have been built and more land brought under cultivation; the rent-charge and door and window tax has increased, because the householders have grown richer, and perhaps also because money has become cheaper; the patent brings in more because of the increased number of traders and producers. It is the natural effect of the progress of wealth. The same remarks apply in part to the registration duties and stamps; but these taxes have also been raised. The province of registration has been extended, and its amount increased one-tenth, by the addition of what is called the *second décime*. The price of stamped paper has also been raised.<sup>3</sup> We will give an estimate farther on of the amount of these augmentations.

The third great branch of the revenue consists of the indirect taxes properly so called. This branch has many ramifications, of which we will only indicate the principal ones; for the list of taxed products would fill many pages.

Alcoholic drinks are every where thought to be "objects eminently taxable." Many writers, and especially financial statesmen, discover a peculiar moral perfume in the duties upon them. We have nothing to say to the contrary, especially in relation to the French system, which favours beer, spares wine, and weighs heavily on spirits. It is considered good to tax this poison, and to make those who like to spoil their health by it pay dearly for the privilege. With these views, the French have not complained of the increase of duty, which, with the increased consumption, has raised the amount from 101,000,000*f.* in 1852, to 203,000,000*f.* in 1864. Beer, wine, and cider duties were only increased by a tenth in 1855 (the *second décime* for the war), and the actual product of this addition is 15,000,000*f.*; but the spirit-duty has been raised 50 per cent, giving an increase of 23,000,000*f.*; hence between 38,000,000*f.* and 40,000,000*f.* of these taxes are due to fiscal legislation, leaving from 61,000,000*f.* to 63,000,000*f.* due to increase of production and consumption.

Sugar, in France, has been for a long time subject to a very complicated differential system; the native, or beet-root, sugar, and the colonial and foreign, being differently taxed. The government had to satisfy at once the agriculturists, who declared that France was an essentially agricultural country; the colonies, which demanded a compensation for the restric-

<sup>3</sup> The paper of smallest dimension has been raised from 35*c.* to 50*c.*; for the other dimensions the increase has been from 70*c.* to 1*f.*, from 1*f.* 25*c.* to 1*f.* 50*c.*, from 1*f.* 50*c.* to 2*f.*, and from 2*f.* to 3*f.* We omit the smaller details of the law to which we are referring.



tions imposed on them by the "colonial pact;" and, finally, the consumers (the people in general), who advanced a claim for some consideration. We are not going to examine incidentally this special legislation, which has been somewhat simplified by time, though its details are still very voluminous. We need only say that the government, yielding to the logic of facts, and encouraged by the financial experiments of England, proposed to reduce the duty on sugar from 45f. to 25f. on the 100 kilogrammes, with a differential duty on foreign sugar, and that this proposal became law on the 31st of May 1861. After the return of M. Fould to the financial department, however, the duty was raised to 35f., for the purpose of balancing the budget. The total of the sugar-duties stands at 73,284,000f. for 1852, and at 134,990,000 for 1864; these totals are composed as follows :

|                    | 1852.        | 1864.        |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Native sugar . . . | 31,465,000f. | 58,816,000f. |
| Colonial „ . . .   | 23,900,000f. | 39,680,000f. |
| Foreign „ . . .    | 17,919,000f. | 36,494,000f. |

The returns have thus nearly doubled, though the duties have been diminished almost a quarter (35f. instead of 45f.). The increase therefore is due to the increased consumption. We do not believe that the diminution of the duty has influenced this increase, because practically the public takes no notice of a fall of 10 centimes in the kilogramme, or a halfpenny in the pound; and because the use of tea and coffee is not so general in France as in England, and is only common in well-to-do households, which would not be influenced by so small a diminution in the price. Sugar is also one of those things the consumption of which has its natural limits, like that of salt, which, however, produced 25,621,000f. in 1852, and is estimated to produce 33,863,000f. in 1864, the duty remaining at 10 centimes the kilogramme at both periods. In this case the increase is partly due to the extension of chemical manufactures. Possibly it is the same with sugar.

Another great branch of the revenue is the tobacco-duty. The product of this tax is marked at 122,213,000f. for 1852, and 220,376,000f. for 1864. The whole difference of 98,163,000f. must not be attributed to the increased consumption, because the duty has been raised one-fourth—from 8f. to 10f. the kilogramme. Tobacco is a monopoly of the state in France; and the government buys, manufactures, and sells it, at a profit of about 300 per cent.

Next come the customs. After the commercial treaty with England of the 13th of January 1860, the French tariff

was remodeled. Prohibitions were repealed in favour of English and Belgian products; the duties on some items were suppressed; and those on very many of the rest were reduced. In spite of these causes of diminution, the customs, which in 1852 figure at 135,532,000f., have advanced to 163,953,000f. for 1864. This proves that the treasury had not made a bad speculation. The following table shows the produce of several important commodities at the two periods of our comparison:

|  | 1852.        | 1864.        |
|--|--------------|--------------|
| Coffee . . .                               | 15,000,000f. | 18,600,000f. |
| Olive-oil . . .                            | 7,000,000f.  | 1,100,000f.  |
| Cotton . . .                               | 13,000,000f. | —            |
| Wool . . .                                 | 9,000,000f.  | —            |
| Coal . . .                                 | 5,000,000f.  | 7,905,000f.  |
| Pig-iron . . .                             | 2,500,000f.  | 4,300,000f.  |
| Bar-iron . . .                             | —            | 4,400,000f.  |
| Commodities formerly }<br>prohibited . . } | —            | 10,700,000f. |

Sugar has been already spoken of: it must be remembered that the duties upon coffee, coal, and iron have been largely reduced.

For the sake of completeness we must mention the minor branches of the revenue; such as the post-office, 45,000,000f. in 1852, 69,000,000f. in 1864; gunpowder, 7,000,000f. and 14,000,000f. in the respective years; state-property, 10,000,000f. and 14,000,000f.; woods and forests, 35,000,000f. and 42,000,000f.; miscellaneous, 42,589,000f. in 1852, and 53,951,000f. in 1864. Under this last head are included the public-carriage duty, including railroads, estimated at 9,408,000f. in 1852, and at 29,293,000f. in 1864. This is one of the best tests of the extension of the railway system.

To sum up: of the 1,781,000,000f., which make up the ordinary receipts, about 312,000,000f. are raised by direct taxation; 420,000,000f. by registration and stamps; 187,000,000f. by customs; 561,000,000f. by indirect taxes (including tobacco); 70,000,000f. by the post-office; and 55,000,000f. from thirty-eight different items. These sums make a total of 1,605,000,000f. The rest is made up from the forests, the revenue of Algeria, 18,800,000f. in 1864, the drawback for the retiring pensions of civil officers, and the sinking-fund reserve, 98,022,745f. in 1864.

Having stated the sources of the French revenue, we may now exhibit in a tabular form the augmentations we have noticed, referring each to its proper cause:

*Augmentations resulting from*

| Taxes.                  | Increase of population and wealth. | Decrease in the value of money. | Increase of duties and new taxes. | Financial artifices. |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
|                         | Million francs.                    | Million francs.                 | Million francs.                   | Million francs.      |
| Direct taxes . . . . .  | 32                                 | 9                               | 4                                 | ..                   |
| Registration . . . . .  | 40                                 | 17                              | 57                                | ..                   |
| Stamps . . . . .        | 5                                  | ..                              | 15                                | ..                   |
| Domains . . . . .       | ..                                 | 4                               | ..                                | ..                   |
| Forests . . . . .       | ..                                 | 7                               | ..                                | ..                   |
| Customs . . . . .       | 28                                 | ..                              | ..                                | ..                   |
| Liquors . . . . .       | 61                                 | ..                              | 40                                | ..                   |
| Tobacco . . . . .       | 54                                 | ..                              | 44                                | ..                   |
| Sugar . . . . .         | 62                                 | ..                              | ..                                | ..                   |
| Salt . . . . .          | 8                                  | ..                              | ..                                | ..                   |
| Gunpowder . . . . .     | 7                                  | ..                              | ..                                | ..                   |
| Post-office . . . . .   | 24                                 | ..                              | ..                                | ..                   |
| Miscellaneous . . . . . | 10                                 | ..                              | ..                                | ..                   |
| Pensions . . . . .      | ..                                 | ..                              | ..                                | 14                   |
| Sinking-fund . . . . .  | ..                                 | ..                              | ..                                | 98                   |
|                         | 337                                | 37                              | 160                               | 112                  |

The fourth column of this table, relating to financial measures, is thus explained. Superannuation pensions are given in France after thirty years' service, and at the age of sixty years. But they are only given on condition that the civil officer allows a drawback of five per cent on his pay, and the military official one of two per cent, to be retained in the hands of government. In former times these sums were simply subtracted from the expenses; now they figure *in memoriam*, both on the *credit* and *debit* sides of the account. We shall return to the sinking-fund hereafter; here we need only remark that it does not appear in the budget of 1852.

Now, leaving out the sums due to financial artifices, there still remains an increase of 534,000,000f.; which may be distributed as follows:

|  |   |                                |
|--|---|--------------------------------|
| Natural or spontaneous aug-<br>mentation . . . . .                     | } | 337,000,000f., or 63 per cent. |
| Increase due to the decreased<br>value of money <sup>4</sup> . . . . . |   |                                |
| Produce of new taxes . . . . .   |   | 160,000,000f., or 30 „         |

In comparing these figures with the ways and means of 1852, we find that in twelve years the revenue has sponta-

<sup>4</sup> We need scarcely say that this sum is merely a subdivision of the preceding category (natural increase), and is only an approximate estimate.



neously increased by one-third, but that this natural increase has not been enough to cover the new wants of the imperial government.

II. To know what these new wants have been, we must compare the items of expenditure of 1852 with those of 1864. It would be an advantage to distinguish also between the necessary, the useful, and the ornamental expenditure; but we have no certain criterion to determine the classification. We only find personal and subjective estimates, very plausible, often very significant, but none of them generally admitted as certain. We must therefore forbear from meddling with this difficult and complicated question, which would lead us into the subtlest problems of political philosophy; and we must confine ourselves to simple figures.

The following table exhibits a comparison of the expenditure of 1852 with that of 1864:

| Debt and Annuities.  | 1852. fr.     | 1864. fr.     |
|--|---------------|---------------|
| Consolidated debt . . . . .  | 311,800,000   | 503,900,000   |
| Special loans . . . . .  | 8,900,000     | 17,500,000    |
| Miscellaneous debt ( <i>Capitaux</i><br><i>remboursables</i> ) . . . . . | 29,000,000    | 42,700,000    |
| Pensions ( <i>Dette viagère</i> ) . . . .                                | 44,600,000    | 76,600,000    |
| Civil list and salaries . . . . .  | 9,000,000     | 45,100,000    |
| Total  | 403,300,000   | 685,800,000   |
| Administration.  |               |               |
| Minister of  |               |               |
| State . . . . .  | —             | 17,000,000    |
| Justice . . . . .  | 26,600,000    | 33,100,000    |
| Foreign Affairs . . . . .  | 7,100,000     | 12,500,000    |
| Home . . . . .   | 27,700,000    | 51,000,000    |
| Treasury . . . . .   | 28,100,000    | 22,700,000    |
| War (including Algeria) . . . . .  | 304,700,000   | 386,000,000   |
| Navy and Colonies . . . . .  | 103,000,000   | 153,500,000   |
| Education and Worship . . . . .  | 64,700,000    | 64,500,000    |
| Agriculture, Commerce,<br>and Public Works . . . . .                     | 76,800,000    | 71,700,000    |
| Total  | 638,700,000   | 812,000,000   |
| Expenses of collection . . . . .   | 149,300,000   | 235,500,000   |
| Repayments, losses, &c. . . . .  | 80,700,000    | 45,000,000    |
| Grand total  | 1,272,000,000 | 1,778,300,000 |

There is a difference, then, of more than 500,000,000f. As the sum is so large, we may overlook the smaller details, and only attend to the larger channels through which the public

revenues flow away. At the head of the list stands the consolidated debt, the interest on which, in spite of the conversion of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  into 3 per cent stock, has increased by 192,000,000f. We must return to this subject afterwards, in order to distinguish between the appearance and the reality of the increase. The special loans need not detain us a moment. Under the miscellaneous head are included (1) the interest of caution-moneys (at 3 per cent), amounting to 7,000,000f. in 1852, and to 8,500,000f. in 1864; (2) the interest on the floating debt, amounting to 22,000,000f. in 1852, and 34,000,000f. in 1864; (3) the redemption of the sound-dues; and (4) a small annual payment to Spain.

The caution-moneys are deposited by the various agents and accountable officers, of whom there were 55,561 in 1862. They amount to a capital of more than 264,000,000f. Cashiers, collectors, and receivers of all grades make up the majority of these 55,561 persons. But there are also 10,452 notaries, 9,082 ushers and bailiffs, 3,467 attorneys, besides clerks, money-changers, and 350 journals with a deposited capital of 5,101,450f., all of these being obliged to find securities.

The "floating debt" is a thing only too well known in every country. In France its amount rises from year to year. In 1831 it was 252,000,000f., in 1841 it had only reached 261,000,000f.; but from the next year it was over 415,000,000f. In 1847, 458,000,000f. appeared a frightful sum; but the republican government was not afraid to increase it to 615,000,000f., the figure of 1852. Ten years afterwards, in 1862, the official return before us gives the total at 937,523,379f. 33c. This sum is made up of a great number of items, among which the treasury-bonds (bills of certain dates, which the treasury draws on itself), the funds placed on account in the hands of government by the communes, and the funds of saving-banks, are of most importance. The caution-moneys are not included in the floating debt, probably because they cannot be reclaimed at will, but only on the retirement of a functionary, or rather (considering that for each retiring officer a new one is appointed) on the suppression of the office.

Of the pensions, those of military servants amount to 40,000,000f., those of civil servants to 25,000,000f.; this last item was not reckoned under this head before 1853, and the addition of it accounts for the immense increase seen in the table, at p. 384. The civil lists of 1852 and 1864 differ so widely because the Republic was contented with 7,800,000f. for the National Assembly, and with 1,248,000f. for the executive power; while the Empire asks for a civil list of 25,000,000f. for the sovereign, 1,500,000f. for the princes and princesses,

and 10,000,000*f.* for the senate and legislative body, and makes a supplementary present of 9,200,000*f.* to the legion of honour. Louis Philippe's civil list amounted to 12,000,000*f.*

The numerous public services which are brought together under the nine ministerial portfolios would be a subject for an interesting comparison. But to take such a view in detail would be incompatible with our present design. Our readers will see at a glance that neither army, navy, nor the expenses of administration have been diminished; yet in spite of universal suffrage, which professes to make every Frenchman a citizen with a share in the government, the expenses of public education and worship have remained stationary. With regard to the public works, the railways have considerably diminished the old expenditure for bridges and roads. Finally, the expenses of collection have increased, because the sums to be collected are greater; this is a natural increase.

Hitherto we have only examined the ordinary budget of expenditure paid out of the general fund, or those taxes which have no special application assigned for them. But the French budget includes also certain taxes and receipts which are destined for special and definite objects. This *spécialisation* of funds, which was formerly the general practice of all countries, has become the exception in France, where, indeed, the special funds are only inserted in the budget to ensure their being placed under the control of the government. The chief part of these funds is appropriated to the departments and communes. They arise from the additional centimes annexed to the direct taxes, and amount, in receipts and expenses, to about 124,000,000*f.* for the departments, and 88,000,000*f.* for the communes. The government collectors have to gather these rates. In other countries the communal or parochial collectors gather the taxes of the state, and pay them to its account. Besides these sums there remain about ten millions for different objects,—grants to poor-schools, inspection of railways, assistance in cases of accidents, and the like. The funds of departments amounted in 1852 to the sum of 100,300,000*f.*, and those of the communes to 49,000,000*f.* It must be observed, that in the figures for both 1852 and 1864 we have only included the sums raised from the additional centimes, the only special taxes which the imperial officers collect. Such communes as have other important sources of revenue, such as the octroi, market-duties, or the like, have their own collectors.

We come now to the extraordinary budget, which, in its present shape, is a new creation; but as we shall have to return to it, we will here only give the figures. This



budget gives in receipts 104,015,236f., and in expenditure 104,015,000f., leaving a balance of 236f. The division of the expenditure among the various ministerial departments would not be a very interesting subject for our readers, though a few remarks on the sources whence these revenues are obtained might be useful. But we must hasten on, after exhibiting the general heads of expenditure for 1864.

|                                     | francs.             |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Ordinary expenditure . . . . .      | 1,778,461,501       |
| Special expenditure . . . . .       | 222,189,123         |
| Extraordinary expenditure . . . . . | 104,015,000         |
| Total . . . . .                     | <hr/> 2,104,665,624 |

III. Hitherto we have only cursorily mentioned the public debt of France; its amount, however, is so considerable that it calls for a more detailed examination. Indeed, unless we enter into details, the gross amount of it, which we have taken from the budget, cannot be understood without a knowledge of the French accounts, which are kept on a peculiar system. As we have to present to our readers a mass of facts with greater clearness than the official document possesses in the eyes of the uninitiated, we shall have to abstain from all general reflections. Yet we might break a lance with those who pretend that national debts are good things. In our eyes they are hardly a sign of wealth; for though people only lend to the rich, yet through much borrowing the rich may become insolvent. This does not apply to England or France, which easily bear the burden of their debts; but the fact of the existence of states which have been bankrupt is enough to refute all the reasonings of the supporters of the fallacious principle, "he who borrows increases his wealth." There is much more truth in the popular saying, that he who pays his debts grows rich.

In spite of her progressive prosperity, France does not yet seem in a position to pay her debts. On the contrary, she is constantly increasing them. Still their amount is not so great as the budget of 1864 might lead us to believe. The amount of the total, given under this head in the official document, proves the conscientious good faith with which it was drawn up, but not the intelligence of the accountant; for many points which should be cleared up are left to the reader's sagacity to guess at, if he can. Let us examine these points.

The French consolidated debt is divisible into two categories; one of real, the other of fictitious debt. The former is represented by the sums due to establishments or private persons, the second by the sums put to the account of the

sinking-fund. These sums produce a real mirage; they increase the receipts and the expenses; they are seen every where, except where they really have a meaning. The literal truth of this assertion will appear, if we consider for a moment the history of the French sinking-fund, abstaining from all theoretical discussions, and contenting ourselves with observing that the majority of financiers are convinced of the uselessness of such a means of paying off debt. In France the government seems still to believe in it; at any rate, it did so in 1816, when the fund was first created. The law of the 28th of April 1816, arts. 104 and 105, set apart an annual sum of 20,000,000*f.* to form a sinking-fund; this sum was raised in 1817 to 40,000,000*f.*, and the produce of the sale of 150,000 hectares (375,000 acres) of forest land, amounting to 83,465,338*f.* 98*c.*, was added. With these different moneys, the sinking-fund had, by the 22d of June 1825, redeemed 37,503,000*f.* of annual interest, which, with the annual allowance of 40,000,000*f.* amounted to a revenue of 77,503,204*f.* We need not say that the interest redeemed was employed as capital to purchase fresh stock; so that the action of the sinking-fund resembled that of compound interest.

In 1825, a law dated 1 May ordered that no more stock should be purchased above par. From that date the fund could only be used to redeem the 3 per cents (16,003,286*f.* of interest), and a little 4 and 4½ per-cent stock, making a total of 16,020,094*f.* per annum, up to 22 June 1830. From that date to 1 July 1833, it redeemed 12,858,526*f.* more of annual interest in all the stocks. And as, in the same period, the government contracted more debt, an addition of 4,616,463*f.* was made to the annual grant to the fund. Thus its revenue amounted to 94,978,193*f.*; of which 44,616,463*f.* were from the grant, and 50,361,730*f.* from the interest of redeemed stock. Of this latter sum, 32,000,000*f.* were annulled by the laws of the 27th and 28th of June 1833, and the income of the fund was reduced to 62,978,193*f.*, of which only 18,361,730*f.* proceeded from the interest of redeemed stock. Further, a law of the 10th of the same June 1833, which marks an epoch in the financial history of France, subdivided this sum, and appropriated fixed portions of it to the redemption of each kind of stock, in proportion to the aggregate sum of each.

|                              | francs.    |
|------------------------------|------------|
| To the 5 per cents . . . . . | 45,219,978 |
| To the 4½ „ . . . . .        | 347,599    |
| To the 4 „ . . . . .         | 1,159,499  |
| To the 3 „ . . . . .         | 16,251,117 |
| Total                        | 62,978,193 |

The law also provided that these portions should only be applied in purchasing the stock to which they were appropriated, and that only so much of each kind should be purchased as the sum so appropriated would cover. At the same time the rule of 1825 was maintained, forbidding the purchase of stock above par. These two points must be observed, for their consequences were important.

The 5 per cents soon rose above par, and so an annual capital of 45,219,978*f.*, with interest, threatened to accumulate in a very useless way; for these sums, instead of redeeming the debt and thus diminishing the public burdens, would only constitute a new and purposeless charge. It was decided, then, first as a temporary expedient, and afterwards as a permanent rule, that the reserves of the fund for redeeming the 5 per cents should be employed in covering the public expenditure. The result was, that every year the treasury had to pay to the fund about 45,000,000*f.* But as this sum could not be used within the year, it was laid by as a reserve; and it was this reserve that was made use of, first in 1835, by the law of the 17th of August; then in 1840, by that of the 16th of July; and then by those of the 11th and 25th of June 1841, which disposed of it by anticipation up to the year 1847.

In 1848 the system was completely changed by the law of the 12th of December. Instead of annulling the reserved fund by employing it to cover the deficit, it was ordered, after 1848, to be inserted in the budget of ways and means; and as no stocks were now redeemed, whether over or under par, it was no longer the special sum appropriated to the 5 per cents, but the whole sinking-fund, which had to figure among the receipts.

When the sinking-fund was suspended, the simplest thing would have been to say, "Here is a machine which has nothing to do; let us stop it till new orders come in." But as it was feared that the wheels would grow rusty, the machine was left going. The 63,000,000*f.* (the sum is greater now) charged annually to the tax-payers for reducing the national debt were used to cover other expenditure. But since it was nevertheless determined to keep up the pretence of a sinking-fund, the treasury had to pay the sum annually to the fund, if not in coin, at least in treasury-bonds (somewhat similar to our *exchequer-bills*). Now, whenever the state makes a fictitious expenditure, it must have nominal receipts to correspond, and this is why the reserve of the sinking-fund figures among the receipts. It is quite true, then, to say that the total amount of the debt is not what the figures make it.



Let us now see what is the actual working of this machine. The budget of expenditure provides for (1) the annual grant to the sinking-fund, and (2) the accumulated interest of former grants, which have not been employed in redeeming stock, but have been consolidated at the end of each year. And the budget of ways and means must provide for these sums. Now this provision, if it were real, would increase the taxation by about 140,000,000*f*. But such a sum is not to be thought of. The redemption of stock, therefore, is adjourned, and the needs of the day are provided for. Public opinion is soothed by paying, on paper, the sum due to the sinking-fund; a like sum is added to the receipts. Now we can understand the following figures, extracted from the accounts of 1861, the last which have yet appeared.

The following are the operations of the sinking-fund for 1861 :

|   | francs.     | cents. |
|---|-------------|--------|
| The sum remaining to be used in redeeming the debt amounted at the end of 1860 to                       | 66,396,505  | 26     |
| The sum due by the treasury to the fund during the year 1861 amounts to 138,621,061 <i>f</i> ., namely: |             |        |
| Annual grant . . .  | 99,034,848  |        |
| Arrears of interest on stock belonging to the fund . . .  | 2,467,363   |        |
| Arrears of interest on the consolidated reserves . . .  | 37,118,850  |        |
|   | <hr/>       |        |
|   | 138,621,061 | 0      |
| To the above receipts must be added the Interest on treasury-bonds for 1861 .                           | 914,853     | 71     |
| The capital of interests arising from the retiring-fund . . . . .                                       | 3,063,328   | 77     |
|   | <hr/>       |        |
| Total   | 208,995,748 | 74     |

And then follows another account where like sums are paid to the treasury by the sinking-fund. It is plain that these nominal sums must increase every year by the amount of the interest of the consolidated reserves, which are inserted in the "Great Book" of the debt at the end of each year. This interest figures as real expenditure with the annual grant, and if the balance is to be maintained, the real receipts must be increased in proportion. Where is this to end? In 1859 the sinking-fund was reëstablished; but then came the Italian war, and it was again suspended. The mill goes once more now; but still there is nothing to grind. Perhaps the only way to give it grist is to borrow money for the purpose.

Subtracting, then, the merely formal and fictitious accounts of the sinking-fund, we find that the actual interest due to the creditors of the state, after the recent conversion, is 40,036,224*f.* for the 4½ per cents, 493,768*f.* for the 4 per cents, and 338,746,934*f.* for the 3 per cents. This is the real state of the debt. These figures seem sufficiently high, and do not need any artificial increase.

IV. In the preceding pages we have exhibited to our readers the ordinary and extraordinary, the special and the fictitious, budget of the sinking-fund. There still remains what we may call the *supplementary budget*. It is this which deranges the balance between the receipts and expenditure, and which for a long period made the financial votes of the Chambers a mere delusion, not to say a farce. These votes have for the last year been made something more serious. But hitherto only the form has been changed; the substance remains as it was, and the same causes which have for so many years destroyed the balance of the budget are still in operation.

The following is the way in which business used to be done. First, the ministry presented an estimate of expenditure, and then an estimate of receipts, which were thoroughly discussed, and were often made to balance. But it always happened that ministers had not foreseen all contingencies; or rather, that they had foreseen with much sagacity every possible increase of receipts, which they had put down in the estimates, in order to justify them in increasing the ordinary expenditure by the same amounts. The expenditure, however, had not been foreseen. Then one of these three things—or more frequently all three together—would come to pass: either the expenditure was altogether unforeseen; or it was foreseen, but exceeded the sum voted for it; or else the deficit was only discovered when the accounts were made up. In the first case the chief of the state—king, president, or emperor—opened an extraordinary credit; in the second he opened a supplementary credit; in the third it was a complementary credit that was wanted. It is true that the ministers were obliged to ask the Chambers for a bill of indemnity; but this was always passed, often amid murmurs, which were too late to hinder the mischief, and too weak to prevent its recurrence.

The facility of exceeding the limits of the budget, caused by the power of opening supplementary and extraordinary credits, has had one result, which the accounts of the French finances display without any reserve. Thus the document of 1861 shows us that from 1830 to 1860, both inclusive, the accounts were made up fourteen times with a surplus, and eighteen times with a deficit. But it is very remarkable that,

on almost every occasion of a surplus, there had been a loan, which artificially increased the receipts. This, however, is not all; for in spite of the loans contracted in aid of the receipts, there is a final sum of more than 1,699,000,000f., which is uncovered by receipts, though it ought to have been partially covered by loans. The "accounts" with which we are now dealing must not be confounded with the budgets. The latter are estimates made beforehand, while the accounts give the real facts, and only appear at the end of the financial period, when the books are made up. The accounts give us the real state of the finances, for they alone include the supplementary and extraordinary credits. In order to show the importance of these credits, we will give their net annual amounts, deducting from each year the sums which remained unemployed, or the "annulled credits." The following is the "definitive result of the expenditure really incurred," in supplementary and extraordinary credits:

|          | francs.     |          | francs.     |
|----------|-------------|----------|-------------|
| 1830 . . | 120,097,370 | 1846 . . | 71,547,365  |
| 1831 . . | 57,911,438  | 1847 . . | 92,973,149  |
| 1832 . . | 66,378,104  | 1848 . . | —           |
| 1833 . . | 4,112,899   | 1849 . . | 54,905,529  |
| 1834 . . | 40,031,563  | 1850 . . | 11,941,210  |
| 1835 . . | —           | 1851 . . | 25,757,789  |
| 1836 . . | 41,014,889  | 1852 . . | 8,387,787   |
| 1837 . . | 33,982,982  | 1853 . . | 59,593,434  |
| 1838 . . | 81,344,141  | 1854 . . | 459,202,079 |
| 1839 . . | 94,685,242  | 1855 . . | 826,009,463 |
| 1840 . . | 206,814,297 | 1856 . . | 575,715,248 |
| 1841 . . | 226,585,412 | 1857 . . | 140,040,855 |
| 1842 . . | 70,896,429  | 1858 . . | 96,998,929  |
| 1843 . . | 81,360,621  | 1859 . . | 432,023,267 |
| 1844 . . | 23,072,683  | 1860 . . | 253,465,856 |
| 1845 . . | 57,399,436  |          |             |

The public law of France has always assumed the necessity of permitting the government, in the absence of the Chambers, to authorise an expense not provided for in the budget. Thus, when the Empire was restored in 1853, and a *Senatus-consultum* decided that in future the Chamber (the legislative body) should vote the total sums appropriated to each ministerial portfolio, and that the government should divide it among the different "chapters" or services, they thought they had made an end of deficits. Formerly, they said, the Chamber voted the chapters, and each vote constituted a special



legal expense. If it turned out that one of these chapters was too high, and that the expenditure remained below the estimate, it was necessary to annul the surplus, though there was no power to employ it in making up the insufficient sum appropriated to another chapter. But now the right of transfer (*virement*), as M. Bineau the minister said in 1853, would allow the government to carry over to the insufficient chapters the excess of those which were too high, and thus to avoid the necessity for supplementary credits.

At the same time M. Schneider, the vice-president of the legislative body, in his report on the budget of 1854, expressed himself thus: "We consider that the right of transfer will give to the anticipations of the budget, taken as a whole, a character of truth and exactness which they have hitherto lacked; but only on the condition that, while avoiding exaggerated votes, which would only encourage abuses, the legislature makes sufficient grants to each service. For these the deficiency, which the event will show to have existed in the estimates for some chapters, may be compensated by the surplus which will appear in others. This system, then, promises a double advantage: on the one hand, the minister, obliged to keep within the limits of his budget, will naturally try to enforce as much economy as is compatible with the needs of the service; while on the other we may expect to see no more of those annulled and supplementary credits, which came every year to upset all our anticipations, and to make the vote of the budget almost illusive. In our new system we cannot too strongly insist upon the necessity of suppressing supplementary credits for the future, in order that extraordinary credits may only be asked for in unforeseen contingencies, or in circumstances quite exceptional, and really urgent." The same ideas have been expressed in the reports on the budgets of succeeding years.

In 1857 M. Magne, the finance-minister, still said: "The first condition which I have always considered indispensable is the final closing of the *Grand Livre*; but as in our financial system all parts are connected, this condition would require that an end should be previously put to the increase of expenses not covered by receipts. Now in fact, since 1855, the advance of these expenses has been stopped; and for the future, the decree of the 19th of last November, which submits the opening of supplementary credits to rigorous control, and orders that the expenses should be kept within the limits of the realised receipts, should be an almost infallible guarantee of order and equilibrium."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Report to the Emperor, inserted in the *Moniteur*.

It would be enough to refer our readers to the figures we have already given (see p. 392) to prove how completely the minister was deceived. But there is a more telling argument. The government has itself proclaimed the fact; and the statesman who is considered to be the most experienced French financier of the day has broken the charm, and put to flight these illusions. The Emperor himself has openly confessed that M. Fould was right, by appointing him minister of finance. Our readers will not have forgotten the excitement caused by the memoir which M. Fould read to the Emperor at a meeting of the privy council and council of ministers on the 12th of November 1861. In this remarkable paper the economist demonstrated the radical vices of a system which allows of expenditure not provided for in the budget; he made palpable the illusive character of a control brought to bear eighteen months after the expense is incurred;<sup>6</sup> he reminded the Emperor that in ten years the supplementary and extraordinary credits had amounted to more than two milliards; and he begged him to abandon his right of opening credits of these kinds. "In studying the financial question," he said, "it is easy to foresee that, without a change of system, we shall soon find ourselves in very great difficulties. During the eight years from 1851 to 1858, 2,400,000,000f. of extraordinary credits were opened. Adding to this sum 400,000,000f. for the years 1859, 1860, and 1861, we see how much both the national debt and the deficits of the treasury have increased. To pay these expenses, credits of every kind have been taken up, and the funds of the establishments under the control of the State have been made use of, with the consent of government. The loans negotiated in 1854, 1855, and 1859 amount to no less than two milliards. When the bank charter was renewed, the treasury absorbed the hundred millions of additional capital which was imposed on that establishment. The military fund, consisting of 135,000,000f., was entirely absorbed by the treasury, and replaced by consols inscribed in the Great Book. Lastly, a new method of borrowing has been invented in the thirty-year bonds, of which 132,000,000f. have been sent out this year. The people subscribed to the loans with very great readiness; but it would be dangerous to count upon an indefinite development of the national credit. The state of this credit ought to engage the attention of the Em-

<sup>6</sup> In France the actual realisation of the budget is called the *exercice*; it lasts for the year whose name it bears, and till the 31st of July of the following year. In August the *exercice* is closed. Then the accounts are prepared, and are not submitted to the Chamber for more than six months afterwards. Thus the accounts of 1860 are not examined till 1862.

peror, inasmuch as all men are anxious about our finances. At the time of the last discussion of the budget, it was calculated that the deficit would amount at the end of the year to nearly a milliard; and this figure is certainly not exaggerated. The legislative body and the Senate have already expressed their uneasiness on the subject. This feeling pervades the whole body of mercantile men, who anticipate and predict a crisis, which will be all the more serious because the example of the State, and the desire of amelioration, and perhaps too precipitate a progress, have caused departments, towns, and private companies to launch forth into very considerable expenses."

Not to multiply quotations, we will not reproduce any passages of the reports which led to the *Senatus-consultum* of the 31st of December, approving the Emperor's determination to renounce his right of opening credits without the consent of the legislative body. By this law, all supplementary or extraordinary credits have in future to be voted by the Chambers before the money is spent. The same *Senatus-consultum* alters the method of voting the budget. Instead of the whole amount required by each ministerial department being voted in the mass, each total is in future to be subdivided into several sections, each of which comprises one great service or more. In itself, as it at present works, this concession is insignificant; but it has great importance for the future. It is a boundary-mark. More such will be laid down hereafter, and by successive specialisations a satisfactory result may be attained. The right of transfer is confined to the different chapters of the same section; the section has thus become the financial unit of the legislature. Another innovation of M. Fould deserves mention. He has divided the budget into two parts, ordinary and extraordinary, and has appropriated special revenues to the latter part. In principle, this division is practically recognised by every one; the novelty is the radical separation of the accounts. Instead of one financial law there are to be two, each printed in its separate blue-book.

V. One word, in conclusion, on the import of the measures which have resulted from M. Fould's memoir. *A priori*, we put no trust in mechanical automata, announced with much ostentation as sovereign and infallible remedies for the evils of society and of the state. Such remedies do not spring in full armour out of the head of any Jupiter here below, whether his name be Alexander or Cæsar, Charlemagne or Napoleon; rather they grow towards perfection by a natural, organic, and gradual development; and when they have attained that relative perfection which is all that man can hope



for, they often rot and disappear, sometimes leaving behind them a germ, to be the seed of a new series of developments. No administrative organisation, therefore, has any absolute value in our estimation; for any such organisation can be abused. What is wanted to make the wheels of the public service run easily, besides those qualities which are as essential morally as space and time are physically necessary, is that statesmen should learn to govern their passions, and to control their caprices. After this is done, there will be always extraordinary circumstances enough to cause all kinds of unexpected results. But argument is superfluous when facts are speaking. The French Emperor definitively renounced the right of opening supplementary and extraordinary credits, on the 31st of December 1861; and in the following May the Chamber was asked for 177,795,382f. on this head. Of course this sum was granted. On the 9th of last February, again, a fresh application for supplementary credits was made to the legislative body. This time the sum was only 38,046,152f. But there is no ground for supposing that this demand will be the last. It will all depend on what is wanted. Now what is really wanted must be granted; the important thing is not to create wants artificially, not to have too many *ideas* which crave for realisation. Thus the expenditure continues; only the legislative body, instead of being consulted afterwards, is consulted beforehand. Still, it would not be just to deny the future and contingent importance of the Emperor's concession. At present, France chooses to elect deputies who scout the idea of being chosen by the country to control and limit the government. On the 11th of February 1863, a speaker enunciated the received doctrine when he declared that the Chamber was elected "to be in agreement with the government," or, in other words, "to vote whatever was proposed,"—an operation which simply makes the pretended control a farce. But the Emperor does not speak thus. He says: "My government wants control; it is really a misfortune to be a sovereign and to be deprived of all surveillance." But if France now accepts her representatives from the administration, it is not likely that the country, which, rightly or wrongly, is considered the most inconstant in Europe, will cling for ever to her present doctrine. She may some day come to think that her deputies ought to control and limit the government; and then the imperial concession will become of real importance. There are sometimes agitations which no government can resist.

We return, then, to the point from which we set out. If the continental budgets exhibit a steady increase, this results

from the tendency to strengthen the centralisation of government, to extend the functions and interference of the administration, and especially to make use of the conscription. The arbitrary power of levying soldiers leads a government to maintain large armies; and the possession of a strong force leads to the temptation to make use of it. The increase of the budget will be stopped, as if by enchantment, when the conscription, except as against invasion, has been suppressed; when the indirect taxation has been gradually diminished till it is brought to a proper balance with the direct taxes; and when the people have been taught to require an account of the employment of every penny they pay into the treasury.

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KINGLAKE ON THE CAUSES OF THE CRIMEAN WAR.<sup>1</sup>

IF history were only a work of art, it would not be easy to overrate Mr. Kinglake's success as a historian. No man has ever made history so charming, and yet so dignified. All that style and finish can contribute is here in extraordinary abundance. Every sentence is the purest English, and yet the effect of the whole is almost foreign from that very circumstance. We are not accustomed to see so much good writing put so close together; and when we do see it, we are tempted to say it is French. It is a literary triumph on which any man may be content to rest his fame. And yet, like other triumphs, it has its drawbacks. In such a guise as this, how are we to tell truth from fiction? Where the beauty of form is so conspicuous, how can we question or qualify what underlies it? It seems impossible that narrative so felicitous can conceal any uncertainties, sarcasm so pointed ever cloak an unjust sneer, portraiture so masterly ever reproduce rather the imagination of the draughtsman than the features of the object. And if there is danger for the reader, there is danger for the writer also. The skill which can make gossip seem historical, and rumour pass for truth; which can render parliamentary papers amusing, and invest with a dramatic interest the moves of rival diplomatists; is too near akin to magic to be altogether a harmless possession. It must be a temptation to use it, a temptation to believe in it when used. Nor is this the only risk to which Mr. Kinglake has been exposed. Very much of his work is based on materials which cannot now be made public. He has had, therefore, not merely to represent fairly the contents of his authorities, but to gauge their value. Now manuscript authorities which are not common property are ensnaring things to have to do with. A writer into whose hands they are committed comes to feel a personal interest in their trustworthiness, analogous to that which a picture-collector takes in the genuineness of his gallery. And a passage in Mr. Kinglake's preface seems to show some traces of this influence. "For the present," he says, "this portion of the book must rest upon what, after all, is the chief basis of our historical knowledge—must rest upon the statement of one who had good means of knowing the truth." Here there seems to be some confusion between personal knowledge of facts and

<sup>1</sup> The Invasion of the Crimea: its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan. By Alexander William Kinglake. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood. 1863.



personal knowledge of evidence. Mr. Kinglake's knowledge is of the latter kind,—highly valuable, no doubt, but not quite the same thing as the former. That he fully believes he has given us the result of his researches fairly we do not question for a moment; and he tells us that he has left to some future generation the means of proving to themselves that he has done so. But till then he can hardly complain if the credit accorded to his narrative falls somewhat short of that which is due to the historian whose references afford us a clue to his investigations, and a check on his accuracy. And Mr. Kinglake is more than ordinarily open to danger from this quarter, from the marked preference which he displays for the personal element in history. He does not, it is true, shut out general considerations altogether from his view; but there is a striking contrast between his somewhat commonplace reflections on the public law of Europe, or his comparison of absolute with constitutional government, and the brilliant pictures which he gives us of Lord Stratford, the Emperor Nicholas, or Napoleon III. The one has been a part of his task: the other has been a labour of love. But the functions of the biographer and the historian are essentially distinct. History, indeed, is the record of the administration of general laws by human agents; and the operation of the law may often show traces of the weakness or the caprice of the administrator. But the moments at which it is given to one man to change the destiny of nations are few indeed. In Mr. Kinglake's estimation, they are constantly recurrent. In his hands history assumes the aspect of a French memoir; the organic development of a providential design retires behind the details of a scandalous chronicle.

We have placed these few remarks on Mr. Kinglake's style and method at the commencement of our criticism of his volumes, because in what follows we propose to deal with the work simply as a narrative of facts. That is its real interest at the present moment. Hereafter men may discuss the place which it will occupy in the literature of the country: now the question is rather—Does it correctly represent the causes, does it rightly apportion the blame, of the war in the Crimea?

“There was repose in the empire of the Sultan, and even the rival Churches of Jerusalem were suffering each other to rest, when the French President, in cold blood, and under no new motive for action, took up the forgotten cause of the Latin Church of Jerusalem, and began to apply it as a wedge for sundering the peace of the world.” Of the truth

of the fact stated in this sentence there can be no doubt. Prince Lewis Napoleon Bonaparte was elected President of the French Republic in December 1849, and by the following May the French Ambassador at Constantinople had been instructed to demand the strict execution of the grants made to the Latin Church by the treaty of 1740. Now, during the century which had elapsed since that treaty the Greeks had contrived to get possession of all the sanctuaries to which this claim referred, and the Porte had at different times issued a variety of firmans establishing them in these usurpations. So far, therefore, as the rival Churches were concerned, both could make out a title. Both held under the Sultan's grants. The difference was, that the Latins claimed under an earlier document, and that too a treaty unalterable except by the consent of both the contracting parties; the Greeks claimed under later grants, not having the force of treaties, but to this they added the prescriptive right derived from long and uninterrupted possession. It might have seemed that this was, of all others, a case for compromise. Had the matter been properly represented to Russia, the natural guardian of the rights of the Greek Christians in Turkey, there need have been little difficulty in making an arrangement which would have been satisfactory to all the parties concerned. The first step towards such a settlement would have been to ascertain the precise extent and nature of the conflicting claims; and this course the Turkish Government was quite willing to adopt. The Porte fully admitted the obligations of the treaty of 1740, but declined to pronounce upon the manner in which they were to be fulfilled, until the firmans granted to other Christian bodies had been examined. Under the circumstances, this seems to have been a perfectly reasonable refusal. However just might be the pretensions put forward by the Latins, they were wholly new to the generation of Turkish statesmen upon whom they were pressed. The France which had originated them had passed away; and the ministers of the Porte must have listened with an irresistible sense of anachronism to the assertion that "Europe awaits with impatience the happy solution of a negotiation commenced" by Prince Lewis Napoleon Bonaparte for the "revendication" of sanctuaries granted to Lewis XV.

But the French Ambassador would hear of no compromises. The only basis of negotiation which he was prepared to accept was the treaty of 1740, unmodified by any subsequent firmans; and when, after the refusal of the Porte to discuss the question on this footing, he sent home for further instructions, he received for answer that the French Govern-

ment could not "treat seriously a document sullied by a manifest contradiction." At this point the Austrian representative intervened with a note, which, while apparently making common cause with the French, held out rather more hope of a settlement, by an implied exception in favour of such later engagements as had been "sanctioned by common consent;" and suggested, in the first instance, the appointment of a mixed commission, to ascertain the exact state of the Latin possessions in 1740. The result of this investigation seems to have established, that the ten sanctuaries which at the date of the treaty were the exclusive property of the Latins had now either passed into the hands of the Greeks, or were held in common by the two communions. M. de Lavalette seems now to have been willing for the first time to abate a little of his claims. Instead of insisting on the literal fulfilment of the treaty, he proposed to extend the principle of joint possession to all the sanctuaries. At the outset of the negotiations this proposition might have stood some chance of being accepted; but the menacing attitude of France had by this time brought the Russian envoy into the field, with a demand that the *status quo* should be rigidly adhered to. Between these two fires the Turkish ministers stood helpless. The French demands remained unrejected, but uncomplied with; and M. de Lavalette began to talk to Lord Stratford of "making use of the great naval force now possessed by France in the Mediterranean, and, by blockading the Dardanelles, bringing the question in debate forthwith to a satisfactory issue."

It is at this point, early in the year 1852, that Mr. Kinglake begins his narrative. We need only just recall to our readers' memories the several stages by which the question was brought to a settlement. Defeated in its attempt at postponement or compromise, the Porte had recourse to the still simpler expedient of giving both sides what they asked. The validity of the Latin claims was acknowledged in a note; the validity of the conflicting Greek claims was recognised in a firman. Then all the resources of Turkish diplomacy were tasked, first to avoid putting either of these grants into execution, and next to endeavour, by a partial concession to one party, to neutralise a partial concession to the other. At length, however, the stronger and better-sustained pressure of the French Ambassador carried the day, and on the 22d of December the demands of the Latin Church were finally and publicly complied with. The advance of the Russian army to the frontier, and Prince Mentschikoff's mission, followed. So far as the Holy Places were concerned, the latter was perfectly successful. Lord Stratford discovered common terms



on which both disputants could agree; and after three years' debate the question was finally set at rest.

It is a defect in this portion of Mr. Kinglake's work, that he fails to draw out the motives which actuated the French President in intervening, as it turned out, to such grave purpose, in the much-vexed Eastern question. Although it is not true that "Catholic Europe awaited with impatience" the restoration of the Latin sanctuaries,—Europe in 1850 being very little disposed to expect any thing, patiently or impatiently, from Prince Lewis Bonaparte,—the expression is unquestionably true as applied to Catholic France. The attitude of the French clergy towards the President, which gave so much scandal after the 2d of December, dated back to the time of his election, and contributed, in no small measure, to influence the events which took place two years later. For the first time since the fall of the old monarchy, France had a government which was permitted by its antecedents and impelled by its interests to consult the religious feeling of the people. In the eyes of a large portion of the nation, the President stood between society and a new reign of terror; and the revolution, which the Conservatives of France dreaded, as bringing communism and confiscation in its train, the Catholics of France hated for having driven the Pope from Rome. Where the enemy of both these sections was one and the same, it was obviously their interest to unite in support of a common protector. The clergy were not long in inventing a theory on which to base the alliance. The Reformation, the revival of learning, and the emancipation of physical and speculative science, were proclaimed to be the common parents of ideas of liberty and independence, which had for their foundation an impartial hatred of all authority, human and divine, and for their result an unchecked reign of pride, selfishness, scepticism, and private judgment. All philosophy was denounced under the name of rationalism, and the very notion of freedom scouted, as savouring of Luther and Rousseau. It was a great opportunity for a Bonaparte, with a taste for speculative despotism, and as such the President seized it. He had no faster friends than Father Ventura, M. Veuillot, and the Abbé Gaume; and, to do him justice, he repaid their attachment. The religious deportment of the President did him the highest honour. He had been accustomed to weigh his words carefully; and now he spoke of the Church with a decorum which would have edified Lewis XI. Nor did he neglect to do her more substantial services. He not only garrisoned Rome for the Pope, but he raised the salaries of the clergy; and, in comparison with those of the

Orleans period, his appointments to bishoprics were conspicuously good. Catholic interests, in short, were for the time in good hands. If Catholic principles were less fortunate, it must be remembered that when great interests are at stake principles mostly have to shift for themselves. This feeling towards the President was strongest, of course, among the absolutists of the *Univers*; but it extended itself to far more eminent men than any of that faction, as, for instance, to M. de Montalembert, and the illustrious Spaniard Donoso Cortes. It did much to prepare the way for the *coup-d'état*, and to shield Lewis Napoleon from the consequences of that act. It reached its height, perhaps, about the spring of 1853, at which time it seemed very probable that it would avail to bring Pius IX. to Paris to crown Napoleon III., as a similar reaction, under the Consulate, had brought Pius VII. to anoint Napoleon I.

On a government and a society such as this, the question of the Holy Places pressed with peculiar force. It had great claims on a clergy which wished to see France once more take her stand as a great Catholic power in contrast with the France of Louis Philippe, or Austria before the Concordat; it had great claims on a dynasty which desired, as far as possible, to identify itself with the ancient policy of France, and to combine in its own behalf the religious and political enthusiasm of Frenchmen. Until the eighteenth century, during which, by a course of philosophical studies, France "had obtained a tight control over her religious feelings," the maintenance of a Latin protectorate in the East had been a favourite object with her statesmen. For two centuries, indeed, after the last crusade, pilgrimage had been surrounded with difficulties; and the Latin Church had done its best to meet the want, by the institution of the Jubilee, and the substitution of the Tombs of the Apostles for the Sanctuaries at Jerusalem as the object of devotion. Still this was regarded in some degree as a mere expedient; and after the conquest of Palestine by Sultan Selim, and the final abandonment of all hope of restoring the kingdom of Jerusalem, the Christians of the West turned their thoughts to the more feasible design of inducing the Porte to grant certain stated privileges to European pilgrims. The natural power to effect this was France. The House of Habsburg was too close a neighbour to the Turks to be any thing but their enemy; while, on the other hand, the Turks regarded the title of "King of Jerusalem" as conveying a standing threat against their empire. Italy was constantly a prey to the ravages of their piratical expeditions. But France,

while itself almost invulnerable by Turkey, was the natural enemy of its enemies ; and from the year 1528, when Soliman promised Francis I. that the Christians in Jerusalem should live in peace, and keep without molestation or oppression such of the sanctuaries as they then occupied, a friendship grew up between the two powers which resulted in a succession of treaties and firmans granting exceptional privileges to pilgrims of French nationality, or travelling under French protection. This was the state of things which the French Catholics wished to see revived under Napoleon III. ; and it was this feeling on their part which helped to make the Crimean war so popular in the country. Even M. de Montalembert expressed his sorrow, in 1854, that he had done any thing by his publications to embarrass the hand which was to carry the sword and the standard of France. A religious enthusiasm got connected with the Eastern question, and shed a halo over all concerned in it ; and the chief of the State, being sorely in need of a moral covering of some kind, gladly availed himself of the one which the clergy held out for his acceptance.

But if the suddenly revived enthusiasm of France on the subject of the sanctuaries at Jerusalem was only a part of the new Bonapartist ecclesiastical policy, so also was the Russian opposition to the Latin claims only a part of the general imperial policy towards Turkey and her Christian subjects. In one of the most ably written chapters of his work, Mr. Kinglake sketches with great clearness the conflicting motives by which this policy was governed. In the popular aspect of the question, it was mainly a religious one. A Turkish war was the crusade of the Russian peasant, to which he was ever being invited by the cry of his captive brethren. The exceptional position which the Greek Christians held under their Ottoman rulers did much to strengthen this view of the case. The very fact that they had continued to "dwell alone and not be reckoned among the nations" was a standing witness of their need of succour. They had remained a distinct nationality as well as a distinct religion. And then the notion of a crusade was a familiar one to the Russian people. All their wars had more or less partaken of this character. Standing aloof from the European system, and constituting in themselves a distinct and almost self-contained religion, they had never witnessed a contest between combatants of the same faith, or learned to dissociate the ideas of policy and religion in the way which the nations of Western Europe had been forced to do. Added to this



feeling there was the desire for national aggrandisement natural to a powerful aristocracy shut out from interference in home politics, and bending all their energies towards the quasi-diplomatic career open in some degree to all Russian travellers among the upper classes. "For such as were the politic few, there was the Golden Horn, with its command of the Bosphorus, and the Dardanelles, and all its fair promise of wealth and empire. In the horizon of the pious multitude there rose the dome of St. Sophia. Ambition was sanctified by religion. The most pious might righteously desire that the devotion of their militant Church should be aided by the wisdom of the serpent, and the most worldly-minded statesman could look with approval on the scheme of a lucrative crusade."<sup>2</sup> But although one or other of these motives was always present to the mind of every Russian, they were never present alone. There were always others to counter-balance them. He who would win Constantinople must count upon having to hold his own against the rivalry of Europe; and besides this, there was the probability that its possession would tend to an utter dislocation of the Russian political system, from the obvious difficulty of ruling a vast Northern empire from a Southern capital. Thus, between popular enthusiasm on the one side, and the prudence which comes with long gazing on an uncertain future on the other, the imperial policy moved irresolute; one thing only being clear, that the door must never be shut against Russia, that Constantinople must never pass into any other hands than hers. This last consideration seems to have been the one which, at any rate during the last twenty-five years of his life, had most weight with the Emperor Nicholas. After the peace of Adrianople, his object seems to have been to preserve the Turkish empire intact, not certainly from any disinterested motive, but still not with any distinct notion of himself living to profit by its overthrow. He was content, therefore, to see his influence paramount at Constantinople, and to be recognised there as the governing power in Turkish affairs, the unquestioned controller of the Ottoman destinies. But to the realisation of this ambition there was one great obstacle. The English ambassador at Constantinople was Sir Stratford Canning. Into the nature of the vast and almost unquestioned sway which he exercised over the Turkish ministers there is no need to enter. Probably no part of Mr. Kinglake's book is better known,—certainly none deserves to be,—than the description of the "great Eltchi." We will only say in passing, that Mr. Kinglake greatly ex-

aggrates his popularity at the Porte. In reality, the Turks hated him; and though they submitted to his dictates and recognised his value as a protector, they would gladly, again and again, have sacrificed that advantage to have had an ambassador less absolute and less insulting.

It is very difficult to arrive at the precise views of the Emperor Nicholas towards Turkey at the beginning of 1853, the period at which he makes his first appearance on the scene. His indignation at the language used by the French minister at Constantinople was no doubt very great, and by no means unwarranted. To hear of the appearance of a French fleet off Jaffa, and a French occupation of Jerusalem,—"when," said the minister, "we shall have all the sanctuaries,"<sup>3</sup>—must have been a new feeling to a Russian Czar. But in his famous interviews with Sir Hamilton Seymour, in January and February 1853, he makes hardly any reference to the French proceedings. The terms of the memorandum on the Russian policy towards Turkey, drawn up by Count Nesselrode in 1844, for the information of the English Foreign Office, might have been stretched without very great violence, so as to make it the duty of England to remonstrate with the Porte for somewhat forgetting its obligations towards Russia, in its eagerness to conciliate France. Instead, however, of dwelling on this part of the memorandum, he preferred to assume that the time was come to evoke that concert between the English Government and himself which the memorandum spoke of as desirable in the event of the impending fall of the Ottoman empire. What advantage he really promised to himself from the changes which he now, apparently for the first time, began definitely to look forward to, it is hard to say. In conversing with Sir Hamilton Seymour, he carefully restricted himself to negations. "I will not tolerate the permanent occupation of Constantinople by the Russians: having said this, I will say that it never shall be held by the English, or French, or any other great nation. Again, I never will permit an attempt at the reconstruction of a Byzantine empire, or such an extension of Greece as would render her a powerful state; still less will I permit the breaking up of Turkey into little republics;—rather than submit to any of these arrangements, I would go to war, and as long as I have a man or a musket left would carry it on." On the whole, perhaps, the most probable supposition is, that the Czar cared less about the territorial aggrandisement of his dominions than about the personal gratification of presiding over the distribution of an empire

<sup>3</sup> E. P. i. no. 51.

which it had been the work of Lord Stratford's life to keep together. To do this, he might even have consented to take no share in the spoil, while he enriched England with Candia and Egypt. The English Cabinet answered him, through two successive Foreign Secretaries, who, though differing as to the prospects of Turkey, agreed that England could not anticipate its downfall, or move in the settlement of a question of European interest without the sanction of a European congress. Nicholas then changed his tone, and betrayed the irritation which the neutral position taken up by England at Constantinople had really caused him. "The English Cabinet expresses the desire that the greatest forbearance should be shown towards the Porte. The Emperor is conscious of never having acted otherwise. The English Cabinet itself admits it. But, in order that the Emperor may continue to concur in that system of forbearance,—to abstain from any demonstration, from any peremptory language,—it would be necessary that the system should be equally observed by all the powers at once. France has adopted another. . . . With regard to all these acts of violence England observed a complete silence. She neither offered support to the Porte, nor addressed remonstrances to the French Government." It can hardly be denied that this censure upon England was in some respects well founded. We had allowed France to exert an amount of pressure on the Porte, which, if attempted by Russia, would have drawn down upon her the strong remonstrances of the Foreign Office. The reasons of this indifference probably were that France was not likely to interfere very actively in the general course of Turkish politics, and that we had not, in her case, any common data from which to argue, such as Russia had supplied us with in the memorandum of 1844.

Upon the failure of these overtures to the English Government, the Czar seems to have once more contracted his schemes. They at length resolved themselves into this. He would send an extraordinary embassy to Constantinople, charged avowedly with the immediate settlement of the question of the Holy Places; but secretly, and in addition, commissioned to wring from the weakness of the Porte a substantial concession, which should make up, in the eyes of Russia and of Europe, for that loss of paramount influence which he had of late been compelled to submit to. This concession assumed at different times many different forms, but "it may be said with accuracy, that, from the first to the last, Russia always required the Porte to give her an instrument which should have the force of a treaty engagement, and confer



upon her the right to insist that the Greek Church and clergy in Turkey should continue in the enjoyment of all their existing privileges. . . . It was plain that for the Sultan to yield thus much, would be to make the Czar a partaker of his sovereignty. . . . The indolence or the wise instinct of the Mussulman rulers had given to the Christian 'nations' living within the Sultan's dominions many of the blessings which we cherish under the name of 'self-government:' and since the Greek Christians had exercised these privileges by deputing their bishops and their priests to administer the authority conceded to the 'nation,' it followed that the spiritual dominion of the priesthood had become blended with a great share of temporal power. So many of the duties of prefects, of magistrates, of assessors, of collectors, and of police, were discharged by bishops, priests, and deacons, that a protectorate of these ecclesiastics might be so used by a powerful foreign prince as to carry with it a virtual sovereignty over ten or fourteen millions of laymen."<sup>4</sup> This concession the Turkish Government steadily refused to make. Prince Mentschikoff left Constantinople at the end of May. In the course of the following month the Czar's determination to occupy the Principalities was made known to Europe; and on the 2d of July the Russian army crossed the Pruth. About the same time, and as a consequence of the Czar's resolve, the English and French fleets were ordered to move up to an anchorage outside the Dardanelles.

The abrupt ending of Prince Mentschikoff's mission is the turning-point in the history of the events which preceded the war. Up to that time the English Government had felt an amount of confidence in the good intentions of Nicholas, which is perhaps without a parallel in diplomatic records. They were absolutely without suspicion. The Czar's character stood so high in Europe; his affection for England, and his relations with individual English statesmen were so well known; the identity of his Turkish policy with ours had become so completely a part of the traditions of the Foreign Office,—that no evidence short of his own acts would have been received against him. Thus, at the time of the panic among the Turkish ministers, consequent on the arrival of Prince Mentschikoff and the resignation of Fuad Effendi, when the French fleet was ordered to Salamis, Lord Clarendon had an interview with Count Walewski, at which he pointed out that "when the intelligence from Constantinople was analysed, and divested of the colour imparted to it by local excitement,

<sup>4</sup> i. 144, 145.

there was but one fact to deal with, Prince Mentschikoff's refusal to treat with Fuad Effendi;" and "ventured to remark that a policy of suspicion was neither wise nor safe, and often led to hasty determinations, and that, after the solemn assurances of the Emperor of Russia, and no intimation of any change in his policy having been made, her Majesty's Government were bound to believe, until they had proofs to the contrary, that the mission of Prince Mentschikoff was not of a character menacing to the independence and integrity of Turkey."<sup>5</sup> Again, on the next day, he writes to Sir Hamilton Seymour, that her Majesty's Government "have felt no alarm, and have not shared the apprehensions" of the French Cabinet. A week later, in another conversation with Count Walewski, Lord Clarendon, while he "hoped the two Governments would always act together when their policy and their interests were identical," felt obliged to "frankly say, that the recent proceedings of the French Government were not the best calculated to secure that desirable result."<sup>6</sup> During the whole time that the Prince was at Constantinople the Emperor was reiterating his assurances. At one time Count Nesselrode tells Sir Hamilton Seymour that, besides the dispute about the Holy Places, Russia had no other grievance against Turkey, except some outstanding private claims, "such as form part of the current business of every Chancery."<sup>7</sup> At another time he wrote to Baron Brunnow that the Emperor's intentions were unaltered, and that the special mission had not, and never had had, any other object than what had been communicated to the British Government. Relying on these repeated disclaimers, Lord Clarendon was able, as late as the 16th of May, to write to Sir Hamilton Seymour in terms implying unabated confidence in the Czar, whose "frank and friendly explanations had enabled them to disregard instead of sharing in" the apprehensions which existed throughout Europe.<sup>8</sup> Even on the 31st of May, when the news of Prince Mentschikoff's departure had arrived, after summing up Count Nesselrode's unbroken series of declarations from February to May, and contrasting them with the acts of the ambassador, he still clings to the hope that the prince has exceeded his instructions, and expresses his confidence that the real policy and intentions of Russia are unchanged.<sup>9</sup> But Count Nesselrode was unable to disavow what had taken place at Constantinople; and the faith of the English Government, not merely in Nicholas's policy, but in his word, was gone.

<sup>5</sup> E. P. i. no. 111.<sup>8</sup> Ibid. no. 176.<sup>6</sup> Ibid. no. 118.<sup>9</sup> Ibid. no. 195.<sup>7</sup> Ibid. no. 124.

It is necessary to keep this fact in mind, in order to estimate properly the state of complete isolation on the Eastern question in which Lord Aberdeen's cabinet found themselves in June 1853. The Czar had deceived them, and the very fact that he had thought it worth while to do so probably led them to regard his designs, now suddenly unmasked, with almost exaggerated apprehension. To the defence of Turkey England stood pledged, both by the general tenor of her policy in the East, and by the advice and countenance she had given to the Porte in its resistance to the demands of Nicholas. Austria had not been on good terms with Turkey since 1849, when she had unsuccessfully demanded the extradition of the Hungarian refugees. Her intervention in Montenegro had been vigorous and decisive. A strong personal friendship existed between the emperors. The Czar had constantly proclaimed the absolute identity of the Austrian policy with his own; and Sir Hamilton Seymour fully believed in the existence of a secret understanding between the two governments on the Eastern question,—an understanding made all the more probable by the great and unrequited services which Nicholas had rendered to Francis Joseph in 1849. The whole *à priori* argument, therefore, was against the possibility of a cordial union with Austria to restrain Russian aggression; nor was there any thing in the communications which the English Government had held with her up to this time—Midsummer 1853—to conflict with that view of the case. In April Lord Stratford had found the Austrian chargé-d'affaires at Constantinople “not prepared, in case of the Russian ambassador threatening to withdraw, to advise any other course for the Porte to pursue but that of unqualified compliance with his excellency's demands.”<sup>10</sup> On the 12th of June, Count Colloredo had heard nothing from his government since the departure of Prince Mentschikoff, and knew nothing of their opinions on the state of the Eastern question.<sup>11</sup> A few days later, Lord Westmoreland reports that while Count Buol disapproves of the Russian proceedings, still, in case of war, each of the four powers must be guided by its own convictions. Austria will take no engagement with Turkey to support her, nor with Russia not to oppose her. She will remain free to act according to her own judgment.<sup>12</sup> On the 19th of June, Count Colloredo transmitted a request from Count Buol, that the English Government would press upon the Porte the importance of coming to terms with Russia, and also intimate their continued confidence in the Czar. “I could not help saying,”

<sup>10</sup> E. P. i. no. 162.<sup>11</sup> Ibid. no. 252.<sup>12</sup> Ibid. no. 259.



adds Lord Clarendon, "that it would be more satisfactory if it were less one-sided, and if the concessions urged upon the Porte had likewise been recommended to Russia. I told him also that confidence was not an act of volition, but depended upon reason and experience."<sup>13</sup> And then, a little later, Count Buol gives it as his opinion that the Porte must regard the occupation of the Principalities as a direct consequence of its "insufficient" answer to the Russian government, and must be content to bear the whole responsibility.<sup>14</sup>

Now France, on the other hand, professed a complete identity of views with England on the Eastern question. It was not quite a new line for her to adopt; for in 1849, when the diplomatic relations of Turkey with Russia and Austria were interrupted, and the English fleet moved up to the Dardanelles, the government of the Republic, on the invitation of Lord Palmerston, had ordered the French fleet to do the same. During the whole spring of 1853, the French Government had lost no opportunity of putting this view forward; but so long as the confidence of the English Cabinet in the Emperor of Russia remained unshaken, these advances had, as we have seen, been rather coldly received. Now the French interpretation of his motives had turned out to be the more correct one; and on the 8th of June, Lord Clarendon admits to Lord Cowley that "the time has now arrived when an understanding as to unity of action becomes necessary." Both governments are agreed "that the main object of this must be to avoid complications dangerous to the peace of the world, and to afford time to the friendly action of diplomacy to prevent a more complete rupture between the cabinet of St. Petersburg and that of the Porte."<sup>15</sup> The French policy towards Turkey being so essentially one with her own, there could be no ground for a refusal on the part of Lord Aberdeen's cabinet to coöperate for the purpose of carrying it out. Nor is it true that the alliance helped to precipitate the war. The English Government had considerable difficulty throughout in carrying the French Cabinet along with them. In matters of detail the French were often disposed to be hasty, imprudent, and even violent; and this tendency sometimes gave a semblance of pressure to their correspondence with the English Cabinet. But this was only the result of their national restlessness. Real eagerness for war there was none. That this statement is true, in some respects, Mr. Kinglake does not deny. "Lewis Napoleon," he says, "with his left hand seemed to strive after peace; with his right he tried to stir up a war. The language of his diplomacy was

<sup>13</sup> E. P. i. no. 276.<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* no. 333.<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* no. 233.

pacific, and yet at the very same time he contrived that the naval forces of France and England should be used as the means of provoking a war. The part which he took in the negotiations going on at Vienna, and in the other capitals of the great powers, was temperate, just, and moderate; . . . but it will be seen that so soon as the French Emperor had drawn England into an understanding with him, he was enabled to engage her in a series of dangerous naval movements, which he contrived to keep going on simultaneously with the efforts of the negotiators, so as always to be defeating their labours.”<sup>16</sup>

It seems clear, therefore, that this part of Mr. Kinglake's case rests upon the movements of the allied fleets. What these movements were we will state, first in his own words, and afterwards with a more precise reference to actual facts. “The French Emperor had no sooner engaged the English Government in a separate understanding, than he began to insist upon the necessity of using the naval power of France and England in the way which he proposed,—a way bitterly offensive to Russia. Having at length succeeded in forcing this measure upon England, he after a while pressed upon her another movement of the fleets still more hostile than the first; and again he succeeded in bringing the English Government to yield to him. Again, and still once again, he did the like, always in the end bringing England to adopt his hostile measures; and he never desisted from this course of action until, at last, it had effected a virtual rupture between the Czar and the Western powers. . . . In order to gather into one page the grounds of the statement just made, the following instances are given of the way in which the English Government was, from time to time, driven to join with the French Emperor in making a quarrelsome use of the two fleets: on the 13th of July 1853, the French Emperor, through his minister of Foreign Affairs, declared to the English Government that if the occupation of the Principalities continued, the French fleet could not longer remain at Besika Bay. On the 19th of August he declared it to be absolutely necessary that the combined fleets should enter the Dardanelles, and he pressed the English Government to adopt a resolution to this effect. On the 21st of September he insisted that the English Government, at the same moment as the French, should immediately order up the combined squadrons to Constantinople. On the 15th of December he pressed the English Government to agree that the allied fleets should enter the Euxine, take possession

<sup>16</sup> i. 339, 340.

of it, and interdict the passage of every Russian vessel. It will be seen that, with more or less reluctance and after more or less delay, these demands were always acceded to by England."<sup>17</sup> Now we believe that any one reading this passage, and comparing the expressions, "having at length succeeded," "again he succeeded," "again, and yet once again he did the like," with the dates, "the 13th of July," "the 19th of August," "the 21st of September," and "the 15th of December," would naturally and almost inevitably suppose that there had been four distinct movements of the fleets. In point of fact there were only two. They entered the Dardanelles on the 22d of October, that being their first advance after the time when they anchored in Besika Bay; and they entered the Black Sea after the affair of Sinope. The other two occasions on which the English Government "yielded" to the French Emperor exist only as "instances of the way" in which Mr. Kinglake occasionally proves his point. It is not for us to quarrel with his almost quixotic eagerness to lessen the labours of the critic; otherwise we should be inclined to suggest that when the "grounds of a statement" are of this character, it is imprudent to "gather them into one page." They might be less open to correction if they were left scattered over many.

There remain, however, two movements, in both of which, it is true, there was some pressure exercised by the French Government; and we have now to enquire how far Mr. Kinglake's narrative of what took place, on each occasion, will bear a detailed examination.

Early in the month of September, a religious movement took place at Constantinople in favour of an instant declaration of war. The Turkish minister perhaps felt, and certainly expressed, considerable alarm as to the consequences both to the Sultan's authority and the safety of the Christian inhabitants. The English and French ambassadors decided to call up two war-steamers from each of the squadrons at Besika Bay; but the French ambassador did more than this,—he telegraphed to his government that the lives of the Europeans at Constantinople were in danger; and M. Drouyn de Lhuys at once instructed Count Walewski to represent to the English Cabinet the urgent necessity of sending both fleets up to Constantinople. In the absence of any despatch from Lord Stratford, the English Government seem to have accepted M. de la Cour's representation of the state of affairs as correct; and Lord Aberdeen and Lord Clarendon accordingly told Count Walewski "that they would, without hesitation, take

<sup>17</sup> i. 343, 344.



upon themselves to agree to the proposal of the French Government, that the ambassador should be instructed to call up the fleets to Constantinople for the security of British and French interests, and, if necessary, for the protection of the Sultan." This hasty compliance with the French request was certainly a mistake, but a mistake, as it turned out, of very little practical importance. Before showing, however, how this came to pass, we will again quote Mr. Kinglake: "In compliance with the promise thus obtained from him, Lord Clarendon on the same day addressed a despatch to Lord Stratford, saying; 'Your Excellency is therefore instructed to send for the British fleet to Constantinople;' thus depriving the ambassador of the discretion which had hitherto been used with singular care and wisdom, and with great advantage to the public service . . . It happened that this ill-omened order for the entry of the squadrons into the Dardanelles was carried into effect at a moment when a delay of less than twenty-four hours would have made their entry clearly consistent with the treaty of 1841."<sup>18</sup>

Let us again put the facts side by side with Mr. Kinglake's narrative. On the 23d of September Lord Clarendon sent the following rather ambiguous instructions to Lord Stratford: "Under ordinary circumstances, and as long as the Sultan does not declare war against Russia, nor demand the presence of the British fleet, we must scrupulously observe the treaty of 1841, and your Excellency's original instructions on this matter remain, therefore, in full force. But when it appears that the lives and properties of British subjects are exposed to serious danger, and that the Turkish Government declares itself unable to avert that danger, it is clear that the treaty has no longer a binding force upon us, and that urgent necessity supersedes its provisions. Your Excellency is therefore instructed to send for the British fleet to Constantinople."<sup>19</sup> It is obvious that this last sentence is much less peremptory, when taken with the context, than when it stands alone as it does in Mr. Kinglake's quotation; and it might, we think, be reasonably argued that, in the event of M. de la Cour's statement being incorrect, Lord Clarendon did not intend to deprive Lord Stratford of the discretion with which he had been hitherto invested. At all events, such was the construction put on it by Lord Stratford. He replied to the despatch with another, of at least equal ambiguity; and he left the fleets where they were. But in little more than a week from the date of his answer the aspect of affairs had changed. On the 15th of October Lord Stratford

<sup>18</sup> i. 366, 367.<sup>19</sup> E. P. ii. no. 109.

writes: "The Sultan has invited the squadron to enter the Dardanelles, . . . . the application is grounded on the Porte's resolution to make war, and on its declared apprehension that Russia may commence hostilities even before the expiration of the fifteen days. . . . I have thought it my duty, under your lordship's instructions, to comply with the Sultan's invitation. . . . *Your lordship will not fail to understand, that in taking a decision on this subject I have been guided by a reference to my original instructions.* The juncture for which the last ones were framed has long since ceased to have any existence in fact, and, whatever peril may in future arise from unforeseen circumstances, I see no reason at present to apprehend its revival."<sup>20</sup> The fleets were not actually ordered to enter the Straits until the 21st of October. However pertinent, therefore, Mr. Kinglake's criticisms may be, when applied to the intention of Lord Clarendon's instructions, as a comment on their results they are wholly beside the mark. The ambassador, as it happened, never did divest himself of "the discretion which had hitherto been used with singular care and wisdom." The "ill-omened order" was not carried into effect at all.

Let us now take the second case of naval action under alleged French pressure,—the entry of the fleet into the Black Sea after the affair of Sinope.

The news of this disaster reached London on Sunday, the 11th of December. The exact order of the events which immediately followed is very important. Mr. Kinglake's narrative of them is to the following effect: "When the Cabinet met to consult upon the questions raised by the tidings from Sinope, it came to the conclusion that the fleets of the Western Powers would forthwith enter the Euxine; and the majority were of opinion that the instructions addressed to the English admiral on the 8th of October, reinforced by a warning that such a disaster as Sinope must not be repeated, would be still a sufficing guide. But Lord Palmerston saw that, even if this resolution was suited to the condition of things on the shores of the Bosphorus, it would find no mercy at home. In truth, he was gifted with the instinct which enables a man to read the heart of a nation. He saw, he felt, he knew, that the English people would never endure to hear of the disasters of Sinope, and yet be told that nothing was done. He resigned his office. The residuum of the English Cabinet"—this is Mr. Kinglake's expression for the entire Cabinet minus the Home Secretary—"determined to leave the English admiral under the guidance of his own

<sup>20</sup> E. P. ii. no. 184.

instructions. But on the 16th of December the Emperor of the French once more approached the government of the Queen with his subtle and dangerous counsels. . . . He proposed to give Russia notice 'that France and England were resolved to prevent the repetition of the affair of Sinope, and that every Russian ship thenceforward met in the Euxine would be requested, and if necessary constrained, to return to Sebastopol; and that any act of aggression afterwards attempted against the Ottoman territory or flag would be repelled by force.' It appears that his Majesty adds to his general acquaintance with the English character a special and profound knowledge of Mr. Gladstone's supposed peculiarities; for this proposal "was so framed that Lord Palmerston would know it meant war, whilst Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Gladstone might be led to imagine that it was a measure rather gentle than otherwise, which perhaps would keep peace in the Euxine. Indeed, the proposal seemed made to win the Chancellor of the Exchequer; for it fell short of war by a measure of distance which, though it might seem very small to people with common eyesight, was more than broad enough to afford commodious standing-room to a man delighting as he did in refinements and slender distinctions. . . . On the 17th the English Government had taken a step in pursuance of the decision to which the majority of the Cabinet had come; but on the following day they were made acquainted with the will of the French Emperor. It would seem that there was a struggle in the Cabinet; but by the 24th all resistance had broken down, and the first decision of the Government was overturned." The French scheme was adopted "with a slight addition." "This being resolved, Lord Palmerston consented to return to office."<sup>21</sup> To this last sentence is subjoined the following note: "His secession during these ten or twelve days was afterwards stated by him to have been based upon a question of home politics, but it would not, of course, follow from this statement that no other motives were governing him; and when it is remembered that his resignation was simultaneous with the first resolution of the Cabinet, and that his return to office coincided with the Cabinet's adoption of the French Emperor's scheme, it will hardly be questioned that the four events may be fairly enough placed in an order which suggests the relation of cause and effect."

Let us first examine Lord Palmerston's alleged share in this transaction. The only official statement on the subject is that inaccurately referred to by Mr. Kinglake, in the note

<sup>21</sup> i. 378-382.



quoted above, as made by Lord Palmerston himself, but really given by Lord Aberdeen, in the House of Lords, on the first night of the following session. It is to this purpose: "Connected with the preparation of the measure of Parliamentary Reform, misapprehension took place on the part of my noble friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department. Under that misapprehension, and in the belief that the provisions of the measure were finally settled, which were not finally settled, my noble friend tendered his resignation. Well, explanations took place, and my noble friend—I was going to say resumed, but he never had in fact ceased to perform, the duties of Secretary of State."<sup>22</sup> If Mr. Kinglake's words mean any thing, they imply that, in giving this explanation of the causes of Lord Palmerston's resignation and return to office, Lord Aberdeen was deliberately palming off upon the House of Lords, with the connivance of the rest of the ministry, a statement which both he and they knew to be substantially, if not formally, false. Such an implication argues a very remarkable inability to appreciate the restraints which respect for constitutional usage and a prudent regard for the good opinion of his colleagues—not to speak of any higher motive—necessarily impose upon a minister of the crown. On such a subject and under such circumstances, to have played with Parliament at all, would have been an extraordinary dereliction of duty; to have done so, as in this instance, with the certainty of eventual discovery, would have been an act of inconceivable imprudence.

The real facts of the case may be stated thus: The first Cabinet Council after Sinope was not held till Wednesday the 14th of December, three days after the news came. So little evidence was there, either before or at that meeting, of any vital difference of opinion amongst ministers on the Eastern question, that Mr. Gladstone did not think it necessary to come to town to attend it, and almost all the ministers left London immediately after it. On that evening, or early on Thursday the 15th, Lord Palmerston wrote to Lord Aberdeen, tendering his resignation, and giving as his reason the determination of the Cabinet to introduce a Reform Bill the next session. On Friday the 16th, the resignation was announced in the *Times*. "The cause," it says, "we may confidently state, is unconnected with the foreign policy of the Government; it has not arisen out of the difficulties of the Eastern question, nor is it true that differences of opinion on that subject have manifested themselves with

<sup>22</sup> Hansard, House of Lords, Jan. 31, 1854.

such force as to lead to the retirement of any member of the Administration." And in a second leader it adds, "Like the Duke of Wellington in 1830, Lord Palmerston is against all reform, and resigns his place because he will not form part of a reforming ministry." On Friday night, after his return from Osborne, Lord Aberdeen had a conference with several of his colleagues, at Sir James Graham's, which lasted till two in the morning; and on Saturday the 17th, there was a Cabinet Council, which sat for four hours. It was on this day, and probably not till after the council, that the step was taken which Mr. Kinglake speaks of as being "in pursuance of the decision to which the majority of the Cabinet had come." This step consisted in sending a despatch to Lord Stratford, ordering the English fleet to enter the Black Sea, and adding, "special instructions as to the manner in which they," *i. e.* the admirals, "should act do not appear to be necessary. We have undertaken to defend the territory of the Sultan from aggression, and that engagement must be fulfilled."<sup>23</sup> Now, if this absence of special instructions to the admirals was the cause of Lord Palmerston's resignation, is it probable that the Government would have committed themselves to a despatch which contained this sentence, while the discussions consequent on his resignation were still going on? But in truth the foreign policy of the Cabinet had nothing to do with the question; and it is not too much to say that, with some at least of the ministry, the first suggestion that it had was derived from Mr. Kinglake's book. Indeed, the strong opposition which existed between the views of Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston, on the subject of reform, is quite enough to explain all that took place. Lord Aberdeen, though a conservative abroad, was an advanced liberal at home. He was not afraid of the English people. He trusted to the national good sense, and the strength of parliamentary tradition, to prevent the possible ill consequences of a reform bill. But he thought Continental liberalism a very different matter. He was unable to recognise in it any of those safeguards against the evils of revolution which existed in its nominal counterpart at home; and his fear of the consequences of this want gave a colour to his whole foreign policy. With Lord Palmerston it was just the other way. Beneath a vast knowledge of the *personnel* of foreign governments, he conceals a remarkable ignorance of foreign countries. He has no real acquaintance with their opinions or their interests; and he has all his life been content to apply to them the common English ideas, in

<sup>23</sup> E. P. ii. no. 330.

the persuasion that, so long as he talked of constitutional government abroad, no one would remember that he was not a liberal at home. When, therefore, having perhaps been outvoted on the details of the proposed measure, he gave up office rather than be a party to the introduction of a bill which he disliked, there was no common ground on which to base a reconciliation. No overtures could be made to him, because Lord Aberdeen had made up his mind what to do, and had no terms to offer. But in the week which followed his resignation, Lord Palmerston had time to meditate upon Sinope; and he probably scented in the debates of the coming session something more exciting than parliamentary reform. An intimation reached the Cabinet through one of those social channels which play so important a part in the machinery of a ministerial crisis, that Lord Palmerston had reconsidered his determination. In consequence of that intimation, two members of the Cabinet had an interview with him on Wednesday the 21st, in the course of which he expressed his willingness to remain in office. The date of this interview is very important. "The Government," says Mr. Kinglake, "were made acquainted with the will of the French emperor" on the 18th; but after Saturday the 17th the Cabinet did not meet until Thursday the 22d. Consequently, Lord Palmerston's change of purpose was known to his colleagues at least one day before they met to discuss the French communication. So far as he was concerned, the Cabinet of Thursday the 22d had nothing to do but to accept, if they were so minded, the withdrawal of his resignation. The sentence, therefore, "this being resolved, Lord Palmerston consented to return to office," involves an entire anachronism. He did not "consent" to return to office; he offered to do so. He did not offer to return to office "this being resolved;" but two days before "this" was even considered. His return did not "coincide with the adoption of the French Emperor's scheme;" it preceded the discussion of it. And he could have had no means of knowing what the result of that discussion was likely to be, even if he had ever been informed of the fact of the French proposition having been made. We recommend Mr. Kinglake, before again deciding that four events "may be fairly enough placed in an order which suggests the relation of cause and effect," to make sure that the order suggested is really the true one.

The account of the manner in which the English Government ultimately arrived at a decision, if less palpably inaccurate, is hardly more fair. It is true undoubtedly that their first intention was to leave the admirals under the



guidance of their original instructions. It is true likewise that this plan did not meet the views of the French Emperor, any more than it was likely to satisfy the roused feelings of the English people. It was hardly to be expected that, when once the Allied Powers had assumed the duty of protecting Constantinople, either the pride of the English or the military sentiment of the French could view the destruction of the Turkish fleet without very considerable disturbance. Napoleon could not afford to trifle with such a feeling, and for that time only he took the lead in the councils of the Allies. Up to that date the English Government had had some trouble, at least in their own eyes, to carry France thoroughly along with them on the Eastern question; and they were naturally unwilling to thwart her altogether when for once she was willing to act, even although she might be disposed for the moment to go rather beyond what they themselves considered to be strictly necessary. Mr. Kinglake, indeed, seems to consider that when England becomes a party to an alliance, her single duty is to pay no attention and make no concessions to the wishes of her ally. But to most people it will seem natural that the Cabinet should have been willing to make some sacrifice to secure the continuance of France in a course of action which she had not hitherto seemed to pursue with any great amount of vigour. Strongly, however, as they may have felt this, it is not true that they simply adopted the scheme "in deference to the will of the French Emperor." Napoleon appears, after all, to have failed to provide Mr. Gladstone with the "commodious standing-room" he required. The "slight addition" which Mr. Kinglake contemptuously refers to in the margin, and once just notices in the text, seemed to the English Cabinet to contain a fundamental difference. The French Government proposed to give notice to Russia that she would not be allowed to commit any act of aggression against the Ottoman flag or territory. The English Government made it a condition of their assent, that a like notice should be given to Turkey. "Nor can her Majesty's Government," writes Lord Clarendon to Lord Cowley, "think it just, so long as England and France are not actually at war with Russia, that the combined fleet should aid and protect the Turkish forces in acts of aggression upon the Russian territory, while the Russian fleet is prevented from repelling such attacks, or conveying the means necessary for the defence of that territory."<sup>24</sup> And then Lord Clarendon, fully foreseeing that the course which the Government are about to adopt

<sup>24</sup> E. P. ii. no. 344.

"may at no distant period involve England and France in war with Russia," adds a further stipulation, that it must for the future be left to the Western Powers to determine what terms of peace it will be consistent with the dignity of the Sultan to accept. Thus having, in their own estimation, made the Euxine neutral water, and guarded themselves against a possible outburst of Turkish fanaticism, the English Government considered that they had robbed Napoleon's scheme of its sting. Throughout the process there had been no division on the subject. The French proposal was made to a united Cabinet, and discussed by a united Cabinet. By a united Cabinet it was modified, and, in that modified shape, by a united Cabinet it was ultimately adopted. A historian who builds so much of his argument on the supposed internal disagreements of a ministry, should be more careful in the selection of his informants.

It does appear, however, that, even in the form which the scheme finally assumed, there was a weak point. The restrictions imposed upon the rival powers were not equally stringent. Russia and Turkey were both prohibited from aggressive operations in the Euxine; Russia was also prohibited, while Turkey was not, from operations which were not aggressive, except incidentally. Count Buol was the first to point out this difference. "Although he was fully prepared for the entry of the combined fleets into the Black Sea, with a view of establishing a state of neutrality between the belligerents, he was not prepared to expect that they would be directed to use coercion against the Russian ships of war while navigating upon their own coasts."<sup>25</sup> The enforced neutrality was acquiesced in, to a certain extent, by Count Nesselrode; but he directs the Russian ambassador to claim for both the belligerents either the same privileges or the same restraints. "Is Russia to understand," he asks, "that both her own and the Turkish fleet are prohibited from aggressive operations; while the ships of both powers are allowed to keep up communications between one port and another on their own coasts?" On the 31st of January 1854, Lord Clarendon answers the first clause of the question in the affirmative, but makes no mention of the second. Baron Brunnow's instructions had provided for such a contingency, and on the 4th of February the Russian embassy was closed. At this distance of time it may be allowable to regret that the English Government did not make this further concession, but we cannot see that they were in any way bound to do so. The Western Powers did not profess to stand between Russia and Turkey

<sup>25</sup> E. P. ii. no. 387.

as purely neutral. They were at peace with the one, but they were allies of the other. They regarded Russia as having been from the first the aggressor, and themselves as pledged to oppose her. The Porte was infinitely the weaker power, and its fleet had just been destroyed; and we can hardly wonder that the English Cabinet thought they were doing all that the interests of peace demanded, when, notwithstanding this aggression, they contented themselves with enforcing for the future a practical neutrality in the Black Sea. That this neutrality was not theoretically perfect may now be a cause for regret; but we must remember also that if it had been, England would have shown a tenderness to the sensitiveness of the Russian Emperor, which, to say the least, would hardly have been deserved, and which might have given rise to very serious misconceptions of her policy both at Constantinople and at St. Petersburg.

The last of the steps which brought on the final rupture between Russia and the Western Powers followed close upon the suspension of diplomatic relations. On the 23d of February there came a telegraphic despatch from Lord Cowley. It ran thus: "Count Buol assures M. de Bourqueney that if England and France will fix a delay for the evacuation of the Principalities, the expiration of which shall be the signal for hostilities, the Cabinet of Vienna will support the summons."<sup>25</sup> Lord Clarendon does not seem to have thought a French report of a suggestion addressed to the French ambassador at Vienna a sufficiently precise notification of the intentions of the Austrian Government to take the place of any more direct communication. He telegraphed the same day to Lord Westmoreland to this effect: "If France and England summon Russia to evacuate the Principalities within a given time, and announce that silence or a refusal on the part of Russia will be considered by them as equivalent to a declaration of war, it is of urgent importance to know whether Austria will join them in the summons, and, if not, what part she will take upon the refusal of Russia to comply, and upon active hostilities being commenced by England and France."<sup>27</sup> On the following day an identical despatch was addressed to Lord Bloomfield at Berlin. On the 28th came the answers from both ambassadors. "Count Buol," says Lord Westmoreland, "approves your proposition of a summons to evacuate the Principalities within a given time, which he will direct Count Esterhazy to support."<sup>28</sup> Baron Manteuffel, according to Lord Bloomfield, "did not think his Majesty would perhaps object to join in a summons, but he did not

<sup>25</sup> E. P. vii. no. 34.<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* no. 92.<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* no. 106.



think he would take a part in active hostilities in the event of a refusal.”<sup>29</sup> The day before these answers arrived, Lord Clarendon addressed a despatch to Count Nesselrode, stating that unless the Russian Government, within six days from the delivery of the summons, should send an answer engaging to withdraw all its troops from the Principalities by the 30th of April, its refusal or omission so to do would be regarded by England as a declaration of war.”<sup>30</sup> The messenger bearing this despatch was directed to stop at Berlin and Vienna; and the ambassadors at those courts were instructed to express the “sincerest desire” on the part of England and France to obtain their coöperation, as the extent and duration of the war “must depend on the four powers being decided, vigorous, and united.”<sup>31</sup> From Vienna the messenger carried with him “a strong letter to Count Esterhazy, to be communicated to Count Nesselrode, in support of the summons.” About the same time Prussia sent a despatch to St. Petersburg, “drawn up in very pressing language.” Both governments threw the responsibility of the war which might ensue upon Russia. As, however, they had thrown a similar responsibility some time before upon Turkey, without that power finding itself much the worse for the burden, it is probable that the Emperor Nicholas was not seriously affected by this part of their communications.

The question which the English cabinet had to answer to themselves on the eve of the war, is fairly stated by Mr. Kinglake: “Was it possible for England to obtain the evacuation of the Principalities by means taken in common with the rest of the four powers, and without resorting to the expedient of a separate understanding with the French Emperor?” In passing judgment upon the decision to which they came, it is of great importance to determine what were the real intentions of Austria at this moment. Some light is thrown upon them by these final negotiations. To Mr. Kinglake “it seems hardly possible to believe that the Emperor of Austria deliberately intended to ask France and England to fix a day for going to war, without meaning to go to war himself at the same time.” If he did mean to go to war, all that can be said is, the intention was carefully concealed. Lord Clarendon asks, in the first place, whether Austria will “join in” the summons; and next, if she will not do that, what she will do. Count Buol replies that she will “support” the summons. Now there is a considerable difference between joining in and supporting; and when the first appears in a question, and the second is substituted for it in the answer,

<sup>29</sup> E. P. vii. no. 108.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. no. 101.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. no. 103.

the difference is brought out into relief. Nor do we see any evidence that "Austria had plainly resolved to go to war if the Principalities should not be relinquished by the Czar, but that before she could take the final step, it was necessary for her to come to an understanding with Prussia." The two clauses of this sentence seem to us to be hopelessly opposed. How can there be a resolution to go to war which is at the same time dependent on coming to an understanding with Prussia? You may go to war and not wait for Prussia, or you may wait for Prussia and not go to war, but you cannot do both at once. The understanding which was come to within twenty-four days from the period of the final rupture between Russia and the Western Powers was of the second kind. It began in delay, and did not end in war. And Austria had good reasons for holding back. Her finances were disordered, and many of her provinces disaffected. A declaration of war would have been a signal for insurrection. At that time Hungary would probably have chosen to be annexed to Russia rather than remain as she was. About Italy Austria was so alarmed that she once made overtures to France, though not to England, to prevent Piedmont attacking her, if she sent her forces against Russia. She had no real expectation of Prussia taking part with her if she declared war; while, on the other hand, there was every probability of Prussia, backed by Russian influence, seizing the opportunity of Austria's attention being engaged elsewhere, to push her own interests among the smaller German States. Towards the Polish frontier there was but a single fortress, Olmütz; and a Russian army might have marched straight on Vienna. This prospect was the more alarming from the impression of the vast military strength of Russia which prevailed generally, but most of all in Germany, before the Crimean war, and from the presence of an overwhelming Russian army in Poland. Nor was there any probability that Russia would not use these advantages to the utmost. Even the repression of Turkish insolence would have been subordinate in the mind of Nicholas to the chastisement of Austrian ingratitude.

Taking all these considerations into account, we should rather say that it "seems hardly possible to believe that the Emperor of Austria deliberately intended" to go to war himself when he asked France and England to fix a day for the evacuation of the Principalities. Had there been any such design on his part, he would have made some stipulations beforehand for assistance from the Western Powers, in resisting the attack of which his empire would have had to bear the first shock. In fact, the British Government had no

right to expect, and did not expect, Austria to take a step so obviously against her own interests as a declaration of war. They were content with the important negative services she rendered to the western alliance. To have insisted upon more might have had the effect of alienating her from England and France, if not of driving her into the opposite camp. To Lord Palmerston such a result would not have been displeasing, but it was not the policy of the Aberdeen cabinet. The arguments upon which Mr. Kinglake relies in support of his view are drawn partly from the transactions antecedent to the rupture between Russia and the Western Powers, partly from those which followed it. As to the first, they do not of necessity establish any thing more than that Austria felt herself very strongly interested both in the evacuation of the Principalities, and in the maintenance of the Ottoman empire. This is not denied. Austria thoroughly approved and supported the policy of the Allies. But she also felt herself very strongly interested in keeping the peace with Russia. An approving support of a policy, and a determination to join at all hazards in enforcing it, are not identical frames of mind. It is true that when the war between Russia and the Allies had actually broken out, Austria adopted a more decided tone. But what Austria did in the months of April, May, and August, could hardly be expected to have much influence on the deliberations of the preceding January as to what she was likely to do. And the Austrian statesmen may well have thought it a less dangerous policy to be urgent with Russia when she had a great war upon her hands, than when she might have chosen which of her enemies she would attack first. It is not fair to conclude that because Austria made certain demands in the summer of 1854, she would, even if she had been pressed, have made them with equal resolution in the previous winter.

It remains to speak of the causes which determined the actual invasion of the Crimea. Under the combined pressure of an Austrian summons, the successful defence of Silistria, and the Turkish victory at Giurgevo, the Czar relinquished his hold of the Principalities. And this object "being secured," says Mr. Kinglake, "it suddenly became apparent that the objects for which the Western Powers undertook the war had been already attained." But when war has once broken out, other questions present themselves for consideration than those which diplomacy has, up to that time, been content to deal with. If the evacuation of the



Principalities had taken place before the sword had been drawn, the immediate evil against which the war had been directed would have been removed. So long as there remained any hope of preserving peace, England might justly have been satisfied with the minimum of concession; but when the old state of things had passed away, its drawbacks, as well as its advantages, passed away likewise. Treaties and traditions, immemorial privileges and diplomatic arrangements, were involved in a common ruin. With her own hand Russia had overthrown the edifice which had grown up piecemeal, no man well knew how. And England had every right to ask herself whether this curiously-contrived structure was worth replacing; whether it could ever again answer the ends, not for which it was designed, but which it had come, after a fashion, to subserve; whether the interests of peace did not demand the continuance of the war, until effectual precautions could be devised against its renewal. She "determined, not merely to erect a dyke against the flood, but to alter the levels; to elevate Turkey by an incorporation as complete as might be into the great European family, and to destroy the vantage-ground from which Russia had directed her operations."<sup>32</sup> Accordingly, while at Christmas 1853 the Allies would have been content, if Russia would have evacuated the Principalities, and assented to the guarantee of the privileges of the Greek Christians by a firman communicated to all the five Powers, to have seen the renewal of the ancient treaties, including those of Kainardji and Adrianople, their objects had been so far extended by six months of war, that on the 22d of July 1854 Lord Clarendon wrote thus: "After making such great efforts and sacrifices, and engaged as they are in a cause so just, the allied Powers will not stop in their course without the certainty that they will not again be called upon, after a short interval, to recommence the war. . . . . Her Majesty's Government have no hesitation in stating the guarantees which, in their opinion, and that of the French Government, are essential to secure the tranquillity of Europe from future disturbances. These guarantees are naturally suggested by the dangers to guard against which they are required. Thus, Russia has taken advantage of the exclusive right which she had acquired, by treaty, to watch over the relations of Wallachia and Moldavia with the suzerain power, to enter those provinces as if they were part of her own territory. Again, the privileged frontier of Russia in the Black Sea has enabled her to establish in those waters a naval power which, in the absence of any counter-

<sup>32</sup> "The War and the Peace," *Gent. Mag.* August 1856.

balancing force, is a standing menace to the Ottoman empire. The uncontrolled possession by Russia of the principal mouth of the Danube has created obstacles to the navigation of that great river which seriously affect the general commerce of Europe. Finally, the stipulations of the treaty of Koutchouk-Kainardji, relative to the protection of the Christians, have become, by a wrongful interpretation, the principal cause of the present struggle. Upon all these points the *status quo ante bellum* must undergo important modifications.”<sup>33</sup>

The stipulations thus sketched out were afterwards known to Europe as the Four Points. They were communicated to the Russian Government by Count Buol in August 1854, and were at once rejected as involving concessions which Russia could only consent to make after a long and disastrous struggle. This was the real reason why the English Government continued the war,—not because the warlike feeling of the people was roused, not because their hopes had been disappointed in the Baltic, not because they had already cast their eyes upon Sebastopol,—but because to continue it was the only means of obtaining the end for which they had begun it. When Mr. Kinglake condemns the course they pursued, he mixes up two radically distinct things. He confounds the occasion of the war with its object—the occupation of the Principalities with the abolition of those conditions which had made that occupation possible.

To explain the determination of the English Government to besiege Sebastopol, Mr. Kinglake has recourse to his favourite theory of divisions in the Cabinet. He assumes that Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Gladstone, if left to themselves, would have done nothing of the kind; but here again we have the ingenious contrivance of a “minister who went his own way.” On this occasion, however, Lord Palmerston seems to have been either unable or unwilling to perform the part. For this time only it was taken by the Duke of Newcastle. And as he now makes his first appearance on the stage, Mr. Kinglake proceeds, by way of introduction, to give a sketch of his character. “The Duke of Newcastle was a man of a sanguine eager nature, very prone to action. He had a good clear intellect, with more of strength than keenness, unwearied industry, and an astonishing facility of writing. . . . He threw his whole heart into the project of the invasion; and if the prime minister and Mr. Gladstone were men driven forward by the feeling of the country in spite of their opinions and their scruples, it was not so with the Duke of Newcastle.”<sup>34</sup> While Mr. Kinglake has

<sup>33</sup> E. P. xi. p. 2.<sup>34</sup> ii. 70.

confined himself to the narration of facts, we have been enabled to correct one or two of his errors. But a passage of this sort is much more difficult to deal with. All we can do is to accept it as containing the writer's view of the subject, stating, at the same time, that it is not the view taken by others, who have "had good means of knowing the truth." Those of the Duke's colleagues who knew him best at this period would perhaps deny altogether that he was "a man of a sanguine eager nature;"—"Pause on this," was not an unknown minute when he was at the head of the War Office;—and they would certainly question his "astonishing facility of writing," for it was generally found that papers sent to him for comment or correction came back very slowly. Nor did he in any respect travel faster than the rest of the ministry in the desire to invade the Crimea. If any one of them outstripped his colleagues, it was, as might have occurred to Mr. Kinglake, Lord Palmerston. However clear the evidence given at a trial may be, some of the jury will see the force of it a little sooner, and others a little later, than the rest. And this was the only difference in the present instance. Real conflict of opinion in the Cabinet there was none. Mr. Gladstone, who, with Lord Aberdeen, is described as the chief doubter, has since deliberately endorsed the decision: "I do not shrink from my full share of responsibility in regard to that expedition. . . . I, holding that military expeditions in time of war are not to be regarded as ends, but as means for the attainment of ends, am ready to defend the expedition to the Crimea; nay more, I am ready to defend it, not upon the grounds of antecedent reason only, but, I do not hesitate to say, even by its results."<sup>35</sup>

And now comes the part of the story to which Mr. Kinglake attaches perhaps more importance than to any other,—the last link in the long chain of causation which began in Paris and ended at Sebastopol—the sleep of the Cabinet on the evening of the 28th of June 1854. "I have to account for a great transaction—the invasion of a Russian province. I ascertain that this invasion was caused, and caused entirely, by the peculiar wording of a despatch. . . . I know the truth, and I learnt it under circumstances which gave me a full right to disclose it."<sup>36</sup> That Mr. Kinglake has violated any confidence in telling the story, we do not suppose. The question is rather one of good taste, and of the value to be attached to the incident itself. But any writer who narrates such a circumstance at all should at least be very care-

<sup>35</sup> Speech of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., May 24, 1855.

<sup>36</sup> ii. 518.



ful that he tells the whole truth. Thus, the bearing of the incident might be materially altered, if we were told which members of the Cabinet kept awake. Did the party of action in the ministry seize the opportunity to steal a march on their more torpid colleagues; or were they merely careless listeners to a despatch the substance of which they knew, and the wording of which they thought could not be too strong? If the latter be the true account, it is evident that, so far as any influence on the result is concerned, the sleep was of little importance. Let us suppose, for example, that Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Gladstone were awake, how did the torpor of the rest help to hurry on the war? Those two were specially the peacemakers in the Cabinet, and it was from them that opposition was to be expected, if it was to come at all. If the despatch was read in their hearing without being found too stringent, we question whether it would have been much toned down, had the rest—Lord Palmerston perhaps included—roused themselves in time for criticism. There was reason enough both that the supposed sleepers should not much care to hear the despatch read, and that those who are assumed to have kept awake should have no alterations to suggest in it. Cabinets do not meet at dinner for deliberation; and it is not to be supposed that this case forms the solitary exception to the rule. The draft had been read over more than once before; the whole tenor of the despatch had been agreed upon; and when once the Cabinet had come to the determination to attack Sebastopol, it is clear that the only way to secure their determination being carried out was to put as strong a pressure upon Lord Raglan as they could. They knew his views on the particular question at issue, as well as his general character. They knew that at the date of his last despatches he had no information as to the enemy's resources; and they knew that he attached no value to the information which had been got together through the Foreign Office. The real question, therefore, was whether they themselves thought this information sufficiently trustworthy to justify them in acting on it. If they did think so, it was clear that it would not be advisable to leave any discretion with Lord Raglan, except on one supposition—that he had gained important intelligence of a contrary character since they had last heard from him. Much of this is evident from Mr. Kinglake's own account. He tells us that the information obtained by the Foreign Office went to show that Russia had not more than 45,000 men in the peninsula. He admits that Lord Raglan "certainly considered that, in regard to the strength of the enemy in the Crimea, and the land defences of Sebastopol, he

was simply without knowledge." He quotes the despatch instructing him to lay siege to Sebastopol, and containing the proviso, "unless with the information in your possession, but at present unknown in this country, you should be decidedly of opinion that it could not be undertaken with a reasonable prospect of success." There is no reason to suppose that the most wakeful cabinet would, under the same circumstances, have acted differently. To have "wedged into" the despatch "some of those qualifying words which usually correct the imprudence and derange the grammatical structure of writings framed in council" would, in this case, have been to neutralise the whole purpose with which it was framed. It was meant to be as stringent as it could be made. On the understanding that it was to be so, the whole Cabinet had approved the draft; and there is nothing to show that they have ever disapproved the despatch.

Looking back, therefore, on the whole conduct of the Cabinet of Lord Aberdeen during the year preceding the war, we can see no ground for the condemnation which Mr. Kinglake pronounces on them. If we have understood him rightly, his indictment against them rests on three principal counts:—that they broke up the alliance of the four powers, in order to enter into a separate understanding with France; that, in carrying out that separate understanding, they deferred too much to the will of the French Emperor; and that Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Gladstone remained in office after they saw that war was imminent, if not inevitable. As to the first of these charges, we have seen that the alleged warlike determination of Austria had never been expressed in words before the Midsummer of 1853, and has still to be inferred, for the most part, from events which did not come to pass until after the Western Powers had declared war. And Mr. Kinglake chooses to leave out of sight altogether the necessarily maritime character of any effective measures for the protection of the Turkish capital. If Nicholas had had the resolution, he might have bombarded Constantinople as easily as he destroyed the Turkish fleet at Sinope; and the intervention of the Western Alliance would probably have been as much too late to prevent the one as it was to prevent the other. This fact imposed duties and responsibilities upon the maritime Powers, quite distinct in their nature and weight from those which devolved on the German States. Austria could not have saved Constantinople. Indeed, the whole theory of an alliance between the four powers, which was broken up by the defection of England

and France, has no existence in fact. When the European Pentarchy, that vague and limited organisation of the five great powers which had succeeded to the Holy Alliance, broke down beneath the collision of interests that resulted in the Crimean war, there was no immediate reason why four of its members should reunite in the form of a coalition against Russia. The recent tendency of the German powers, small as well as great, had been all the other way; and the absence of any precedent for such a course, as well as the stigma of illegitimacy which attached to the new French empire, were strong reasons against the success of the attempt. Nor has Mr. Kinglake been able to establish either the intimate character of the understanding between England and France, or the submission of the English Government to Napoleon. The mention of France, separately from the other Powers, in two successive Queen's speeches, is at least as easily accounted for by the theory that the English Government wished to pledge Napoleon in the face of Europe to a decided policy in the East, as by the supposition that it was the execution of a distinct stipulation on his part. For Mr. Kinglake seems greatly to exaggerate the French Emperor's eagerness for war. No doubt he was anxious to do something. Quite apart from the character imparted to his government by those deeds of December which Mr. Kinglake so justly condemns, its mere illegitimacy was certain to effect this. A revolutionary monarchy must do something to vindicate its title. It has no ancestry; therefore it must needs be justified of its children. Its only appeal is to the future; it stands not by what it is, but by what it does. These characteristics amply explain the unprovoked interference in the question of the Holy Places in 1850, and the prominent part which France took in all the subsequent negotiations. But they do not necessarily imply a determination to provoke a war, or to force England into doing so. And we have seen that the only evidence which Mr. Kinglake adduces of this determination—the hostile use made of the allied fleets—breaks down altogether when it is brought to the test of facts. Lastly, as to Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Gladstone remaining in office. It is an ingenious device, when you want to prove that people have done wrong, to assume at starting that they are sorry for what they have done. But if it is to pass for any thing more than a clever stratagem, you must support your assumption by proofs. Of these statesmen, Mr. Gladstone is still alive, and Mr. Kinglake will hardly assert that his conscience has grown sluggish. But he has given no sign of repentance. He has never scrupled to take upon



himself his full share in the responsibility in the Crimean war. We have already quoted him once to this purpose; but as Mr. Kinglake has chosen to base a disingenuous argument against the war on Mr. Gladstone's imaginary inconsistencies, we will venture to quote him again: "I am not ashamed to say that I remain of my original opinion as to the justice of this war at its commencement. . . . I think that it was not only a just and necessary war, with reference to its immediate occasion, but that probably, from deeply-seated causes of a more general character, it could not long have been avoided—that, in short, it had become absolutely necessary to cut the meshes of the net in which Russia had entangled Turkey."<sup>37</sup>

We have thus gone through some of the most prominent points in Mr. Kinglake's narrative. The result of the investigation is not favourable to his historical accuracy. Wherever we have tested his facts, they have been found to need either qualification or contradiction; and, since this is the case, it is difficult to resist the conviction that we might have pushed our enquiries further without meeting with a materially different result. We do not for a moment accuse Mr. Kinglake of intentional untruth. He has amply shielded himself from such a suspicion by the frankness with which he has misrepresented the effect of parliamentary papers which are open to all the world. We do not doubt his entire faith in the truth of his theory; and we can even imagine that he believes he is doing his readers a service, when he carefully selects for their use such facts only as support it. But his book is not an unbiassed judgment on the causes of the war, nor does it contain the materials for forming one. It is cast in the form of history, but it is conceived in the spirit of advocacy. How much longer the ties of official connection and official intercourse may continue to seal the lips of the surviving members of the Aberdeen cabinet, we cannot say. It may well be believed that, when the characters of the living and the memory of the dead are assailed by a cunning array of half-truths and whole falsehoods, there is no temptation to prolong the delay unnecessarily. But there is a time to keep silence, as well as a time to speak; and while that lasts the truth must be content either to remain unknown, or to find its way to the light in fragments, through the less obvious channel of literary criticism.

<sup>37</sup> Speech of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., 3d August 1855.

PARISH REGISTERS.<sup>1</sup>

HUME, in a well-known passage, reckons it among the barbarous deficiencies of the twelfth century that parochial registers were then irregularly kept. This censure is amusingly characteristic of the shrewd but inaccurate historian. His political sagacity taught him to appreciate the importance of recording with exactness the growth of the population; but he neither knew, nor troubled himself to learn, that for at least three hundred years after the twelfth century parochial registers were unknown to any part of the world, and that in Britain they were not even commenced until towards the middle of the sixteenth century.

But it is more difficult to excuse than to account for the anachronism. Hume and his contemporaries were better versed in ancient than in medieval learning, and were apt to be misled by their classical recollections. He would remember that at Athens and Rome public registers of births and deaths had been kept from the remotest age, and that the census was more ancient than any period of classical society with which we are historically acquainted. The Athenian registers dated from the constitution of Solon: and he would have read in Dionysius,<sup>2</sup> that from the times of fabulous antiquity, from the half-mythic reign of Servius Tullius, it had been the custom of the Romans to ascertain the number of births and deaths by a law that for every child who was born, and every person who died, the kindred should pay a piece of money into the respective treasuries of Juno Lucina and Venus Libitina. He would know that such registers (*libri actorum*) were familiar to Ovid and Juvenal, and were the subjects of frequent legislation by the Cæsars; that M. Aurelius, by a famous edict, required all free persons to deliver in to the imperial treasury an account of their children within thirty days after their birth, to be registered amongst the public acts in the temple of Saturn; that<sup>3</sup> the official lists of births and deaths, marriages and divorces, occupied a prominent place in the *acta diurna* of the empire; and that registration had been minutely prescribed and provided for by the code of Theodosius and the Pandects of Justinian. And it would scarcely occur to him as possible, that in the age of Irnerius, Gratian, and Glanville,

<sup>1</sup> History of Parish Registers. By John Southerden Burn. 2d edition. London: Russell Smith.

<sup>2</sup> iv. 791.

<sup>3</sup> Beckmann's History of Inventions, iv. 594.

when the temple of Saturn still remained entire in the Forum,<sup>4</sup> whilst Roman jurisprudence was being eagerly studied in universities, and blindly revered in courts of law, the nations of Europe could have failed to adopt an institution of such obvious utility.

We suspect also that Hume had heard of the monastic registers, and had a wrong impression of their contents. The religious houses had each a register and obituary, as well as a chronicle. But in the register they gave less space to the few laymen of note who were married or buried within their precincts than to the names of their brethren, the revenues and surveys of their possessions, and the genealogies of their founders; and the obituary was a parchment roll which seldom condescended to record the names of laymen, and then only of royal and noble benefactors, and which classed the rest of the faithful dead under the comprehensive term of all Christian souls. When the king bestowed manors and advowsons to commemorate some royal marriage or funeral, or some great baron, with blended grief and devotion, enlarged their boundaries with lands and woods and fisheries, the monastic scribe detailed with garrulous gratitude the munificence of their benefactor; but neither register nor obituary cared to dwell on the domestic history of the vassals who fought under their banner, or the peasants who toiled on their demesne.

Nor were there any parochial records to supply the deficiency. The parish priest kept no registers at all: but in some rare instances he used to enrol in the Missal of the church the obit of some rural magnate, whose anniversary was commemorated by the liberality of his will, or the piety of his successor. But it was not until the year 1497, a year famous in the annals of the world for the discovery of Newfoundland by John and Sebastian Cabot, that parochial registers in our sense of the word, embracing the whole population gentle and simple, were commenced in Europe; and they owe their introduction to the wisdom of Cardinal Ximenes. That great reformer signalised his administration of the diocese of Toledo by vigorous measures to correct the prevailing laxity of morals. At that period divorces were scandalously frequent in Spain, on the score of some pretended spiritual affinity: when two persons wished to dissolve the bond of marriage, they had only to allege that they had previously contracted some degree of spiritual relationship which rendered the marriage canonically invalid; and, from the absence of any record to test the truth of the allegation, they were by an easy collusion enabled to separate and marry again. To remedy this abuse, the car-

<sup>4</sup> Poggio de Variet. Fort. p. 12.



dinal directed that an accurate register should thenceforth be kept in every parish, recording the names of the infants baptised and of their sponsors. The archbishopric of Toledo was then, with the single exception of the Holy See, the greatest ecclesiastical dignity in Christendom: and an example so useful to discipline, and recommended by so high an authority, gradually spread itself through other countries, until it became coextensive with the Church. But for years after this date the only baptismal register at Florence, the Athens of the Middle Ages, was ludicrously primitive. The Baptistry of San Giovanni, already glorious with the gates of Ghiberti, which Michael Angelo pronounced worthy to be the gates of Paradise, was then (as in our own day) the only place in which the infants of the Florentines could be baptised: and the parish-priest had no better way of calculating their numbers than by putting beans into a bag—a white bean for a girl, and a black bean for a boy—and adding them up at the end of the year. We may observe by the way, for the information of our statistical readers, that the average number of baptisms at Florence from 1470 to 1494 was 2094, and from 1794 to 1803 was 3756; that in 1835 it was 3750; and that the proportion of females to males in 1835 was 113 to 100.

In England, parochial registers are contemporaneous with the change of religion, and derive their origin from an injunction of the vicar-general Cromwell in the 30th year of King Henry VIII.: and it has been not improbably conjectured, that the king's vicegerent conceived the idea of establishing them from information acquired during his foreign travels. Since 1538 they have been variously regulated from time to time by the wisdom, the jealousy, and the avarice of Parliaments; but the parish register acts never extended to Scotland or Ireland, and their utility was greatly curtailed by the fact, that they were stubbornly regarded, by a large proportion of the people, rather as a badge and appendage of the State Church than as an institution of national benefit. These considerations naturally suggested a general system of civil registration; and after a severe political struggle, an act<sup>5</sup> was passed in 1836, by which the registers of baptisms and burials were left undisturbed to the care of the parochial clergy. The State then assumed, for the first time, the duty of registering in one public office the births, marriages, and deaths of the whole population, irrespectively of their religious belief. But the Government of 1836 was too indifferent to legislation which promised no party advantages, and too apprehensive of exciting religious prejudice north of the Tweed, to propose that this

<sup>5</sup> 6 and 7 Wm. IV. c. 86, explained and amended by 1 Vict. c. 22.

act should extend to Scotland, although the defective state of the Scottish registers had more than once been the subject of official censure,<sup>6</sup> and had been severely commented upon by writers<sup>7</sup> of acknowledged ability. The Provincial Council of the Scottish clergy had instituted registers of baptisms and marriages so far back as 1551, with a declaration that these records should be preserved among "the most precious treasures of the Church." This ordinance had been confirmed and extended to burials by the Privy Council of Scotland in 1616; but these decrees had been so imperfectly observed, that out of 850 parishes which made returns to Government in the Population Abstract of 1801, only 99 were in possession of regular registers. The Scotch are proverbially jealous of parliamentary interference with their ecclesiastical ordinances. But the shrewdness of the national character inclined them to sacrifice a prejudice which was evidently incompatible with their interests; and accordingly the royal assent was given on the 7th of August 1854 to an Act<sup>8</sup> establishing a civil registration for Scotland, as similar in its leading features to the English Act of 1836 as the different customs of the two countries would allow. But the wants of Ireland were, as usual, less carefully provided for, although the only Irish registers were those of the Established Church, which are a dead letter for five-sixths of the population: and the imperial Parliament has hitherto contented itself with establishing a civil registration<sup>9</sup> for Protestant marriages.

It may seem superfluous in the present day to insist upon the political necessity of an accurate system of registration. In all the common concerns of an Englishman's life, in the acts of buying, selling, and marrying, in questions of pedigree, inheritance, and legitimacy, our rights and interests are so frequently dependent upon the fullness and correctness of the public registers, that they seem almost a necessary element of our complex civilisation. Nor are they less useful to the community than to individuals; for they form the basis of political arithmetic, and supply the data for determining with precision the progress and condition of the people. With these obvious reflections, the philosophical historian of the future will find it difficult to realise that in the year 1863 the births and deaths of the entire population of Ireland, and the marriages of the Catholic majority, were suffered to remain wholly unregistered. And this anomaly has

<sup>6</sup> Report of the Deputy Clerk Register of Scotland to the Commissioners of Public Records in 1810.

<sup>7</sup> Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland.

<sup>8</sup> 17 and 18 Vict. c. 80.

<sup>9</sup> 7 and 8 Vict. c. 81.

not continued from any want of notice to those who were able to remove it and interested in its removal. Year after year, the House of Lords has been besieged with complaints that the claimants of peerages were unable to substantiate an Irish pedigree, from the absence of registers: in the criminal courts, juries have been disabled from convicting for bigamy by the difficulty of proving the prior marriage: and in the civil courts, the kindred of emigrants dying intestate in America have, for the want of legal evidence, been constantly defrauded of their natural inheritance. Twelve reports of the Irish Registrar-General have in vain urged upon successive Parliaments the duty of supplying this national want; and if in the present session the Government have at last proposed a partial remedy, it is perhaps as much due to the scandal of the Yelverton case as to an enlarged consideration of the public welfare.

The Government bill now before the House proposes to enact for Ireland a civil registration of births and deaths, based upon the plan of the Scottish Act of 1854; but this measure makes no provision whatever for Catholic marriages. It may be alleged that the fault of this omission is to be charged less upon the authors of the bill than on the anomalies of the Irish marriage-laws, and the jealousy of the Catholics to admit parliamentary interference in connection with the administration of a sacrament. But whilst we should rejoice to see the Irish laws respecting marriage placed on a more equitable footing, the hardships attending mixed marriages can affect comparatively few, and the absence of registers is a serious evil to the whole community. It is difficult to see why one injustice should perpetuate another, or why the Catholics of Ireland should claim exemption from a law calculated for the national benefit. Civil registration prevails in most of the Catholic countries on the Continent, and has been accepted by the Catholics of England and Scotland: and there seems no good reason why Catholics should be unwilling on one side of the Channel to conform to regulations which, under like circumstances, are cheerfully complied with on the other. The real fallacy which appears to us to underlie the objections to civil registration is the supposing that a purely civil act has any inherent religious character. In times when all the inhabitants of a country professed (at all events, in the eye of the law) the same religion, when all infants were baptised on the day of their birth, when all the dead were buried with the same ritual, and when the rites of the Church constituted the marriage-laws of the land, there was nothing absurd in en-



trusting registration to the parochial clergy, and in treating the record of baptisms and burials as approximately synonymous with that of births and deaths. But in the days of a myriad of contending sects, of baptismal controversies, register-office marriages and unconsecrated cemeteries, common sense dictates that the State should assume the duty of registering the overt acts which affect society, and that individuals should be left to baptise, marry, and bury according to their own consciences and their respective religions. An attempt has been made by some, whose opinion all Catholics respect, to distinguish the case of marriages from that of births and deaths; and the Government would seem to have adopted the distinction. But marriage is not only a sacrament but a civil contract, involving social and political obligations properly cognisable by the State; and the State has therefore the same right to insist upon its registration as upon that of any other contract. The validity of a marriage *in foro conscientie* must always be distinct from the question of its registration: the registry-book is obviously the record of an act, and not the act itself: and we are convinced that even if, in a few isolated cases, another chapter be thereby added to the conflict of laws, the balance of advantages will be found greatly in favour of civil registration.

Nor is this the only omission in the proposal of the Government. The bill omits altogether a most important feature of the Scottish Act, by failing to provide for the preservation and custody of existing registers. The Scottish Act of 1854 requires all existing parochial registers, minutes, and documents of every description relating to births, deaths, and marriages, to be deposited with the Registrar-General; and we can see no reason for exempting Ireland from these provisions. There must be a mass of Irish registers in existence, which, under certain conditions and restrictions, could usefully be made available as evidence. Independently of the parish registers of the Establishment, the Protestant Dissenters must have some records; and we know<sup>10</sup> that of late years the Catholic Bishops have required their parish priests to keep regular registers for their own inspection. Now, it is obviously of the highest importance to the public that all these registers should be collected, kept in safe custody, and made readily accessible. We hope, therefore, that these useful clauses of the Scottish Bill may be extended to Ireland, and that by a subsequent act the registers of the Catholics and Protestant Dissenters, having been authenticated by competent authority,

<sup>10</sup> Evidence of Rev. P. O'Regan before the Committee of the House of Commons, 26 June 1861.

may be declared receivable as evidence in courts of justice. There are two precedents for such a course. A Royal Commission has twice been appointed during the present reign to inquire into the state, authenticity, and custody of the English non-parochial registers; and upon their recommendations 3000 volumes in 1838, and 265 registers in 1857, were declared authentic, and made legal evidence by Act of Parliament.<sup>11</sup> And if there be any Protestants who would grudge to the Catholics of Ireland this act of justice, we would remind them of the language of the Catholic king Lewis XVI.: "We confess that in allowing the Protestant [minority of France] the permission to have their births, marriages, and deaths legally verified, so that they may reap the same civil advantages therefrom as our other subjects, we allow no more than what the law of nature does not suffer us to refuse."

Our readers who have followed us so far may be glad to hear something more of the old English registers. We shall therefore proceed with an outline of their history, and a glean- ing from their contents, though, for want of space, we must follow the example of the Government, in confining ourselves to the notices of baptisms and burials.

The injunction of keeping registers must have been projected and announced by Cromwell during the first year of his administration; for he was appointed the vicegerent of the king's highness in July 1535, and in 1536 the project was already exciting great discontent amongst the people, who regarded it as the instrument of some new taxation. It is curious to read how widely-spread and exaggerated the popular discontent was, even in the remotest parts of England. In the north, the insurgents of the Pilgrimage of Grace gave it out as one of the grievances calculated to stir up the people to join in the outbreak, that they "would be forced to pay a tribute to the king for christenings, marriages, and burials;" and in the west of England the state of public feeling is described by Sir Piers Edgecumb in a contemporary letter<sup>12</sup> to Cromwell, which strikingly illustrates the watchfulness of the government in that reign of innovation and severity. The letter is written in the knight's own hand, and runs thus :

*"Sir Piers Eggecumb to Crumwell.*

"Please it, ywr goode Lordeshyp to be advertysed, that

<sup>11</sup> 3 & 4 Vict. c. 92, and 21 Vict. c. 25. It would facilitate the labours of such a commission to have a list of all the register-books in Ireland, such as we have in the English Parish Register Abstract of 1830.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in the Preface (p. xxvii.) of the Parish Register Abstract.

the Kyngg's Majesty hath commandyd me, at my beyng in hys gracios presens, that in casse I parceyvvd any grugge, or myscontentacyon among his sojettes, I shulde ther off advertysse ywr Lordeshyp by my wrytynge. Hyt ys now comme to my knolegge, this 20 daye of Apryll, by a ryght trew honest man, a servant off myn; that ther ys moche secrett and severall communycacyons amongges the Kyngge's sojettes; and that off them, in sundry places with in the scheres off Cornwall and Devonsher, be in greate feer and mystrust; what the Kyngges Hyghnes and hys Conseylle schulde meane, to geve in commaundement to the parsons and vycars off every parisse, that they schulde make a booke, and surely to be kept, wher in to be specyffyyd the namys off as many as be weddyd, and the namys off them that be buryyd, and of all those that be crystynyd. Now ye maye perceyve the myndes off many. What ys to be don, to avoyde ther unserteyn conjecturys, and to contynue and stablysse ther hartes in trew naturell loff, accordynge ther dewties, I refferre to ywr wysdom. Ther mystrust ys, that somme charges, more than hath byn in tymys past, schall growe to theym by this occacyon off regesstrynge of thes thyngges; wher in, yff hyt schall please the Kyngges Majeste to put them yowte off dowte, in my poar mynde schall encesse moche harty loff. And I besseche our Lorde preserve yow ever, to Hys pleasser, 20th daye off Apryll.

"Scribelyd in hast.

P. EGGEComb."

(Superscribed)

"To my Lorde Privy Seale ys goode Lordessyhyp be this gevyn."

Cromwell received the news of the popular discontent with his usual wariness and resolution. A minister who had the audacity to innovate upon the faith and observances of Catholic Christendom was not likely to relinquish a favourite project out of deference to the scruples and ignorance of a rebellious peasantry; but he was too prudent to strengthen the hands of the king's enemies in a year of rebellion, and the injunctions of 1536 made no order about registers. The increased strength of the government, and the ill success of every attempt to oppose it, encouraged him to resume an intention which he had probably never abandoned; and in September 1538<sup>13</sup> he issued an injunction commanding every minister "to keep one book or register for every (parish) church," "which book he shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the churchwardens, or one of them, write

<sup>13</sup> Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Appendix, vol. i. p. 178.



and record in the same all the weddings, christ'nings, and burials made the whole week before; and for every time that the same shall be omitted, shall forfeit to the said church iijs. iiij*d.*" &c. In compliance with this injunction, many registers were immediately commenced; and of the extant registers which have survived the negligence of their legal guardians, in a century *incuriosa suorum*, no less than 812 begin from 1538.<sup>14</sup> The churchwarden's accounts of St. Margaret's Westminster for that year contain this entry: "Paid for a book to registre in the names of buryals, weddings, and christ'nings, 2*d.*" It will be observed that the injunction casts the whole duty on the clergy, and imposes neither payment nor penalty on the parishioners; but the clergy soon contrived to shift the burden to the laity, and to convert the registers into a source of emolument. The question of fees has in every age been a difficulty inseparable from registration; for the common experience of mankind has long justified the proverb, that where something has to be written there will be invariably something to pay. This payment was as distasteful to the deprived Catholic priests, who did not receive it, as to the laity, who had to pay it; and in 1548 the royal proclamation inhibited all persons from preaching without a license, expressly on the ground<sup>15</sup> that "certain popish preachers endeavoured, in their sermons, to possess people of scandalous reports against the king, as if he intended to lay strange exactions on the people, and to demand half-a-crown apiece for every one who should be married, christened, or buried."

Cromwell's injunction remained substantially in force until 1597; for the only variation we have observed in the interim is that Cardinal Pole in 1555 required the names of the god-fathers and godmothers to be added to the register of baptisms, according to the practice of Italy and Spain. This addition has not been legally insisted upon since the reign of Queen Mary, and was then only partially observed; but the custom of recording the names of the sponsors was religiously adhered to by the parish of St. Nicholas, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and probably by many others, to the beginning of the present century.

On the 25th of October 1597, the clergy of Canterbury in convocation made a new ordinance respecting registers, which was formally approved by the queen under the great seal. It commences by noticing their very great utility (*permagnus usus*), and lays down minute regulations for their preserva-

<sup>14</sup> Par. Register Abstract.

<sup>15</sup> Fuller's Church Hist., ed. Nicholls, 1842, ii. 314.

tion. It was now ordered that every parish should provide itself with a parchment book, and that the entries from the old paper books should be transcribed therein, each page being authenticated by the signature of the minister and churchwardens; and that, for further security against loss, a copy should be transmitted every year to the bishop of the diocese, within a month after Easter, to be preserved in the episcopal archives. And every minister, at his institution, was to subscribe to this protestation: "I shall keep the register book according to the queen's majesty's injunctions." These regulations were virtually embodied in the 70th canon of 1603, which is still in force; and under the authority of this canon the registers were kept by the clergy until the passing of Rose's Act in 1812. The oldest register-books now extant are usually transcripts made in pursuance of the injunction of 1597 or 1603; and, in compliance with the words of the injunctions, every page of the transcript is signed by the minister and churchwardens of that year in which the copy was made. This circumstance gave rise to a ludicrous notion respecting the longevity of the clergy of the sixteenth century, which at one time found strenuous defenders amongst antiquarian writers.<sup>16</sup> Thus Duncumb, in his *History of Herefordshire*, gravely asserts that "Robert Barnes was vicar of Bromyard during eighty-two years, as his name appears during the whole of that period in the parochial registers, and that one of his churchwardens filled that office from 1538 to 1600 inclusive." Another instance of this supposed longevity was a certain Mr. Simpson, who was imagined to have enjoyed the living of Keyham in Leicestershire for ninety-two years, and to have had the same churchwardens for seventy years.

The canons of 1603 were made by the bishops and clergy in convocation, convened by the king's writ, and were afterwards confirmed by the king under the great seal; but it was decided by the Court of King's Bench, in a celebrated judgment,<sup>17</sup> that although they were clearly binding on the clergy they did not *proprio vigore* bind the laity. Bearing this in mind, it is curious to observe that the part of the canon which has been the least regarded is that which interested the bishops. It had been wisely ordered that a correct transcript should yearly be sent to the bishop of the diocese; and the utility of this provision in supplying local loss, and preventing the commission of fraud, has been signally proved in parliamentary<sup>18</sup> and legal proceedings: but the canon attached no fees to the transcript either for the

<sup>16</sup> Cole's Mss. xli. 310.

<sup>17</sup> Middleton v. Crofts.

<sup>18</sup> Chandos Peerage case, Leigh Peerage case, &c.

parish or the bishop, and neither of them was zealous for employment without remuneration. The result has been that the parishes often grudged the expense of a copy, the bishops seldom insisted on its transmission, and the diocesan registrars allowed their archives to remain "unarranged and unconsultable;"<sup>19</sup> and the bishops' transcripts, which ought to have formed an invaluable department of the public records, present a lamentable picture of episcopal negligence, parochial parsimony, and official rapacity.<sup>20</sup>

During the civil war, parish registers shared in the general confusion of the Anglican Church, and were more than once remodelled by Parliament. On the 3d of January 1644-5,<sup>21</sup> a few days before the execution of Abp. Laud, it was enacted that the Directory for the public worship of God should be substituted for the Book of Common Prayer, which ordained that "a fair register-book of velim" should be provided at the charge of every parish, and that the names of all children baptised, and the time of their birth, &c. should be set down therein by the minister." This is remarkable, as being the first instance of the minister being required to register births as well as baptisms. But the Parliament of Praise-God Barebones made still greater innovations; and by an act passed on the 25th of August 1653 commanded the clergy to give up their register-books to lay registrars, who were to be chosen by the parishioners, and were empowered to charge a fee of 4*d.* for every entry of a birth and a burial.<sup>22</sup> This act transferred marriages from the clergy to the justices of the peace, and makes no provision for baptisms: consequently in some registers of this period (for example, Knipton, co. Leicester, 1654-60), the children are all registered from their births, and baptisms are not mentioned. It may be imagined that the clergy did not resign their office without a struggle; and the register-books abound with curious contemporary notices of the conflict. The following are specimens:

<sup>19</sup> Evidence of Sir William Betham before the Committee in 1832.

<sup>20</sup> Lest we should be accused of exaggeration, we will state a few facts from the parliamentary returns. The diocese of Winchester includes 142 parishes in Surrey, and the Registry only has twenty registers for all these parishes from 1597 to 1800. As every parish ought to have annually sent a copy of its register, for 203 years, there is here a deficiency of 28,206 registers. Salisbury contains 434 parishes; only 9 or 10 were in the habit of sending copies in 1800: in Rochester, 7 parishes, out of 95, sent transcripts in 1800. The Registrar of London coolly certified to the Commissioners of Public Records (1800): "I hereby certify that *it is not the custom* within the diocese of London for any return to be made to the Bishop's Registry of either burials or baptisms." Mr. Bruce found, in 1848, that at Lincoln the parchment transcripts were regularly cut up by the registrar for binding modern wills.

<sup>21</sup> Parliamentary History of England, iii. 322.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. iii. 1413.



*Rotherby, co. Leicester.* "1643, Bellum! 1644, Bellum! 1645, Bellum! interruption! persecution! . . . Sequestration by John Mussen, yeoman, and John Yates, taylor! 1649, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653, 1654, Sequestration! Thomas Silverwood intruder."

*Kibworth, co. Leicester.* "Ano Dni 1641. Know all men, that the reason why little or nothing is registered from this year 1641 until the year 1649, was the civil wars between King Charles and his Parliament, which put all into a confusion till then: and neither minister nor people could quietly stay at home for one party or the other."

*Trinity Church, Chester.* "Yere wanting from this place, for then the Clarke was put out of Towne for delinquency, so no more is entered till 12 March 1645: for all this tyme the Citty was in straight siege."

*Helton, co. Dorsetshire.* One of the intruding ministers has thus written in the register: "1649. At my first coming to this place, about this time, there war som married, that livid in the parish, others buried, and especially more that had their children baptized, partly in contempt, and by reason of ignorance and wilfulness against me refusing to be examined, of the poorer sort, and whereof som ar living, others ar dead, the which if they should live, they would be made uncapable of any earthly inheritance—this I note for the satisfaction of any that do.—WILLIAM SNOKE."

We may remark that the registers in Cromwell's time were unusually well kept by the lay registrars; although the books from 1653 to 1660 are often deficient, from the clergy having been unable to gain possession of them on resuming their livings. At the Restoration the duty of registering again devolved on the parochial clergy; and registers were kept in the ancient fashion until 1678, when a new and more stringent enactment "for burying in woollen" required an entry to be made in the register of burials that the act had been duly complied with. This singular sumptuary law for the dead had been devised by the Parliament of 1666,<sup>23</sup> and was conceived in the same barbarous spirit of protection which prohibited<sup>24</sup> the importation of cattle bred in Ireland, and of fish taken by foreigners. It was professedly passed "for the encouragement of the woollen manufactures, and prevention of the exportation of moneys for the buying and importing of linen:" and it enacted that after the 25th of March 1667 no person should be "buried in any shirt, shift, or sheete, other than should be made of wooll onely." But habit is stronger than legislation, and the practice of wrapping the

<sup>23</sup> 18 and 19 Chas. II. c. 4.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. c. 2.

dead in linen is older than Christianity itself. The statute was generally disobeyed; and the penalty could seldom be enforced, because an information could only be laid by those who were most interested in concealing the offence. To remedy this, a more stringent act was passed in 1678,<sup>25</sup> which obliged the clergy to make an entry in the register, that an affidavit had been brought to them within eight days after the burial, certifying that the requirements of the law had been fulfilled. It now became the practice<sup>26</sup> for the parish clerk to call out at the grave, immediately after the conclusion of the burial service, "Who makes affidavit?" upon which one of the relations came forward, and made the necessary oath; which was duly noticed in the register. We extract one of these affidavits as a specimen:

"Wee, Frances Norris and Anne Stonnaxe, of the hamlet of Westwich, do make oath, that Matthew Lynton of Westwich, buried 13th Oct. 1678, was not put in, wrapt up, or wound up, or buried, in any shirt, shift, sheet, or shroud, made or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold, or silver, or other than what is made of sheep's wool only: nor in any coffin lined or faced with any cloth, stuff, or any other thing whatsoever made or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold, or silver, or any other material, but sheep's wool only. Dated 18th Oct. 1678.—THOS. BUCK."

The usual entries of burial of this date, when the act was obeyed, are as follows:

*Newburn, co. Northumberland.* "1687. 18 Aug. Cuthbert Longridge was buried in woollen, as by a certificate dated 24 Aug. 1687."

*Hamesley, co. Durham.* "1678. Anne Marley wrapped in sheepskins, bur."

*Woolvercot, co. Oxon.* "1693. Aug. 17. Catherine dau. of Sir William Juxon, buried in woollen—affidavit."

The Act of 1678 was more successful in enforcing the penalty than in changing the custom of the higher classes, who regarded it rather as a tax to be paid than a law to be observed. We find frequent proofs of this in the registers; but it will be sufficient for us to quote the examples of Colonel Walter and Narcissa:

*Woolvercot, co. Oxon.* "1679. April 30. David Walter, Esquire, Lord of Godstowe, buried: but not according to the Act of Parliament, whereupon an information being given to a justice of the peace, the executor, Sir William Walter, ordered 50s. to be paid to the poor of the parish, the other 50s. being paid to the informer."

<sup>25</sup> 30 Chas. II. c. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Notes and Queries, 1861.

Mrs. Oldfield, the actress, was, by her express request, buried<sup>27</sup> in a Brussels lace headdress, a holland shift with a tucker, double ruffles of the same lace, and a new pair of kid gloves; and her vanity is immortalised by Pope in the well-known lines:

“Odious! in woollen! ’twould a saint provoke  
(Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke);  
No, let a charming chintz and Brussels lace  
Wrap my cold limbs and shade my lifeless face.”

The Taxation Acts of 1694 and 1695<sup>28</sup> imposing a graduated scale of duties upon marriages, births, and burials, made a new use of the parish registers, and obliged the clergy to keep a register<sup>29</sup> of all births, whether the children were baptised or not. The collectors of the tax were allowed free access to the registers, and a penalty of 100*l.* was inflicted for every neglect in making the proper entries. Many registers, therefore, of this date are punctually kept, and the birth is usually recorded as well as the baptism. But few registers could bear the test of official inspection; and so general an alarm was created amongst the clergy, that an Indemnity Act<sup>30</sup> was passed in the next reign, confessedly on the ground that they had, by non-compliance with the law, exposed themselves and their families to ruin. How much this indemnity was needed may be inferred from an incident mentioned by Throsby in his *History of Leicestershire*. “At one place I was told by the clerk, when I observed that the register must be deficient, that Mr. — kept the register lately, and he, to *save tax*, put no name down for two years.” When the act granting these duties had expired, the registration of births was generally discontinued, and was not renewed until the new system was established in 1836. An unsuccessful attempt, however, was made in 1753<sup>31</sup> to enact an annual registration of the whole population, with their births, deaths, and marriages; and after considerable opposition the bill passed the Commons. But the measure was not popular in either of its objects; and its author, Mr. Potter, did not stand high in the public esteem.<sup>32</sup> The census was regarded as ominous and unlucky by a superstition more generally felt than avowed; and the register was viewed by the nation in the odious light of a French institution; and therefore, when the Lords threw out the bill on the second reading, no disappointment was exhibited, and no effort was made to revive it. The same session is memorable for the

<sup>27</sup> Notes and Queries, 1861.

<sup>29</sup> 7 and 8 Wm. III. c. 36.

<sup>31</sup> Parliamentary History, xiv. 1318, &c.

<sup>32</sup> Gentleman's Magazine, 1753.

<sup>28</sup> 6 and 7 Wm. III. c. 6.

<sup>30</sup> 4 Q. Anne, c. 12.



passing of the famous Marriage Act<sup>33</sup> to prevent clandestine marriages; but this does not come within our limits; and we pass to the Stamp Act of 1783,<sup>34</sup> which for the first time imposed a duty of 3*d.* upon every entry in the parish register. This was probably the most objectionable statute in the whole series. For the new tax fell lightly on the rich, and pressed heavily on the poor, placing the clergyman in the invidious light of a tax-gatherer; and as the poor were often unable or unwilling to pay the tax, the clergy had a direct inducement to retain their goodwill by keeping the registers defective. This act included Scotland, and excited there an outburst of popular indignation:<sup>35</sup> the duty on entries of burials was stigmatised as a tax upon the misfortunes of the community; and as the statute virtually bestowed a premium on negligence and omissions, whole parishes, and even counties, discontinued the practice of registration. The obnoxious statute was repealed in 1794,<sup>36</sup> with another act of such flagrant injustice that it cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed. At this period the registers of the Dissenters were mere private documents, inadmissible in any courts of justice. The Dissenters were encouraged to hope that if their registers were impressed with the Government stamp they would receive a public character, and be placed on an equality with the parish registers. Upon this understanding they consented to share the tax; and accordingly, in 1785, the Stamp Act was, at their own petition, extended "to all Protestant Dissenters."<sup>37</sup> But by a gross breach of faith the privilege was withheld, although the price for it was received; and for nine years the Dissenters suffered without redress, if not without complaint.

It will have been observed that, except during the brief interval of the Commonwealth, the registers have hitherto continued to be an ecclesiastical and not a parliamentary institution. The statutes to which we have referred simply made use of them as a convenient machinery for giving effect to their provisions, and therefore only subjected them to a partial and temporary control. But in 1812 the registers became the direct subject of legislation, and the 70th canon was superseded by an Act of Parliament, which still constitutes the law for registering baptisms and burials. This act, commonly known as Sir George Rose's Act,<sup>38</sup> curiously illustrates the careless way in which bills are amended in committee. For whilst it is intitled "An Act for the better regulating and preserving Registers of *Births*," &c., and

<sup>33</sup> 26 Geo. II. c. 33.

<sup>35</sup> Seton's Sketch.

<sup>37</sup> 25 Geo. III. c. 75.

<sup>34</sup> 23 Geo. III. c. 71.

<sup>36</sup> 34 Geo. III. c. 11.

<sup>38</sup> 52 Geo. III. c. 146.

the 12th section mentions "lists of births," the registration of births is altogether omitted from its provisions; and by a ludicrous oversight the penalty of transportation for fourteen years for making a false entry is, by a subsequent clause, to be equally divided between the informer and the poor of the parish. The Act was substantially a reënactment of the canon, with more particular directions for its observance. A copy on parchment of all registers was annually to be sent to the diocesan registrar, and, if addressed in the manner prescribed, was to pass free through the post; but the Act was as silent as the canon had been about the fees for this duty, and there was no power to compel its performance by refractory parishes. Nor were vestries encouraged to incur the expense when it became notorious that a large mass of transcripts, which had by some error or accident become chargeable to postage, had been from time to time refused by the registrars, and committed to the flames by the officials of the Post-Office.<sup>39</sup> But the most important provision was that which required all future registers to be kept in books to be provided by the king's printers, according to one uniform scheme set out in the schedules annexed to the Act. Hitherto the clergy had recorded baptisms and burials, each after his own notion of propriety; and how much has been gained or lost by the new system of uniformity will best be estimated by bringing together a series of entries, and comparing the practice of many generations.

We will begin with Baptisms. The common form of entry had four degrees of brevity:

*Hackney, co. Middlesex.* 1592. Francis Wood, bapt. 31 May.

*Ditto*, 1597. 16 Oct. Henry Wood, bapt. Tho<sup>s</sup>† [This was the name of the father.]

*Whatton, co. Notts.* 1545, 1 Dec. Edmond, son of Thomas Cranmer, bapt.

*Sunderland, co. Durham.* 1777, 10 Aug, Jane, dau. of Thomas and Jane Longridge, baptised.

But sometimes the time of birth was recorded with great precision, to assist the astrologer in casting the nativity of the child. As for example:

*St. Edmund's, Dudley.* 1539. Samuell, son of Sir Williame Smithe Clarke, Vicare of Duddly, was born on Friday morninge at 4 of the clocke, beinge the xxviiiij day of February, the signe of that day was the middle of Aquaris ♒: the signe of the monthe ♄: the plenēt of that day ♀: plenēt of

<sup>39</sup> Burn, p. 207.

the same ower ☿ and the morrow day, whose name hath continued in Duddly from the conqueste."

Sometimes the quality of the parents is mentioned, thus:

*Loughborough, co. Leic.* 1581. Margaret, dau. of William Bannister, going after the manner of roguish Egyptians, was baptised the 2<sup>nd</sup> of Aprill.

*St. Oswald's, Durham.* 1640, 14 Feb. Ann, dau. of Thomas Forcer, Virginall Master, bapt.

*Staplehurst, Kent.* 1553. The thirde day of December Anno Regni Regine nostre Marie primo Annoq: dni: millmo quingentiscem: Zijj was baptysed Symon, the sonne of that noble Warryoure Wylliam Pytt.

*Staplehurst, Kent.* 1552. the xxx<sup>th</sup> daye of November was baptызed a cople of children togedr. y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Goodman Baylyf chylde wh<sup>ch</sup> was a dawght and Goodman Baker's sonne.

Illegitimate children are designated in a multitude of ways. Thus:

*Croydon.* 1567. Alice, *filia vulgi*, bap<sup>d</sup>. Aug. 14.

*Ditto.* 1582. William, *filius terræ*, was christened May.

*Streatham.* 1580. Harry, a base child.

*Burwash.* 1566, Dec. 15. Bap. Johannes, *filius Thomasinæ Collins, incerti vero patris.*

*Morden.* 1658. Peter, the unlawfully begotten son of Ann Major, bap. Jan. 6.

*Chelsea.* 1564. Johannes, *filius meretricis*, bap. Aug. 12.

*Birmingham.* 1554. Joane, *filia populi.*

*Etchingham.* 1595. Anna, ye d<sup>r</sup> of noe certaine man.

*Graveney.* 1640. Ann Corke (nothus).

*Forcett.* 1662. Anne, supposed daughter of Sir Jeremiah Smithson, fathered of y<sup>e</sup> said S<sup>r</sup> Jeremiah, in the church, bapt. 9 April.

*Heston.* 1620. Maria fil. Mariæ Coxе, *ex fornicatione gravitæ.*

*Chelsea.* 1610. Agnes Price, baseborn in a barn.

*Isleworth.* 1603. Anne Twine, *fil. uniuscujusque.*

*Ulcomb.* 1608. Jeremias, *filius scorti* de Hedcorne, baptizatus fuit.

*Minster.* 1620. Johanna filia Tamsin Smith adulterina.

*St. Pancras.* 1744. William, son of Lord Talbot, per Dutchess of Beaufort, *ut asseritur*, born Nov. 1, 1743. bap. Mch. 24<sup>th</sup>.

Foundlings are of frequent occurrence in the registers, but we have not met with any notices of them worthy of being extracted. They were sometimes named by the caprice of the vestry; and we have all heard of Sir Richard Monday,<sup>40</sup> who

<sup>40</sup> Crabbe's Poem, the "Parish Register."



"died at Monday Place." But they more usually received their surnames from the parish in which they were found. Thus, in St. Lawrence's, Old Jewry, the surname of Lawrence is invariably given to them. The same custom prevailed in Lincoln's Inn and the Temple; and it appears, from the Temple register,<sup>41</sup> that from 1728 to 1755 no less than 104 foundlings were baptised there, and were all of them surnamed Temple or Templar. It would be curious to ascertain how many of their descendants in this genealogical age confidently trace their origin from Leofric and Godiva, the mythical ancestors of all the Temples.

The following entries illustrate the Anglican doctrine and practice respecting baptism at the end of the 17th century:

*Hillingdon.* Baptisms. Elizabeth, the dau. of Wm. Pratt. Feb. 25, 167 $\frac{1}{2}$ . The first that in 11 years was baptized with water in the font, the custom being in this place to baptize out of a bason in the Presbyterian manner, only set in the Font, which I could never get reformed, till I had gotten a new clarke John Brown, who presently did what I appointed to be done.

*St. Alkmund's, Derby.* 1712. Baptised Elizabeth and Honeylove, the dau. of John King, Nov. 5. Note. Elizabeth was about 3 years old. The reason why she was baptized at the same time in the Church with Honeylove the infant was this, I had sometime before preached concerning baptism, and proved that the Dissenting teachers have no authority to baptize, and consequently that children that had been sprinkled by them ought to be baptized by an Episcopal minister. The father was so fully convinced by what was said, that he came to me and desired me baptize the said child.

*Lanchester.* 1714. Francis Swinburne, popishly baptized 27 Jan., and no precedente.

It is evident, from the baptismal registers, that the multiplication of Christian names is a very modern practice; and Camden expressly tells us that in his time (1551-1623) "two Christian names are rare in England, and I only remember now his Majesty, who was named Charles James, and the Prince his sonne Henry Frederic; and among private men Thomas Maria Wingfield and Sir Thomas Posthumous Hobby." But in the sixteenth century the very confusing custom of giving the same Christian name to several children still survived from the Middle Ages; and we often find entries of this kind:

*Beby, co. Leicester.* 1559. It<sup>m</sup>, 29<sup>th</sup> day of August was John and John Sicke, the children of Christopher and Anne,

<sup>41</sup> Burn, p. 80.

baptized. It<sup>m</sup>, the 31<sup>st</sup> day of August, the same John and John were buried.

A certain John Barker called all his three sons John, and both his two daughters Margaret.<sup>42</sup>

*Stockton, Wilts.* 1596. Sept. Maria Topp, tres filios reliquit superstites: Johannem Seniorem juvenem—Johannem juniorem adolescentem, et Edwardum puerulum.

But the most remarkable example of this kind in Europe still exists in a branch of the great family of Montmorency. Gui de Laval IV., the Crusader, obtained permission<sup>43</sup> from Pope Paschal II. that the Sieurs de Laval for ever should bear the name of Guy; and the heirs of that illustrious house have, for 750 years, religiously adhered to the appellation of their ancestor.

We must now, in candour, expose some of the defects of the old system of entirely trusting the entries to the discretion of the clergyman:

*Tunstall, Kent.* 1557. Mary Pottman nat. and bapt. 15 Apr. Mary Pottman nat. and bapt. 29 June. Mary Pottman sep. 22 Aug. 1567. From henceforward I omit the Pottmans.

*Feltham, Middlesex.* of this parish, and of this parish, were married in this by this 1<sup>s</sup> day of Dec<sup>r</sup> 1770 by me

This marre was solemnised between us { Elizabeth × West  
in the presence of Samuel Mercer  
Sarah × Cromwell

*Barkston, co. Leic.* Ellen, the daughter of Bryan and Ellen Dun was bapt. Lord pardon me if I am guilty of any error in registering Ellen Dun's name.

*Melton Mowbray.* 1670. Here is a bill of Burton Lazars of the people which was buried and which was and married above 10 years old, for because the clarke was dead and therefore they was not set down according as they was but they are all set down sure onnough one among another here in this place.

*St. Peter's, Dorchester.* 1645. In 12 months there died 52 persons, whose names are not inserted, the old clark being dead who had the notes.

*Meopham, Kent.* In the daies of Mr. James Day, Vicar of Mephram for fyve yers space, none were registered.

*St. Bridget's, Chester.* 1619. Jane Da: to S<sup>r</sup> Geo. Smith last August.

<sup>42</sup> Burn, p. 74.

<sup>43</sup> Ménage, Histoire de la Maison de Sablé, p. 159; L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, xiii. 1.

*Wrotham.* 1580. Elizabeth the Daughter of  
was baptised ye 29<sup>th</sup> Oct.

*Newington Butts.* Hannah daughter of Samuel  
bapt. who gave me a brass shilling for my pains.

*Allhallows Staining.* Mem. that since Salter kept this  
Register, some faults he made, which I have mended as well  
as I could.

We will only add that in the Chandos Peerage case grave  
doubts were suggested in the House of Lords, whether the  
parochial registers produced were properly admissible as evi-  
dence, on the ground that *none of them* had been hitherto  
kept according to law; and we think that it will be sufficiently  
apparent that the change of system was neither premature nor  
unnecessary.

The new formula is too well known to be extracted here.  
It has the merit not only of making the entries uniform, but  
of supplying better evidence to determine the identity of the  
parties, by recording in every case the names, residence, and  
occupation of the parents. But uniformity has the defect  
that it excludes zeal and industry, as well as negligence, in  
the registrar: and future antiquarians will miss with regret  
those curious notices of local and contemporary manners  
which instructed and delighted their predecessors. Thus:

*Scraftoft, Leicestershire.* 1679. 28 July. To redeem Tho-  
mas son of Mr Owsley Rector of Glooston, taken by the Al-  
gerines £1. 11. 3.

*Wharton, Durham.* 1643. 4 Feb. Mary Johnson bapt.:  
wh<sup>ch</sup> was the day y<sup>t</sup> all men were warned to goe against y<sup>e</sup>  
Scotts, and y<sup>t</sup> day was ye beacons set on fire to warn all y<sup>e</sup>  
country.

*St. Oswald's, Durham.* 1703. Mem. that on y<sup>e</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> Nov.  
was y<sup>e</sup> greatest hurricane and Storme that ever was knowne  
in England: many churches and houses were extreamely shat-  
tered and thousands of trees blown down: 13 or more of her  
Maj'tyes men of war were cast away and above 2000 seamen  
perished in them. N.B. the Storme came no further north  
than Yarmouth.

Rose's Act is also open to the greater objection, that it  
does not require the registrar to make the entries at the time  
of the baptism or burial, an omission which has passively  
encouraged the continuance of that most fertile source of  
mistakes, the practice of transcribing the register from the  
clerk's rough notes. This mischievous practice was very ge-  
neral in former times; and the evils arising from it have  
already been illustrated by our extracts. The clerk's notes  
often made sad havoc with the names, being usually spelled



upon the rudest principle of the phonetic system; and this probably accounts for the eccentricities of some of the entries:

*St. Anne's, Blackfriars.* 1596. Epolenep Crookes son of M<sup>r</sup> Recorder. Dec. 29.

*Kensington.* 1648. 16th April. Edward Mathowld. bur. 1648. 27 July. Thomas son to M<sup>r</sup> Will<sup>m</sup> Meathell Esq. bapt. 1676. 7th March. Susanna y<sup>e</sup> dau of Mr. Will<sup>m</sup> Methold bur. 1681. 2d Mch. William y<sup>e</sup> son of Thomas Methwold Gent<sup>n</sup>.

The entries in this last case are all known to refer to the same name and family. By Rose's Act an interval of seven days is still allowed to the clergyman; and it is believed that in many parishes it is still the practice for the register to be made up every week from the clerk's memoranda.

We will now briefly notice burials. The new statutory form improves upon the old one by the valuable addition of the age and place of residence of the deceased. The ancient entries are sometimes very quaint. Thus:

*Hawsted, Suffolk.* 1589. The funerall of the Right Worshipfull Sir William Drury Kt was executed 10 Mch.

*St. John's, Newcastle.* 1636. Seaven poor things out of the Warden Close bur. 1 Dec.

*Buxted, Sussex.* 1666. Richard Bassett the old clarke of this Parish who had continued in the offices of clarke and Sexton for the space of 43 years, whose melody warbled forth as if he had been thumped on the back with a stone, was buried the 20th Sept.

*Wadhurst, Sussex.* 1678. Damaris the wife of Robert Gower was buried Nov. 1 1674 (sine exequiis sepulta, non ob malum morale, sed ob infectionem morbillorum) a good Christian.

*Kyloe, Northumberland.* 1696. Bur. Dec. 7. Henry y<sup>e</sup> son of Henry Watson of Fenwich who lived to the age of 36 yeare and was so great a fooll, that he never could put on his own close, nor never went a quarter of a mile off y<sup>e</sup> house, in all this space.

*Barnes, Surrey.* 1657. Old Honesty als Juett's wife.

*Mexborough, York.* 1696. Buried John Fairburn extremely wanted in the town and parish.

*Saffron Walden, Essex.* 1716. The ould girle from the workhouse was buried.

Sometimes the cause and manner of death is added, thus:

*Little Brickhill, Bucks.* . Cecely Reeves was buried the same day, burned.

*Richmond, York.* 1558. buried 9 Sept Richard Snell b'rnt.

*St. Oswald's, Durham.* 1590.

|                                  |        |  |                              |  |
|----------------------------------|--------|--|------------------------------|--|
| Duke<br>Hyll<br>Hogge<br>Holiday | } iiij | Seminaries<br>Papysts<br>Tretors<br>and Rebels | } to<br>hyr<br>Mages-<br>tye | { were hanged and<br>quartered at Dry-<br>burne for there<br>horrible offences<br>the 27 day of May. |
|                                  |        |  |                              |  |

*St. Nicholas, Durham.* 1592. Simson, Arington, Fetherstone, Fenwicke, and Lancaster, were hanged for being Egyptians.

*St. Andrew, Newcastle.* 1650. The 21 day of August thes partes her under named wer executed in the Town moor for Wiches Isab<sup>l</sup> Brown and 12 others.

*Hartlepool.* 1673. 5 Oct. Tho. Smailes was buryed and crowned by a jury of 12 men, and John Harrison supposed to murder him.

*Bishop Wearmouth, Durham.* 1596. A woman in the water—bur.

*Loughborough.* 1579. Roger Shepherd was slain by a lioness which was brought into the town to be seen of such as would give money to see her. He was sore wounded in sundry places, and was buried the 26 Aug.

*Newington Butts.* 1689. John Arris and Derwick Farlin in one grave being both Dutch soldiers, one killed the other drinking brandy, buried Nov. 1.

*Brigial, York.* 1674. Alexander Willis, Caucianus dum forte calographiam hic docuit variolis correptus mortem obiit.

*Bishop Middleton, Durham.* 1591. A poore maide of Cornforth, having a decease in a legge, buried Maii 20.

*Holy Island.* 1691. 16 July. William Cleugh, bewitched to death.

Sometimes the occupation and quality of the person buried is recorded, thus :

*Landbeche.* 1538. 2 Nov. M. James Stulton Pryst depted unto God.

*St. Giles, Cripplegate.* 1569. Alls Walsay, a nonne, was buried 3<sup>rd</sup> June.

*Sherborne, Dorsetshire.* 1539. William Howel, Hermit of St. John Baptist.

*St. Nicholas, Durham.* 1602. John Haward, Saltpetre man.

*Cathedral, Durham.* 1627. Robert Grinwell. Lutenist.

*Stepney.* 1628. William, a dumb man, who died in Ratcliffe Highway a fortune teller.

*Barwell, co. Leicester.* 1635. Mr. Gregory Isham, attorney and husbandman.

*St. Anne's, Blackfriars.* 1580. William, foole to my Lady Jerningham.

*Chester-le-Street, Durham.* 1627. Ellis Thompson, insipiens Gul. Lambton Militis.

*Burnham, Bucks.* 1575. The Queen's Launder.

*Bassingbourn, Camb.* 1654. Mr. Kettle, the King's falkner.

*Berwick-on-Tweed.* 1660. Henry Lillie, Translator.

*Alnwick.* 1692. Edward Hoodspith, Fidler excellentissime.

*St. Giles, Cripplegate.* 1604. Willyam Fox, sonne of W<sup>m</sup> Fox mynstrel.

*Ditto.* 1607. The daughter of Richard Michels aquavityman.

*Camberwell.* 1687. Robert Hern and Elizabeth Bozwell, King and Queen of the Gipsies.

*St. Mary-le-Bow, Durham.* 1722. Brian Pearson, the Abbey dog whipper.

*Sproxtton, co. Leicester.* 1768. A Tom o' Bedlam.

The registers of St. Peter's in the East contain some curious Latin entries, referring probably to the changes in the ritual under Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth. Burials are frequently recorded as being "sine crucis signo." The readers of Strype<sup>44</sup> will be reminded of Bishop Parker's letter to Foxe, about the funeral of the Duchess of Norfolk: "All things were done honourably, sine crux sine lux at non sine tinkling."

But here we must take leave of our readers. And if there be any amongst them who would wish still further to explore

"Those simple annals, where to be born and die  
Of rich and poor is all the history,"

we would remind them that parish registers have their own historian as well as their poet; and we can assure them that they will find in Mr. Burn a trustworthy, pleasant, and inexhaustible guide.

<sup>44</sup> Strype's Annals, vol. i. part ii. p. 44.



## LYELL ON THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN.<sup>1</sup>

THE title *Cosmos*, given by Alexander von Humboldt to his last work, expresses at once the expansion of ideas upon the subject of the Universe, and the striving after a knowledge of causes—that is, of the infinite—which characterises modern physical science. The astronomer, having measured and weighed our globe, and our companion spheres, is now occupied in trying to determine whither our solar system tends, or in sounding those “island universes” which, the farther we penetrate, still extend into dimmer infinity. The physicist and chemist having ascertained the general laws of combination of terrestrial bodies, and of those which govern the phenomena of light and heat, have now entered upon the investigation of the nature of the matter of the universe itself, and of the molecular motion of its minutest particles, to which are due the phenomena of light, heat, and electricity. And, lastly, the physiologist, having studied the numerous forms of plants and animals, even to the minutest monad, having classified them according to their natural relationships, and having discovered that their existing forms are only the successors of countless generations of others which have passed away, many of them leaving portions of their harder or more imperishable parts, or impressions of them, entombed in rocks, as irrefragable witnesses of their having once existed, and of the changes which the earth has undergone, are now, in their turn, likewise passing from the limited study of form, to the great general one of the nature of life itself.

Of these three directions in which man endeavours to fathom by his unaided reason the nature and origin of things, some illustration of the one or the other enjoys, from time to time, a certain public prominence, whenever some discovery carries us farther towards our ever-receding goal, or some intellectual pioneer, by a bold intuitive speculation, plants his banner far into the unknown, leaving to others the slow and laborious task of cultivating the new field, and dividing the barren from the fertile in the scientific territory he has invaded. Of this kind is the problem, on the one hand, of the relation of the present flora and fauna of the globe to those which have preceded them; and, on the other, of man’s relation to them; the first step towards the solution of which necessarily involves the determination of his age upon the globe.

<sup>1</sup> The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man upon the Globe; with Remarks on Theories of Origin of Species by Variation. By Sir Charles Lyell, F.R.S. London: Murray.

The existing flora and fauna are recent, and man is still more so, because many species of animals which, geologically speaking, may be considered part of the existing fauna became extinct before man made his appearance. Such has been the general result of geological investigations up to the present time. But then the question arises, What does recent mean? are we to measure it by centuries, or by thousands of centuries? In accordance with the received chronology of Holy Scripture, this question was answered in the former sense. For many years past, however, the difficulty of accounting for many things, even historical events, suggested doubts of the accuracy of this chronometric standard; but geologists were indisposed to discuss boldly a question so fraught, as they believed, with difficulty. The question of the antiquity of man is therefore not new; nevertheless it is only now that it has become a subject of serious scientific discussion. Henceforth it is destined to occupy more and more attention, according as the issues which it raises become better known. It is a question which may be viewed in many aspects, geological, physiological, ethnological, historical, political, and religious. To discuss it from any one of these points of view implies, however, that the question itself has been answered. Desirous as we may be, therefore, to show its bearing upon the great question of the origin of species, the origin and development of language, the affinity of the different branches of the human race, the early history of nations, upon political theories, and moral responsibility as to crime, and, indeed, the whole subject of criminal law, and lastly, upon the subject of revealed religion—for such are a few of the collateral questions it raises,—we must of necessity examine first what are the arguments which are put forward to prove that our present chronology is insufficient, and that the past life of man upon the globe must be measured, not by centuries, but by thousands of centuries.

The subject has already a special literature, and one periodical at least in this country may be considered as the organ of its students. The most important accession to its special literature which has yet been made is undoubtedly the new book of Sir Charles Lyell. No one living was better entitled to write upon the geological part of this subject; for it was he who chiefly showed the magnitude of the geological changes now in progress, and thus led scientific men to see, in the existing course of nature, causes sufficient to account for all past geological changes. It was certainly a great revolution in geology to substitute the slow, and apparently insignificant, action of the ordinary natural forces, for a species of Brahminical convulsionism which consisted of alternations of activity—of floods, earthquakes, upheavings and

## LYELL ON THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN.<sup>1</sup>

THE title *Cosmos*, given by Alexander von Humboldt to his last work, expresses at once the expansion of ideas upon the subject of the Universe, and the striving after a knowledge of causes—that is, of the infinite—which characterises modern physical science. The astronomer, having measured and weighed our globe, and our companion spheres, is now occupied in trying to determine whither our solar system tends, or in sounding those “island universes” which, the farther we penetrate, still extend into dimmer infinity. The physicist and chemist having ascertained the general laws of combination of terrestrial bodies, and of those which govern the phenomena of light and heat, have now entered upon the investigation of the nature of the matter of the universe itself, and of the molecular motion of its minutest particles, to which are due the phenomena of light, heat, and electricity. And, lastly, the physiologist, having studied the numerous forms of plants and animals, even to the minutest monad, having classified them according to their natural relationships, and having discovered that their existing forms are only the successors of countless generations of others which have passed away, many of them leaving portions of their harder or more imperishable parts, or impressions of them, entombed in rocks, as irrefragable witnesses of their having once existed, and of the changes which the earth has undergone, are now, in their turn, likewise passing from the limited study of form, to the great general one of the nature of life itself.

Of these three directions in which man endeavours to fathom by his unaided reason the nature and origin of things, some illustration of the one or the other enjoys, from time to time, a certain public prominence, whenever some discovery carries us farther towards our ever-receding goal, or some intellectual pioneer, by a bold intuitive speculation, plants his banner far into the unknown, leaving to others the slow and laborious task of cultivating the new field, and dividing the barren from the fertile in the scientific territory he has invaded. Of this kind is the problem, on the one hand, of the relation of the present flora and fauna of the globe to those which have preceded them; and, on the other, of man’s relation to them; the first step towards the solution of which necessarily involves the determination of his age upon the globe.

<sup>1</sup> The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man upon the Globe; with Remarks on Theories of Origin of Species by Variation. By Sir Charles Lyell, F.R.S. London: Murray.



The existing flora and fauna are recent, and man is still more so, because many species of animals which, geologically speaking, may be considered part of the existing fauna became extinct before man made his appearance. Such has been the general result of geological investigations up to the present time. But then the question arises, What does recent mean? are we to measure it by centuries, or by thousands of centuries? In accordance with the received chronology of Holy Scripture, this question was answered in the former sense. For many years past, however, the difficulty of accounting for many things, even historical events, suggested doubts of the accuracy of this chronometric standard; but geologists were indisposed to discuss boldly a question so fraught, as they believed, with difficulty. The question of the antiquity of man is therefore not new; nevertheless it is only now that it has become a subject of serious scientific discussion. Henceforth it is destined to occupy more and more attention, according as the issues which it raises become better known. It is a question which may be viewed in many aspects, geological, physiological, ethnological, historical, political, and religious. To discuss it from any one of these points of view implies, however, that the question itself has been answered. Desirous as we may be, therefore, to show its bearing upon the great question of the origin of species, the origin and development of language, the affinity of the different branches of the human race, the early history of nations, upon political theories, and moral responsibility as to crime, and, indeed, the whole subject of criminal law, and lastly, upon the subject of revealed religion—for such are a few of the collateral questions it raises,—we must of necessity examine first what are the arguments which are put forward to prove that our present chronology is insufficient, and that the past life of man upon the globe must be measured, not by centuries, but by thousands of centuries.

The subject has already a special literature, and one periodical at least in this country may be considered as the organ of its students. The most important accession to its special literature which has yet been made is undoubtedly the new book of Sir Charles Lyell. No one living was better entitled to write upon the geological part of this subject; for it was he who chiefly showed the magnitude of the geological changes now in progress, and thus led scientific men to see, in the existing course of nature, causes sufficient to account for all past geological changes. It was certainly a great revolution in geology to substitute the slow, and apparently insignificant, action of the ordinary natural forces, for a species of Brahminical convulsionism which consisted of alternations of activity—of floods, earthquakes, upheavings and

sudden sinkings of land—accompanied by the rapid destruction of the then existing fauna and flora, with periods of repose, during which a new flora and fauna came into existence. The elegance and charm of his style made geology popular, and converted casual readers of his well-known *Principles of Geology* into ardent pioneers of the science. As the whole question of the antiquity of man has been the logical consequence of his views, so he is the legitimate exponent of the first-fruits of the enquiries into the subject. The opinions of a man so qualified are therefore deserving of serious attention; and, whether we accept or reject his conclusions, we have in his book the results of a serious investigation by the one, perhaps, of all living geologists who is the most competent to discuss it.

As this is a subject which concerns every body, we must treat it so that every body may understand us. We must point out, therefore, as a necessary preliminary to any discussion of the subject itself, the nature of geological evidence, and the classification of rocks which geologists have made to express their relative age or order in time. It is upon this classification that the whole subject of the geological evidence of man depends.

Water exerts two kinds of action upon rocks, the one chemical, the other mechanical. Most of them are made up of combinations of several substances, some of which, in their free state, dissolve in water. Indeed no mineral substance can be said to be absolutely insoluble in that liquid. Water flowing continuously over rocks, therefore, dissolves part of them, and likewise slowly decomposes such of them as consist of several substances, carrying away the dissolved constituents, and often itself combining with the remainder to form a new rock, much in the same way as it combines with fresh lime. This solvent and decomposing action is greatly heightened by the presence in the water of carbonic acid, which always forms a small part of the atmosphere, being produced by various processes taking place in nature,—such as the breathing of animals, the combustion of wood or coal, and the putrefaction and slow decay of animal and vegetable bodies. As this decay is always taking place in the soil, the air which impregnates it contains about half its quantity of this gas, or about one thousand times as much as the air which we breathe. As this gas dissolves in water, the rain which falls upon the fields and sinks through the soil dissolves the gas, and in part drains away into brooks and rivulets; and these by their union form rivers, which discharge this drainage water into the ocean. The rocks, thus acted upon by flowing water, become more and more liable to decay, according as some of their constituents are removed, and as they become hydrated, that is, combined with water. The combination of water with a rock renders it softer,

and therefore more easily worn by the attrition in the beds of streams, or on the sea-shore.

The matter gradually dissolved increases still further the chemical power of the flowing water, and in its passage to the sea numerous interchanges take place between the constituents of the rocks over which it flows and those which it holds dissolved. This action, which is more powerful in cracks and joints, effects in long periods of time profound changes in rocks. Many of the substances which thus dissolve in water are naturally insoluble in pure water, and are only held in solution by the presence of the carbonic acid. When this escapes, the substances which it holds in solution are precipitated, sometimes as a mud, and at others as a hard crystalline stony mass; the former being generally the result of rapid, and the latter of slow precipitation. The quantity of matter thus separated from some waters is often enormous, being capable of forming, in many cases, beds of hard rock in the course of a few centuries. In general, however, the deposition takes place very slowly.

The cracks and joints existing in rocks get filled with water in cold climates, which, when it freezes, expands, and splits or shivers the rock. Again, in some countries, the sources of rivers are so high in the mountains that the water freezes and forms what is called a glacier, which, although solid, still moves down continuously into the valleys, often far into regions where the air is warm, and where trees flourish, and even where villages exist. The friction of a frozen river is very different from that of a liquid one, and so the ground is ploughed up, and the rocks are ground into fine mud; the ground rock, in its turn, acting as a grinding agent, similar to emery in grinding glass. The cliffs are undermined in the narrow valleys, and parts of them tumble down upon the solid river, and are borne as a long line of stones and detritus, called moraines, into the lower valleys, where they are discharged as the solid river becomes a liquid one. The detritus thus brought down, not having been rolled by the water, is always angular, and the blocks of rock are sometimes of immense size. Blocks of stone get imbedded in the bottom of the glacier ice, and still further increase its power: these blocks are like so many gravers, which cut deep furrows, more or less parallel, on the surface of any bare rocks in their course. Sometimes a glacier continues to advance farther and farther into a valley, and sometimes retreats, according as successions of warm and cold seasons alternate. The track of a retiring glacier is marked by the line of stones and detritus which formed its moraine, and which may consist of rocks differing wholly from those in the valley. In Arctic regions, instead of isolated glaciers, the whole country is sometimes, as in part of Green-



land, covered with a solid mantle of perpetual ice, which is constantly moving to the sea, where enormous masses, enclosing mud and stones, break off from time to time; first, however, ploughing deep furrows in the bottom of the sea, and especially in the friths or bays, which in a milder climate would be the mouths of rivers, before they break off and float. These floating hills of ice, or icebergs, are carried by the currents of the ocean often thousands of miles away, where, gradually melting, they scatter the gravel and blocks of stone which they have borne along over the bottom of the ocean.

This grinding action of ice produces mud and gravel; but even flowing water is able to break up mechanically and slowly wear away rocks. The rounded pebbles and stones of river-beds are the result of their mutual attrition, produced by the flowing water. The gravel, sand, and mud produced in all these various ways is borne onward by the water, which exerts a sifting action upon the materials, depending upon their size, form, and density, and the relative velocity of the river. Hence, in the upper precipitous courses of rivers, we only find large blocks of stone, too large and heavy for the power of the stream to move them, though a sudden violent flood may do so; while in their lower courses fine sand and mud are alone found. The finely-ground matter of some rocks combines with water in the manner above stated, and becomes in some cases plastic, and forms, when suspended in water, a kind of emulsion, from which the mud only separates very slowly, and may consequently be borne hundreds of miles, and spread by the inundations of rivers over wide plains.

As rivers are always eroding, or eating away, their beds, and as the rapidity of erosion depends upon the relative velocity of the water, the upper courses are, in general, more rapidly deepened than the lower ones, while the deposition of sand and mud in the latter continually tends to make them shallower. The velocity of the current of water in river-beds tends, therefore, to become uniform. As the nature of the deposits formed depends, as we have seen above, upon the transporting power of the river, gravel will be deposited at one time in a part of its course, and upon this sand, and ultimately mud, as the velocity diminishes. The converse of this may sometimes take place in certain portions of river-courses. Periodic floods produce frequent alternations of materials of this kind, according as the velocity rises and falls. The deposits formed in this way are, however, always thin and irregular; whereas the deposits due to the permanent change of velocity of the river consist of more or less thick beds of gravel at the bottom, upon this a bed of sand, and lastly of clay or loam.

The very coarse gravel of rivers has generally the appearance of a confused heap, in which it is difficult to recognise any traces of succession of deposition. We may, on the other hand, discern the succession of layers formed by the gradual deposition of fine sand, and especially of fine mud. This lamination becomes still more marked where the current which deposited the mud was subject to slight periodic variations of velocity, producing corresponding variations of fineness in the successive layers of mud. In the structure of gravel-banks, sand-banks, and mud-banks formed by rivers we have accordingly a history of the changes which have taken place.

Together with the detritus of rocks, rivers bear along trees, shrubs, and other plants that grow upon their banks, as well as leaves and seeds, and also the bodies or bones of animals which may fall into them, most of which become entombed in the fine mud and sand. The animals most likely to be thus buried would be fish, amphibious animals, and those which frequent river-banks and marshy places. In the more still parts of rivers are found fluviatile shells, some of which are sure to be covered over with mud. And in the case of rivers which, like the Nile, periodically inundate their banks, and leave a fine stratum of mud spread over a large area of country, land-shells would be there covered up. Sometimes both kinds would get mingled in the same mud. Where the river enters the sea, fluviatile and marine shells and fish, land-plants, and occasionally a large land-animal swept out to sea, would be buried in the estuarine deposits there formed. The vegetables and animals thus buried decay; but the rapidity and character of the decay would be greatly modified by the nature of the matter in which they were entombed, its degree of fineness, the position it would occupy, and many other circumstances. In some cases they may be preserved for an indefinite time; in others they may perish so rapidly as to leave no trace of their existence; while in others, though completely perishing, their decay may take place so slowly that some substance, held in solution in the water, may fill their places as they pass away, and thus preserve a cast of their forms.

Similar changes take place on the sea-coasts; a shingle beach being formed at one place, at others a long strand of fine sand, while in the deep sea a mud-bank accumulates. In these are entombed marine shells, and but rarely a land-plant or animal; and as every shore is not equally well adapted for the development of animal life, and some spots are even wholly devoid of any living creatures, we find some marine deposits full of animal remains, while others contain few or none.

Again, the ocean teems with creatures some of which have

consider them to have been deposited from water. Thirdly, that the remains of animals and plants entombed in those rocks belonged to beings that once lived; that the marine types lived in the sea, the terrestrial on the land, the fluviatile and lacustrine in rivers and lakes; that, therefore, there must have been at the time when they lived dry land, rivers flowing over it, and seas washing its shores. Fourthly, that the successive layers of mud, forming beds of clay or hardened into slate, the thin flags of sandstone with the ripple-marks of the ancient sea, the tracks of annelids, crustacea, and birds which walked upon its shore, prove that, however different in aspect the contours of the land and the specific forms of life may have been, yet the sun shone, rain fell, winds stirred the atmosphere, the tides rolled in upon shores, rivers poured mud into the ocean, glaciers carried moraines along the valleys and grooved the surfaces of the hard rocks over which they glided, icebergs floated erratic blocks of stone to distant regions, trees grew on the land, animals lived upon its surface, and the sea teemed with life. Fifthly, that the types of plants and animals which lived during the deposition of the older rocks, and whose remains we find in them, were very different from those now living, and that, as we advance from the older to the newer rocks, the forms approach more and more to the existing types. Sixthly, that the alternations of beds containing land and fluviatile plants and animals with others containing only marine ones prove that the land sank beneath the sea, and was covered by new depositions containing remains of marine animals, and that after a lapse of time it rose again, was peopled with plants and animals anew, and was subjected to the wearing action of air and water, by which river valleys and coasts were eroded and mountains denuded; and moreover, that the sinkings and risings alternated many times, the number of alternations of marine and fresh-water beds being a faithful record of their number.

We have stated that these are the inevitable conclusions to which a study of geological phenomena must lead; and that, unless we are prepared to deny the very foundations of all human knowledge, we must be prepared to accept them as true. But these conclusions, once admitted logically, lead to another, namely, that if it takes a very long period now to produce a bed of laminated clay or sand, it must have also taken long periods of time to produce the thousands of feet of fossiliferous rocks forming the crust of the earth. It may no doubt be said, that granting these rocks to have been formed by deposition from water, geological changes were much more rapid in the youth of the world than now. This, even if true, would only affect any attempt at fixing upon a chronometric standard by



which the past may be measured in years of the present. But, under similar circumstances, were geological causes more active in the past than in the present; or is this a mere supposition? If we adopt the view that the changes in the past were more rapid than those now going on, the physicist will point to the ripple-marks on the sandstone flag, and tell us that the wave-curve gives us the measure of the wave, and it is just such a one as ripples on our sandy beaches; the chemist will point to dykes and beds of rock which have been replaced, molecule by molecule, by other substances from solutions which did not often contain the millionth of their weight of the substituting body; the naturalist will point to his fossil coral-reefs and to his beds, wholly or in great part made up of minute chambered *Foraminifera*, and will give us reasons, which seem unanswerable, to prove that these creatures lived and died as now. Were we to use the present rate of geological change as a measure of geological time, its duration would be as vast proportionately as the distance of the remote stellar worlds which the astronomer has yet failed to ascertain. We may never be able to define either; but we may truly wonder at their immensity.

Geologists have divided all the rocks which occur in the world into four great divisions, according to the kinds of vegetable and animal remains which they contain: Primary, or palæozoic, that is, connected with old life, when the forms of life were most different from existing ones; Secondary, or mesozoic, or middle life, that is, belonging to a transition period, when the forms of life, although in almost every instance specifically distinct, exhibited a certain approach to the present; Tertiary, or cainozoic, that is, connected with recent life, when the forms of life included many now existing, as well as many which are extinct, but in which the character of the life was much the same as at present; and Post-tertiary, or quaternary, which are those now in process of formation. These divisions are subdivided into a number of others, the time of deposition of each such subdivisions being spoken of as a period. Thus the tertiary epoch, or that which preceded our own, was long ago subdivided by Sir Charles Lyell into—the Eocene period, or dawn of the recent, that is, the period when some of the existing shells made their appearance; Miocene, or more recent, that is, when a still larger number of existing shells came into existence; and Pleiocene, or most recent, during which the great majority of the shells consisted of living or recent species. Each period is again further subdivided: thus Sir C. Lyell now proposes to divide the Pleiocene, or that period of the tertiary epoch which precedes our own, into Older Pleiocene and Newer Pleio-

cene. He had formerly used the word Pleistocene, for shortness sake, for the latter division ; but as it has been applied by many to deposits which are clearly post-tertiary, as, for instance, by the late Professor Forbes, he now proposes to discontinue the use of the term altogether. Much confusion has recently arisen from its employment, because often one cannot tell whether an author means true Pleiocene or Post-tertiary ; and it is therefore to be hoped that the proposal to discontinue its use will be generally acceded to.

He proposes to subdivide the post-tertiary into Post-Pleiocene and Recent ; the former comprehending those deposits in which the shells, being all living, a portion, and often a considerable one, of the accompanying quadrupeds belongs to species which are extinct ; while Recent would comprehend those deposits in which not only all the fossil shells are of living species, but the quadrupeds also. This nomenclature is of course to a great extent artificial ; and, as in the case of all formations, it is not easy, not only to mark where the Post-Pleiocene ends and the Recent begins, but to draw a line of demarcation between the Post-Pleiocene and the Newer Pleiocene, or upper tertiary. As in all other formations, it is difficult also to synchronise the deposits of widely separated areas ; indeed, we may safely say, that the existence of the same fossils in beds widely separated is by no means an absolute proof that they were contemporaneous. If we bear these ideas in mind, the classification will be useful, and is sure to be adopted by geologists who feel a want of some precise distinctions just at the point it touches.

But whatever may be the real value of this classification of the Post-Tertiary deposits, the reader should keep it in view ; for some of the most important geological evidence in favour of the high antiquity of man is founded upon the length of time which is supposed to have elapsed since certain quadrupeds existed, or, in other words, upon the length of the so-called Recent period.

We may look upon Sir Charles Lyell's book as consisting essentially of three parts : first, an account, generally analytical, of most, if not all, the recorded instances of the discovery of the bones of man, or relics of his arts, in geological deposits, or under circumstances which seem to prove that they belong to pre-historic periods ; secondly, a discussion of the phenomena of the so-called glacial period, and of the antiquity of man relatively to it and to the existing fauna and flora ; and thirdly, a discussion of the theories of progression and transmutation. The first part is the foundation of the whole, and is obviously the part which first demands discussion at our hands. The others are but collateral issues,—great issues it is true, but issues which, being for the moment purely speculative, belong still

rather to the domain of pure science, and can only require serious discussion for the general public when more facts are accumulated, and the theories, which must at present be considered as very crude, are more clearly elaborated.

The recorded instances of which we have spoken are classed by Sir C. Lyell under two categories: first, those which belong to the Recent period, as explained above; and second, those which are referable to the Post-Pleiocene. The instances he recounts are very numerous, and could not be mentioned within the narrow limits of a notice like this; nor, indeed, is it necessary to do so, as any one at all interested in the subject will be likely to read the book for himself. For our purposes it will only be necessary to discuss a few of the more important examples, in order to exhibit the character of the evidence, and the value of the conclusions deduced from it.

In hollows of what is known as glacial drift—or great beds of gravel and clay, which cover many parts of northern Europe, including the British Islands, and which are usually referred to some portion of the post-pleiocene period, when it is supposed that the region in question was in part occupied by a glacial sea and immense glaciers,—there occur in Denmark great peat-bogs, from ten to thirty feet deep. Around the borders of these bogs are found trunks of trees, which must have grown on the margin and fallen in. The trees found at three distinct levels are said to have been—at the lower one, the Scotch fir, sometimes three feet in diameter; above this, the sessile oak; and lastly, the pedunculated oak, with alder, birch, hazel, and other trees. The Danish naturalist Steenstrup states that he removed with his own hands a flint implement from under one of the pine-trees. Bronze implements are also found in the peat, but not, it is said, below the level at which the oaks occur. The Scotch fir is no longer found in Denmark, nor has it been known in the Danish islands within historical times, while the oak in its turn has been supplanted by the beech; to the period of the latter the Danish archæologists refer iron implements.

Along the coasts of nearly all the Danish islands are to be found mounds of refuse shells of the oyster, cockle, and other edible shell-fish, mingled with the bones of quadrupeds, birds, and fish; they are from three to ten feet high, and many are one thousand feet long, and from one hundred and fifty to two hundred wide, and are locally known as *kiokken modding*, or kitchen dung-heaps. They are almost always to be found on the sea-shore, and rarely elevated more than ten feet above the sea-level; and they are not found on the western shores of Denmark, where the cliffs are being eaten away. All the shells, as well as the animals whose bones have been found in these



heaps, belong to living species, or at least to such as have lived within historical times, such as the Urus or wild-bull, which still lived in the time of Julius Cæsar, and long after,<sup>2</sup> and the Aurochs or Lithuanian bison, which was still preserved at the commencement of this century, and may still be, in a forest of Lithuania belonging to the Emperor of Russia. Among the other animals found in these shell heaps, are the beaver, long since destroyed in Denmark, the seal, the red deer, roe, lynx, fox, and wolf; but no remains of domesticated animals except those of a small dog have been met with. Interspersed through the heaps are stone weapons and tools, such as knives and hatchets, implements of wood, horn, and bone, fragments of coarse pottery, and cinders and charcoal. No metallic weapons have yet been found; but the stone ones were sharpened by rubbing. The people who used the weapons made canoes from single logs, and must have fished the deep sea, as the bones of the cod, herring, and flounder are found in the mounds. The shell mounds are consequently considered to be of the same age as the oldest peat; and tumuli in the neighbourhood are believed to contain the remains of those who were the owners of the stone implements.

If the statements of the Danish naturalists and archæologists are founded upon trustworthy observations, three distinct degrees of civilisation successively existed in Denmark, corresponding to three successive kinds of forests. During the first period the inhabitants were unacquainted with the use of metals and with the domestic animals, the sheep, the ox, and the horse. Basing their calculations upon the fact, that at the period when the Romans became acquainted with the Danish islands they were, as they now are, covered with magnificent beech forests, the Danish naturalists have endeavoured to determine the age of the first or lowest part of the peat, and consequently of the shell mounds, which they believe to be coeval with it. Steenstrup's estimate of the minimum number of years which would be required to form so much peat, is at least 4,000 years. Sir C. Lyell remarks upon this calculation, "that there is nothing in the observed growth of peat opposed to the conclusion that the number of centuries may not have been four times as great, even though the signs of man's existence have not yet been traced down to the lowest or amorphous stratum" (p. 17). The time must at all events have been sufficiently remote to have allowed of the Scotch fir being supplanted by the oak, and the

<sup>2</sup> The following passage from the *Nibelungenlied* seems to prove that when that great poem was first written the Urus still existed:

"Darnach schluch er Schiere, einen Wisent und einen Elch  
Starcher Ure viere und einen grimmen Schelch."

The Wisent is the Aurochs.

latter by the beech, and for the growth, during those changes, of from ten to thirty feet of peat. Some changes of physical geography must also have occurred in the interval, as the mound oyster-shells are of full size, as are likewise those of the cockle, mussel, and periwinkle, while the former cannot now live in the brackish water of the Baltic, except near its entrance, where a current of rich sea-water pours in whenever a north-westerly gale blows; and the other species mentioned are so dwarfed and stunted by the fresh water, as to attain only one-third of their natural size, being in fact in process of extinction. It is inferred from this circumstance, that at the time at which the mounds of shells were accumulated the water of the ocean had freer access than now to the Baltic; and Sir C. Lyell mentions that even in the course of the present century the salt water has made one irruption into the Baltic by the Lymfjord. He also refers to a statement of M. Morlot, a Swiss geologist who has devoted great attention to this class of investigations, that in historical times other channels were open which are now silted up.<sup>3</sup>

During the dry winter of 1853-54 the level of the water in the Swiss lakes and rivers sank lower than it had ever previously been known to do. The inhabitants of Meilen, a small place upon the lake of Zürich, taking advantage of this circumstance, determined to enclose some land, and raise its level by dredging mud from the neighbouring shallow part of the lake. In doing this a number of piles deeply driven into the bed of the lake were discovered, and at the same time a great many stone weapons and implements, rude pottery, a small bronze hatchet, and an armlet of brass wire. Similar piles, accompanied by the relics of the works of man buried in the mud surrounding them, have been found in nearly all the other Swiss lakes. M. Lohle has calculated that at Wangen, near Stein, on the lake of Constance, there are 40,000 such piles. They are generally disposed in rows parallel to the banks, and were no doubt the foundation upon which huts were built, similar to those which the Pæonians who dwelt in lake Prasias, in the present Roumelia, constructed, as Herodotus tells us. Dumont d'Urville has described similar lake habitations among the Papoos of New Guinea; and Dr. Keller, one of the most indefatigable investigators of the Swiss lake-villages, states that even so late as the last century there were several fishing huts built on this plan upon the river Limmat, near Zürich.

It is believed that these huts were grouped into villages,

<sup>3</sup> Similar shell mounds occur on the east coast of Ireland, but not, so far as we know, of the same extent as some of those mentioned by the Danish writers; as they have not been at all examined, we shall not further refer to them.

some consisting of as many as three hundred such huts, and having a population of one thousand persons. In some, all the implements were of stone, horn, and bone, while in others bronze ones were abundant; the stone ones are said to be chiefly those found in the east of Switzerland, while the bronze ones belong to the western part—the lake of Geneva for instance. The material of the stone weapons is chiefly flint; and from the number of chippings found at some settlements, as at Mousseedorf, near Berne, the stone must have been brought from a distance, and the implements made in the villages themselves. Hatchets and wedges of jade, of a kind said not to be found in Europe, and others of greenstone and serpentine, and arrow-heads of quartz, have also been met with. Occasionally iron implements are found with the bronze ones, and also coins and medals of bronze and silver struck at Marseilles, and apparently of pre-Roman Greek manufacture.

The remains of the animals found in the mud of these lake-dwellings have been minutely studied by Professor Rüttimeyer of Basil, a distinguished palæontologist, who has published an elaborate report upon them. His list includes the domesticated ox, sheep, goat, pig, and dog, and all, with the exception of the Urus, or wild bull, are still living in Europe. The inhabitants of these ancient habitations knew wheat and barley, and flat round cakes of bread have been found. The Swiss naturalists and archæologists state that the inhabitants of the stone period were chiefly venison eaters, that is, were hunters, although they had succeeded in taming the Urus,—an opinion scarcely reconcilable with that of Cæsar, who expressly states that it was impossible to accustom that beast to man, or to tame him, the young animals not excepted. As Cuvier and other naturalists, however, state that he is represented in Europe by at least one race of domestic oxen, we cannot object to the opinion. The people of the “bronze age,” on the other hand, were a more settled agricultural population.

The Swiss geologists have made many attempts to obtain a chronometric standard, by which to determine in years the approximate duration of the so-called stone and bronze ages. As an example of the principles upon which these calculations are made, we shall select that given by M. Morlot, founded upon the rate of growth of the small delta of the torrential river the Tinière, which flows into the lake of Geneva near Villeneuve. A railway-cutting, one thousand feet long and thirty-two feet deep, having been recently carried through it, an excellent opportunity presented itself for studying its structure. It has the form of a flattened cone, composed of sand and gravel, and is so regularly formed throughout that no doubt can exist as to the



comparative uniformity of action and identity of the causes which produced it. The section showed that at three distinct intervals of time the surface was covered with a vegetable soil. The first of these lies about four feet below the present surface, and has an average thickness of five inches, and has been traced over a surface of 15,000 square feet; the second layer, six inches thick, occurs six feet beneath the first, and has been traced over 25,000 square feet; and the third layer, also five or six inches thick, is nine feet below the second, and was followed for 35,000 square feet. In the first or upper layer were found Roman tiles and a coin; in the second, a pair of bronze tweezers and some unvarnished pottery; and in the lowest, fragments of rude pottery, broken bones, pieces of charcoal, and a human skeleton having a small, round, and very thick skull. M. Morlot, assuming that the Roman period has an antiquity of sixteen to eighteen centuries, makes his bronze layer three to four thousand years, and his "stone age" layer from five to seven thousand years old. M. Victor Gillièron assigns to the lake-dwelling of Pont de Thièle, between the lakes of Brienne and Neufchatel, the bones found in which Professor Rüttimeyer considers to indicate the earliest portion of the stone period, an antiquity of 6750 years.

That the civilisation of Egypt was very old—so old that numerous dynasties reigned there before the time of Moses, and also that before that time the Egyptians were the conquerors of all the surrounding nations—seems now to be generally admitted, except perhaps by a very few such sceptics in hieroglyphic decipherment as Sir G. Cornewall Lewis. This much is now certain, that the Pyramids of Gizeh were really the tombs of the Pharaohs of the fourth dynasty, and that the names read by modern Egyptologists in those monuments confirm in every point the historical traditions handed down to us by Herodotus and others. In a country the people of which, as one of the most accomplished Egyptologists of Europe says, appear never to have suffered the trials of barbarism,<sup>4</sup> we may expect to find traces of man and of his works, extending much further back than the Pyramids. It was in this hope, as well as in that of obtaining the elements of a chronometric standard, that the Royal Society made a grant of money to enable Mr. Leonard Horner, who had already devoted much attention to the Nile delta, to have a series of excavations made across the valley of that river. Mr. Horner entrusted the practical direction to an Armenian engineer, named Hekekyan Bey, who had received his scientific education in England. It was soon found, however, that a much larger outlay than was at first contemplated would be required before any

<sup>4</sup> M. le Vicomte de Rougé, Discours prononcé à l'ouverture du Cours d'Archéologie égyptienne au Collège de France, le 9 avril 1860.

information of real utility could be obtained. At this juncture the viceroy Abbas Pasha munificently undertook to bear the expense, and his liberal example was followed by his successor. The investigations were made, between the years 1851 and 1854, by a body of sixty workmen and several engineers, under the superintendence of the Bey above named.

The works consisted of two series, or lines, of open shafts and borings carried across the valley ; one consisted of fifty-one pits sunk at intervals, where the valley is sixteen miles wide, between the Arabian and Libyan deserts, in the latitude of Heliopolis, about eight miles above the apex of the delta ; the other consisted of twenty-seven pits and borings in the parallel of Memphis, where the valley is only five miles wide. The pits were often of considerable size, to the depth of sixteen or twenty feet ; but below this the borer alone was used. In no case did the borings go below the level of the Mediterranean, though they several times reached that point. This is much to be regretted ; for, as Sir C. Lyell remarks, borings carried down several hundred feet below the level of the sea in the deltas of the Po and Ganges showed that the deposits still consisted exclusively of fluviatile mud, clearly proving that there had been a subsidence of the land. Thus, borings made at Calcutta, beginning only a few feet above the sea level, and reaching to the depth of nearly 400 feet, showed that the whole matter passed through was river mud. Beneath the mud was found the gravel of apparently an ancient river bottom, though gravel is never found so low down in the Ganges now ; and here were also found the bones of a tortoise and of a crocodile. The Nile excavations do not, therefore, show whether any subsidence of the land has taken place during the formation of the delta. The fragment of red brick found by Linant Bey in a boring at the depth of 72 feet, that is, two or three feet below the level of the Mediterranean, seems to prove that such a subsidence did take place. This idea is further borne out by the opinion of Sir G. Wilkinson, who infers from the position in the delta of the tombs called Cleopatra's baths, on the shore near Alexandria, that they must have sunk, as it is not probable that they were built so as to be filled by the sea, as now. He also mentions, as evidence of such a subsidence, the ruined towns now partly submerged in Lake Menzaleh, and channels of the ancient Nile submerged, with their banks, beneath the same lagoon.

During the excavation of the pits or shafts, jars, vases, pots, a copper knife, a small human figure in burnt clay, and other articles, were dug up, more or less entire ; but where the boring instrument was used, any objects met with were necessarily brought up in fragments. In this way pieces of burnt bricks

and pottery were extracted almost every where, at all depths, even where they reached a depth of sixty feet below the obelisk of Heliopolis, towards the centre of the valley. The sediment pierced through had every where the character of ordinary Nilotic mud, except near the margin of the valley, where layers of quartz sand, such as violent winds are now known to blow from the neighbouring desert, were observed to alternate with the loam. Except in the cases just mentioned, there was every where a marked absence of stratification and lamination; a circumstance which greatly supports the view, that the whole thickness of mud pierced through was formed by the annual inundation of the Nile. For no lamination could exist in alluvial or warped land, upon which the annual addition would be a mere film that would be dried into dust by the sun, and thoroughly mingled by tillage, almost every where, with the preceding films.

Various attempts have been made to establish a chronometric standard for the growth of the Nile delta. Reserving Mr. Horner's latest efforts in this direction for consideration further on, we shall merely mention here one or two calculations, by way of comparison with the Danish shell-mounds and Swiss lake-dwellings. Two estimates of the thickness of Nile mud deposited in a century were made in connection with the great French expedition to Egypt. M. Girard estimated it at five inches in a century, between Assuan and Cairo, while M. Rosière estimated it generally at two inches three lines in the same time. According to the first estimate, the bricks found at sixty feet would be 14,400 years old; which would be more than doubled according to M. Rosière. Linant Bey's brick, found at the depth of seventy-two feet, would represent an antiquity of 17,280 years according to the first, and more than 35,000 years according to the second.

Having discussed the chief geological evidence of the existence of man or of his works in recent deposits, believed to be anterior to the oldest chronological history, first in those parts of Europe where history soonest passes into myths, and then in that land where we meet with a high civilisation at a period which carries us far beyond the dawn of even mythical tradition in most other regions, we may now pass to that world which is not merely new to us in history, but which appears to have been geographically unconnected with the old world from so early a period. A few preliminary words upon the Mississippi valley will enable us to estimate more precisely the value of the evidence in favour of the antiquity of man which the American continent presents. They will also help to illustrate, and render more intelligible, other evidence which we shall discuss subsequently.



The whole region of North America, between the Gulf of Mexico and the Arctic Ocean in one direction, and on the other the Cordillera of New Mexico, with its northern continuation, the Rocky Mountains and the Alleghanies, which under various names reach from nearly the Gulf of Mexico across the St. Lawrence, may be looked upon as a vast plain nearly equal in extent to all Europe. This plain is occupied by the drainage basins of the Mississippi, the Missouri, and their confluent, by the St. Lawrence and its chain of great lakes, by the Saskatchewan and the shores of Hudson's Bay, and lastly by the Mackenzie and the shores of the Arctic Ocean at its mouth. Northward of the parallel of  $42^{\circ}$  the general inclination of the land is to the eastward, and southward of that parallel, to the south. The watersheds of the several drainage basins are not formed, as in most other regions, by high mountains, but by mere rolls or ridges of land, in no case exceeding two thousand feet in elevation above the sea. The length to which these rivers are navigable shows in a remarkable manner the slight inclination of the plain.

Along the northern shore of the Mexican Gulf, where the Mississippi enters it, stretches a narrow belt of low land, full of marshes and covered with grass, and consisting of newly-formed land. This is succeeded by a thickly wooded belt of land about from twelve to sixteen miles wide, consisting chiefly of the broad bottoms of the river valleys, separated by narrow rolls of prairie land. To this succeeds what we may call a third platform or terrace, consisting of undulating grass land. Through these successive belts the Mississippi reaches the sea. Where it passes through the low coast-belt, the banks are only a few feet above the level of the water; but they rise as we ascend the river through the other two regions, so that at Port Hudson, twenty-five miles north, they form escarpments or bluffs 100 feet high, and at Natchez 200 feet high. Between these high banks, which the river, whenever it flows at their base, constantly undermines, an alluvial plain of varying width has been formed. The low coast-land and the alluvial valley plain may be considered as continuations of each other, and as representing the Recent formations. The upper part of the first and second terraces, though now so high above the level of the river, belong to the Post-Pleiocene period: it consists of a bed of more or less marly clay full of land-shells. Here and there, however, a marly deposit, containing fresh-water shells, underlies it; and beneath all there is usually a bed of stratified sand and gravel, apparently consisting of broken-up palæozoic rocks. As we ascend the river, the loam with land-shells thins out, and the underlying tertiary strata appear beneath the gravel; on both sides of the

depression of the river-basin these tertiary strata rise up and form what may be called a fourth terrace, which is here from 250 to 300 feet above the sea level. Covered over with a layer of alluvion, these tertiary strata stretch away to the southern end of the Alleghanies, where in turn they overlap the cretaceous strata, forming plateaux 1000 feet high. From all this it will be seen that the Post-Tertiary formation is considerably developed in the Mississippi valley, occupying an area of about 30,000 square miles.

The greater part of the drainage area of the Upper Mississippi may be considered as an extension of this tertiary plain. The eastern part of it, where the land rises towards the Alleghanies and into the older rocks, is wooded ; and in this wooded region are the sources of those confluent of the great river which enter it along its left or eastern bank. The northern and central parts consist of prairies, which are grass-covered regions, the whole of which exhibit a singular uniformity in the composition of the soil, the vegetation, and the form of the ground. The soil is remarkable for its fine state of division, and is generally of a blackish colour, from the quantity of vegetable matter which it contains. This vegetable soil is often of great thickness in the troughs, and even on the swells of the prairie, but in general its depth is about from one foot to two feet. The sub-soil is almost uninterruptedly a rich clay loam, mixed in the bottom with more or less sand and silicious gravel. The total thickness of the sand, clay, and vegetable soils reaches in some places to 200 feet, but in others the rock comes close to the surface, a layer of local débris being always found beneath the clay.

The rivers which drain this area rise in almost insensible hollows of the high prairies, and as they flow onwards their beds and valleys gradually increase in depth, by which means the surface of the prairies becomes undulating and broken, giving rise to what are called rolling prairies. The rolls or swells form the watersheds of the streams. The depressions are not now always occupied by a running stream ; some of the troughs of this kind are fifty feet below the general level, and are almost always marshy, and form sloughs that are often impassable. When the river cuts down into the underlying rock, its valley is bounded by precipitous walls of limestone or sandstone, through which the tributary streams have cut themselves channels. Sometimes these rocky walls leave only space for the river to flow ; at other places they are widely separated. In the interspace, an alluvial plain, the so-called bottom-lands are formed, and are often a couple of miles wide. In the Upper Mississippi they are generally well wooded, and only in the state of Missouri do they

spread out into wide prairies. These bottom or wet prairies are especially formed at the junction of large rivers, of which they may be considered to be in a measure the deltas. Of this kind is the valley-plain of the Mississippi, called the big swamp, south of the junction of the Missouri. The elevation of the rolling prairies above the river is very various ; in the *Prairie du Chien* in West Wisconsin, it is 400 feet over the Mississippi, and the escarpments of the river-valley are 300 feet. At Cairo, in South Illinois, the upper plain is from 100 to 250 feet above the river.

The drainage basin of the Missouri, in which may be included all the great rivers that enter the Mississippi on its right or western bank, and which is far larger than that of the Mississippi, is exactly of the same character as the basin of the latter river, from which it is separated by a hilly and wooded belt, the Cross Timbers and Ozark Mountains. To the south-east this belt is parallel to the Alleghanies, while its continuation towards the Canadian lakes is parallel to the Rocky Mountains. Over it one ascends as over a ridge, on to the great prairie platform, which, terrace-like, rises gradually to the Rocky Mountains.

In some river-valleys several successive flat alluvial plains are formed at different levels, according as the river erodes its bed deeper and deeper. The greater part of those alluvions are, however, gradually washed away by the river-floods ; but the successive terraces, consisting of greater or lesser fragments of them, which are found on the sides of valleys, give testimony to their former existence. As we ascend into the upper tertiary plain of the Mississippi, and especially into the valley of the Ohio and its confluent, these terraces are every where seen to rise in succession. It is obvious that, except under very peculiar circumstances, the highest of them, which is just below the level of the high prairie plain, must be older than that below it, and all of them older than the bottom-lands now in course of formation by the river. It is similarly obvious that where these terraces are separated by a considerable difference of level, say of one hundred feet, a long period of time must have elapsed between the formation of the first and last. All these old alluvial terraces are considered to be Post-Pleiocene, and contain the remains of the extinct Mastodon, and in some places of the extinct *Megalonyx*, while the bottom-lands are Recent. The former may, however, be much newer than any rocks containing corresponding fossils in Europe.

Until the publication of Mr. Stephens's works on Central America no one imagined that, prior to the existence of the empires of Peru or Mexico, there existed in Yucatan a people far more civilised than either,—the builders of the ruined city



of Palenque,—of whom not a single tradition has floated down to us. So likewise, until the publication of Messrs. Squiers and Davis's book, no one knew that the Red Indian who roamed through the forests and over the prairies of the Mississippi, and who to many was the ideal type of primeval man, was but a very new colonist of a land full of remarkable monuments belonging to a populous race which has long been extinct, and of which we should have known nothing but for those monuments.

Ancient monuments, though not all of the same age, are found every where in the basin of the Mississippi ; but the valley of the Ohio, and the lateral ones of its northern confluent, the great and little Miami, the Scioto, and the Muskingum in the present state of Ohio, appear to have been the favourite seat of the builders of those which at once are the most ancient and exhibit evidence of the highest civilisation. These monuments, to the study of which a considerable part of Dr. Wilson's book is devoted, consist of large areas enclosed by earth-works, some being apparently intended for defence, and others for sacred purposes, and of sacrificial, temple, and sepulchral mounds. Some of the mounds are of enormous size—such as the great mound of Miamisburgh, which is 850 feet in circumference and 68 feet high, and the truncated pyramid of Cahokia in Illinois, which is 90 feet high and 2000 feet in circumference.

The embankments vary from five to thirty feet in height, and usually enclose areas of from one to fifty acres. But areas of one hundred or two hundred acres are not uncommon, and occasionally works enclosing four hundred acres are met with. The extent of ground is, however, no criterion of the extent of embankment ; the group of works, for instance, at the mouth of the Scioto river has an aggregate of at least twenty miles of embankment, while the entire area of land enclosed does not exceed two hundred acres. Messrs. Squiers and Davis have pointed out that many, if not most, of the circular works are perfect circles, and many of the rectangular works accurate squares ; and that while the square and rectangular works are of various dimensions, certain groups have a great uniformity of size,—five or six of the squares measuring 1080 feet a side ; a coincidence which could not, as the authors remark, be accidental, and which must possess some significance.

Some of the mounds have been cut through in the making of roads and canals, and for the purpose of special investigation ; in them were found implements of copper and stone, ornaments and plates of mica, from the Alleghanies ; galena, obsidian, perhaps from Mexico ; shells and sharks' teeth, from the Gulf of Mexico ; pottery and carvings, especially pipe-heads of limestone or a porphyritic stone, like the celebrated pipe-stone of *Coteau*

*des Prairies.* The carving on the pipe-heads represented the figures of beasts, birds, and reptiles belonging to the Mississippi, with the exception of the Manitou, which is only found in the ocean, and the bird called the Toucan, which is now only to be met with in South America. It was "executed with striking fidelity to nature." The copper of the implements was not cast, but simply hammered, often with great skill, out of the native copper of Lake Superior. No other metal has been met with ; but the frequent occurrence of galena seems to indicate either that the workmen were acquainted with lead, or that they knew how to use it for producing a glaze upon ware. Human skeletons have also been met with, but evidently of different ages, as the American Indians appear to have used the upper part of the mounds for burial purposes. Only those skeletons which lie at the bottom can be looked upon as contemporaneous with them. Those found in this position are not now considered to belong to the Red Indian type, and consequently were not Mexican, that is, Aztec, though they may have belonged to some of the older races. When exposed to the air, they rapidly crumble away.

The whole character of these monuments shows them to be very ancient, and to have belonged to a people who had made considerable progress in civilisation, as evidenced by the density of population. The position of all the works, too, on river-banks in the most fertile spots, generally those which in modern times have been selected as the sites of cities, proves the people to have been agricultural. The shells of the Gulf of Mexico, the carved figures of the manitou and toucan, indicate that they held communication with the sea ; while the native copper proves that they either worked the mines of Lake Superior or had communication with some tribe that did. That some ancient people worked the mines in question there can be no doubt, for abundant evidences of ancient workings have been discovered, and that too upon a scale quite commensurate with the works of the mound-builders.

The mounds when first explored were covered with a dense forest, undistinguishable from the adjoining one. Sir C. Lyell tells us that he was shown by Dr. Hildreth of Marietta a spot on one of them where a tree with 800 rings of annual growth had been cut down. The study of the regrowth of trees in forest clearings has shown that several successions of trees spring up before the variety of the surrounding forest is again reproduced. General Harrison, who was President of the United States in 1841, and very well skilled in forestry, gave it as his opinion, in an address to the Historical Society of Ohio, that, in accordance with that law of succession, several generations of trees must

have grown upon the mounds before those first seen by the white man.

The strongest argument, however, in favour of their antiquity is furnished by their positions on the rivers, and their relations to the present levels of them. Sir C. Lyell remarks that some of the mounds were, at all events, so ancient that rivers have had time since their construction to encroach on the lower terraces which support them, and again to recede for the distance of nearly half a mile, after having undermined and destroyed a part of the works. It has even been suggested that the rivers themselves have cut down their bed, and perhaps entirely formed the bottom-lands, or lowest alluvial terrace above described. The ancient works of Marietta seem to bear out this view in a striking manner.<sup>5</sup> Messrs. Squiers and Davis evidently had a notion of its truth; but they were startled by the result, which, as they expressed it, "would give to this monument" [one of those at Marietta] "an antiquity greatly superior to that of the Pyramids, unless the deepening of our river-channels has been infinitely more rapid in times past than at present." They, however, add, "But one fact favours the conjecture, and that is the entire absence of remains of antiquity upon the beautiful terraces to which the graded way leads."<sup>6</sup> The graded way here alluded to is a passage leading from a quadrangular enclosure upon one of the upper river-terraces at Marietta towards the river, and having embankments at either side. This graded way, as it now is, leads nowhere, and one cannot see why it was made. If the level of the river were forty feet higher, its use would be at once obvious.

Whether these monuments be posterior or anterior to the bottom-lands, they are newer than the post-pleiocene terraces upon which they rest. If they be older than the alluvial bottoms, some remains of man ought to be hereafter found in that alluvion. The deposits of the alluvial plains of the delta itself are of about the same age, that is, are Recent; and there, according to Dr. Dowler, some charcoal and a human skeleton, the cranium of which is said to belong to the aboriginal type of the Red Indian, were found. This discovery was made in excavating for a gas-works at New Orleans, through a succession of beds almost wholly composed of vegetable matter, such as are now forming in the cypress swamps of the neighbourhood. The skeleton was found at the depth of sixteen feet, and beneath four successive layers of buried trees. Dr. Dowler estimates

<sup>5</sup> We could not properly discuss this subject farther without pictorial illustration; and even then, in the present state of the question, it would be a more or less fruitless digression to do so.

<sup>6</sup> *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley.* By E. G. Squiers, A.M., and E. H. Davis, M.D. *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, i. 75.



the deposit which covered it to have occupied 50,000 years in forming. Even if no doubt existed as to the accuracy of the statements published regarding the discovery itself, sufficient data to establish a chronometric standard have not been ascertained yet, and therefore, for any thing we know to the contrary, the period might just as well have been 5000 years.

Whatever may be the value of these attempts at a chronology, they at least prove that there exists in the minds of geologists an idea that the Recent period embraces a very long duration of time. Thus Professor Agassiz estimates that the southern half of the peninsula of Florida, which is built up of coral reefs, and the whole of which appears to be Post-tertiary, took 135,000 years to form; and hence he would estimate the age of the human jaws and teeth, and bones of the feet, found in one of the coral banks by Count Pourtales, to be 10,000 years old.

In all the preceding examples of deposits containing the remains of man or of his works, there was no evidence of any change of level having taken place beyond that produced by the deposits themselves. But, besides the classic instance of the Temple of Serapis, near Baiæ, we possess decided evidence that changes of level of considerable areas have taken place, not merely in the past history of the world, but even within the present century; and this leads us to conclude that many changes of the kind occurred during the Recent period. Along the west and east coast of Scotland are found several successive lines of raised beaches, containing marine shells of living species found in the adjoining seas, the best-marked of which are forty and twenty feet above the sea-level. The latter of these expands in the estuaries of the Clyde, the Forth, and the Tay, into a terrace of varying width, just as the alluvial terraces, above described, do in the valleys of the American rivers. The flat land of the Clyde, at Glasgow, forms part of a terrace of this kind. In this estuarine deposit of sand and mud, canoes formed of single oak-trees have been dug up: in one of them was found a beautifully polished green stone axe, and in the bottom of another was a piece of cork. The raised beaches of Scotland have been studied by Mr. Robert Chambers in his work on the *Ancient Sea-Margins of Scotland*, by Mr. Smith of Jordan Hill, Mr. Geikie, and others, with great perseverance; and the result is a collection of interesting and important facts.

In the first attempts to ascertain the date of these beaches, the Pictish Wall, or Wall of Antonine, from the Forth to the Clyde, was always taken as a datum line, on the assumption that since its erection no change of level had occurred. Mr. Geikie has recently shown, however, that there is good reason to believe that an upheaval of twenty-five feet has taken place in the last

seventeen centuries ; so that the land upon which Glasgow is built might have been sailed over within the period of Gaelic tradition, and whales disported themselves where is now the Carse of Stirling, as is proved by the skeletons of large whales found buried beneath it. Supposing the rate of elevation to have been uniform, the next raised beach would carry us back three thousand years, and so on. In this way the rude ornament in cannel coal found on the coast in the parish of Dundonald, lying on the till or boulder clay, and covered over with gravel containing marine shells, and fifty feet above the sea, would be 3400 years old.

It is in Norway and Sweden, however, that the successive elevation of land is seen on the largest scale. Sir C. Lyell has shown, in his *Principles of Geology*, that there is evidence of the slow elevation of land in those countries throughout an area of one thousand miles from north to south, and of an unknown diameter east and west, the maximum of elevation being towards the north. On many parts of the coast of Norway, Post-tertiary marine beds are found six hundred feet above the sea ; so that, assuming the land to have risen at the rate of two and a half feet per century, which, according to our author, is too high an average, every portion of land between the level of the sea and six hundred feet of altitude would, 24,000 years ago, have been beneath the sea. In about an equal period, if the ascension continues at a uniform rate, nearly the whole of the German Ocean will be lifted above the sea, and Scotland be perhaps joined to Scandinavia.

The "ages of stone, bronze, and iron,"—and it appears we must even add a transitional copper one also,—seem to us far too perfect, especially in Denmark, to be true. In Switzerland the relations of stone and metallic weapons are far more natural, supposing that such a succession did really occur. Perhaps our scepticism, which we will frankly confess goes very far, is to be attributed to our contact with sanguine and enthusiastic archæologists, in whose minds deductions become confounded with inductions. There is an excellent instance of this confusion in the case of some bronze and stone weapons which were found in the river Shannon, in Ireland, during the execution of the works carried on by the Government for the improvement of the navigation of that river, and which were presented by the Commissioners of Public Works to the Royal Irish Academy. Whether these weapons were mingled together when found, or separated by five or any other number of feet of alluvion, no one could tell, because the labourers made no note of the circumstances under which they had been found, and had as yet no notion of a "stone" or "bronze age." Nevertheless, in an address deli-

vered before the Academy, the late distinguished antiquary Mr. Kemble dwelt upon the importance of the interval of time that elapsed while the layer of alluvial matter that separated the bronze from the under-lying stone implements was being formed. This idea must have got into the heads of some enthusiasts, from the perusal of one of those small handbooks on the subject published in Denmark and Sweden, such as that of Mr. Worsaae, and, having remained there a sufficient time, been metamorphosed into a fact, and given as such to Mr. Kemble. We are not aware whether there has been any public correction of the error; and in mentioning it we have not the slightest intention of casting any imputation upon the accuracy of the statements of scientific men like Messrs. Forchhammer and Steenstrup. We are prepared to accept at once, as a fact, every instance which they have observed themselves of the occurrence of stone and bronze implements, under circumstances favourable to the successive "ages." But we may remind the reader that the museum of Copenhagen, like that of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, grew into existence by additions from various sources, and that the objects purchased or presented had in too many instances no story to tell. As soon, however, as a few instances occurred of bronze implements being found unaccompanied by stone, and stone without bronze, the theory was initiated, and forthwith extended to all implements of doubtful origin. This proceeding was likewise favoured by the advantages which such a hypothesis presented as a basis for the classification of objects in a museum.

It would be singular indeed if the distinction of "ages" was so perfect in Denmark and so imperfect in Ireland, where, we will venture to assert, no one could point to a single example of the occurrence of weapons of stone and bronze under circumstances which would enable us to say decisively that the former were anterior to the latter. Flint arrow-heads and flakes are almost exclusively confined to the northern part of Ireland, where the materials for their formation exist; and an examination of the forms of many of them must convince any one of unbiassed judgment, that they have been made in imitation of metallic ones. There is even reason for believing that the owners of these flint weapons in Ireland were posterior as colonists to the owners of the bronze swords of the southern part of the island. It should also be borne in mind that there exists evidence of stones having been used in battle, apparently of the same form as those so absurdly called celts, by warriors who wore ornaments of gold, carried a bronze spear and sword, and used a buckler and chariot. This is the *lia milidh*, or warriors' stone of Irish legends.

Isidore's statement, that the use of iron was discovered after



that of all the other metals,<sup>7</sup> may be perfectly true universally, or only so of certain Mediterranean nations, but it has yet to be proved. And if archæology is to become a true inductive science, archæologists should avoid the attempt to convert a mere opinion into a fact. Why should bronze be every where discovered before iron? Surely not because it is more easily made. A knowledge of copper, without any acquaintance with other metals, is perfectly intelligible in a country like that around Lake Superior, where the native metal abounds; and we may also understand how copper may have been more easily made than iron, where malachite or carbonate of copper abounded—though this has not occurred in northern Asia. But will any one venture to assert that the metallurgic skill required to reduce iron from spathos-iron—that is, its carbonate—would be greater than that required to procure copper from the sulphide of copper? Is not the separation of copper from its sulphur ores, even now, one of the most difficult metallurgic operations?

The general use of bronze weapons by a people does not necessarily prove that they did not know iron, or that their ancestors may not have known it. Would every British colonist of Australia be able to make iron, if circumstances cut him off from all intercourse with the civilised world? Is it not quite possible that there may not even now be one person able to smelt copper or iron from their more complex ores in the colony of Queensland? No one, we suppose, will deny that the Greeks were very civilised, yet their arms were made of bronze; and during the early periods of their history, when the dawn of the glorious age of Pericles was already visible, it was their chief metal. In the *Odyssey*, Homer only speaks of bronze forging-tools.<sup>8</sup> Yet the Greeks knew iron, as Homer himself proves in the *Iliad*;<sup>9</sup> where he describes a ball of iron as one of the most valuable prizes at the games established by Achilles in honour of Patrocles. Among the many uses there described to which the victor may apply the ball, there is no mention of arms. No doubt, when manufacturing industry was not very perfect, the ancients used bronze because of its beauty, and the ease with which it could be moulded into ornamental shapes, upon the same principles on which the soldiers of modern armies are decorated with lace, goat's-hair, or cock's-feathers.

No implements of iron are found in Egypt; yet few will deny that the Israelites learned the use of that metal in Egypt,

<sup>7</sup> "Ferri usus post alia metalla repertus est." *Orig.* xvi.

<sup>8</sup> *Od.* iii. 432.

<sup>9</sup> *Il.* xxiii. 826. See also the passage in the *Odyssey* (ix. 393), where he compares the sound produced when Ulysses poked out the eye of Polyphemus to that when iron reddened in the fire is plunged into water,—proving that even the tempering of steel was known.

and that the blue colour of the sword and other weapons in the paintings of the temples of Thebes refers to iron; or that the figures representing butchers sharpening their knives on what appears to be a steel fastened to their aprons indicate a knowledge of that substance. M. de Rougé certainly seems to think that iron was known at a very early age in Egypt; for in a translation he has given of a discourse which Phthah is supposed to address to his beloved son, the great conqueror Ramses Meiamoun, and which is engraved on an official document erected in the temple of Abou Simbel, he conjecturally supposes a word to signify iron.<sup>10</sup> Herodotus also expressly mentions the use of a crooked piece of iron in the art of embalming, and yet a sharp stone was employed in the same process. Had we only the same comparative knowledge of the Egyptians as we have of the early inhabitants of Denmark and Switzerland, we should certainly place them in the early "bronze age."

The perfect knowledge of a metal and its general use are different things. Some of the best steel for sword-blades ever made was manufactured, and is sometimes still made, at Bokhara and Kiva, and other parts of central Asia; and yet Russian iron is now carried hundreds of miles over a bleak desert; proving that though the manufacture of iron might be understood, it had not been raised to a profitable and general branch of trade.

If the use of a particular metal be a true test of the stage of civilisation to which a particular race may have attained, then the Turanian or Finno-Tatarian has reached the highest degree, and did so perhaps first of all races. The Finns, a branch of that race, and the supposed allophyllian people of Europe, according to Danish archæologists (in accordance with which view they could not even help making the single skull found in the "stone-age" part of the Danish bogs a Lapp!), certainly knew iron at a very remote period. They are perhaps its discoverers; for they alone of all people have made it one of the elements of which they believe the world to be composed, and woven its natural history and method of production into a singular mythology. They have a distinctive radical word for iron, but none for copper; and so it is throughout the Turanian family, in which men have either borrowed the name of copper, applied the ancient name of gold to it, or invented a native name, which, however, bears the stamp of newness upon it. The rudest tribe of Siberia is able to smelt iron; and several

<sup>10</sup> "Tu donneras la vie aux hommes par ta doctrine, ô roi Ramsès!... Tes membres sont modelés dans l'or, et tes os dans (le fer?)." As this Ramses is the sovereign from whose anger Moses is supposed to have fled, the scriptural statements about iron support this reading.

villages are called "Smiths' town." What if the whole Indo-European race first learned the use of iron from the barbarous hordes of the Asiatic Steppes, the Altaï, and the Ural? Ethnologists, in making the Chalybes Turanian, confirm this supposition to some extent, as that people was celebrated among the Greeks for its iron; and an English adjective, "chalybeate," synonymous with "ferruginous," has perpetuated the reputation. The same ethnologist who makes the allophyllian race of Europe Turanian, arms him with a stone-hatchet in the West, and makes an iron-master of him in the East. There must be confusion somewhere in all this. Iron, as a test of civilisation, is evidently not more decisive than the more modern tests of soap or sulphuric acid.

If the use of bronze be no proof that the people did not know iron, neither is the use of stone any proof that a people was ignorant of metals. Before the concentration of industry in large towns, metals must have been scarce. It is probable that among ancient nations the chief alone had metal weapons, the common soldiers being armed with implements of horn, bone, or stone, just as in medieval armies the knights alone wore a complete coat of mailed armour. If the people who used stone implements did not know the use of metals, for what purpose did they work the mines of the Alpujarras, or of the Asturias, or the ancient mines near Batalha in Portugal, or the coal-mines of Ballycastle, all of which were worked with stone implements, though some of them had regular shafts and levels? We can understand the people who with patient labour hammered implements out of the native copper of Lake Superior using stone tools to extract it; but what explanation are we to give in the case of a people who were able to smelt the sulphides of the metals, and distinguish between their different ores, and who even knew the use of pit-coal?

Even though in one district a stone age may have preceded a bronze one, and the latter an iron one, may not the converse be found in another? Did not the Red Indian with stone hatchets succeed the builders of Palenque?

It may be readily granted that the geological evidence of the antiquity of man does not depend upon the admission of three successive ages. But for this very reason we regret that the two subjects have been so intimately associated as they have been. The hypothesis of three successive ages may be true, but it is just as likely to be wrong; it was therefore premature to make it the basis upon which a totally different issue rests. Geologists should remember the mischief done to science by the assumption that mammalia were confined to the newer rocks. And just as the discovery of a single mammal in the



Trias overturned the whole hypothesis, so the discovery of a single bronze article in the bottom of a Danish peat-bog, or in the under layer of the delta of the Tinière, would demolish the ages of stone and bronze.

We have said that as yet we have no chronometric standard whereby to measure the age of the Danish peat-bogs. Those acquainted with deep peat-bogs know how difficult it would be to determine the relative age of any two things found in them. In proof of this we may mention that in the deeper bogs of Ireland small vessels of ancient butter metamorphosed into a peculiar acid are found, and sometimes, though more rarely, cheeses. The latter are usually rectangular; and one on which a cross was stamped in relief was once found so deep in a bog that, if we were to assume that the superincumbent peat had grown after it had fallen in, we should be forced to admit that the whole peat-bog had grown since the Christian era, and might not have been indeed more than four or five hundred years old. It should also be borne in mind that the depth of a bog is no criterion whatever of its relative age, as bogs of one foot thick are known to be as old as others of thirty feet in depth.

We have equal difficulty in ascertaining the probable age of any given thickness of Nile mud. We will assume that the whole thickness pierced through in the excavations and borings of Hekekyan Bey consisted of undisturbed mud; for it would be a waste of time to discuss all the objections that have been raised,—such as, that the borings were made in ancient wells or canals filled up, that the Nile had so frequently shifted its course that no one could tell where it had not been. Mr. Horner has attempted to establish a chronometric standard for testing the age of any given thickness by ascertaining how much has been deposited since the foundation of some monument, such as the obelisk of Heliopolis, or the statue of King Ramses at Memphis. Unfortunately his attempts have not been successful, as it is impossible to tell whether the whole of the mud which has apparently accumulated above the foundation of a monument was really precipitated by the water or was artificially added. Sir C. Lyell says that “Herodotus tells us that in his time those spots from which the Nile-water had been shut out for centuries appeared sunk, and could be looked down into from the surrounding ground, which had been raised by the gradual accumulation over them of sediment annually thrown down” (p. 39). We suppose he refers to the account of the temple of Bubastis, the present Tel Basta, in his second book. But in the preceding chapter Herodotus expressly says, that this was not due to the deposition of the Nile, but was artificially raised. The Ethiopian king Sabacôs employed convicts to raise the ground in the

neighbourhood of cities. And as early as Sesostris the same thing had been done by those who had dug the canals. And he further tells us that Bubastis was one of those most raised in this manner.

Perhaps this raising of the ground of the cities was to compensate for the sinking of the land; the position of Tel Basta in the Delta favours this view, for it is situated on the arm of the Nile which flows into lake Menzaleh. Another difficulty appears to us to stand in the way of Mr. Horner's calculations. How do we know that the Egyptian buildings where large blocks of stone were used were not built in excavated ground, so that the large blocks of stone could be floated from the Nile by a special canal? In Tel Basta the stones of the temple were of red granite; and as it was surrounded by a canal, the stones brought down the Nile by a raft must have been floated-in close to the building.

As yet, therefore, there is no means of determining the age in years of the Danish peat-bogs, the Swiss lake-habitations, the bricks found buried sixty feet below the surface in Nilotic mud, or the mounds of Ohio. With regard to the first two, they may go back only two or three thousand years, or much more; but we could not say the same of the other two, especially of the alluvion of the Nile. M. de Rougé could say of the age of the Pyramids built upon that alluvion, "We shall not attempt to calculate their epoch; too many essential materials are still wanting to enable us to arrive at a certain result; but from henceforward we can affirm, that in attributing to the Pyramids the majesty of forty centuries the great captain remained still below the truth." How much more true would this be of the sixty feet of mud beneath them!

If the severest analysis of the Recent deposits containing remains of man or of his works brings us up to the very threshold at least of the period in which, according to the received chronology, man first appeared on earth, it must be obvious that any well-authenticated discovery of human remains in older, that is, Post-pleiocene deposits, would put the whole question in a totally new light. This is what recent discoveries are alleged to have done. The remains of man and relics of his arts have been found associated with the bones of extinct mammalia in deposits which are believed to be Post-pleiocene; and this has led to a reconsideration of many previously recorded discoveries of the same kind, which geologists, too startled at the moment by the novelty of the result, had allowed to pass into oblivion. These discoveries have called forth Sir C. Lyell's book; they occupy the largest part of it, and give to it its chief importance.

We do not propose to discuss in detail every case brought

forward in the book; and all of them have been fully described from time to time in various scientific periodicals. We do not even propose to dwell so long upon them as we have done on the Recent period. For our objects, an analysis of two or three cases will suffice, because for the moment we are only concerned with the simple question, Do the remains of man, or of his works, really occur associated with the remains of extinct quadrupeds in true Post-pleiocene beds? In selecting our examples we shall neither follow the order of their discovery, nor that in which Sir C. Lyell has described them.

In sketching the formations of the valley of the Mississippi, we mentioned the old alluvions, full of land-shells, forming the bluffs of Vicksburg, Natchez, and other parts of the lower Mississippi, or delta district, and also the fringe of terraces of the Ohio and its tributaries, which we have supposed to have been formed by the inundations of the river. Although it be quite true that we cannot determine the relative age in years of any two portions of the alluvion, that is, the rate of its deposition, a moment's consideration will show that, however the rate of deposition may have varied, a very considerable period of time must have elapsed since the materials of these bluffs were left where they now are, as is shown by the extent of valley-plain cut through them. The pelvis-bone of a man was found in this marl a few years ago, accompanied by the bones of the *Mastodon Ohioticus*, a species of *Megalonyx*, bones of species of horse, ox, and other mammalia, some extinct, and others presumed to be of living species. As only one bone was found, and as no geologist was there to note exactly the circumstances, it has not that importance which otherwise it undoubtedly would possess.

A similar kind of loam to that forming the upper parts of the bluffs at Natchez and the Nilotic mud, is found in Europe, in the valleys of the Rhine and Danube; and in the former is known by the name of *loess*. It has been the subject of much discussion among geologists, the general impression at one time being, that it was the mud of a great lake which occupied the upper valleys of the river. Among the many objections which may be raised to such an hypothesis, one was fatal,—the shells are chiefly land-shells, not lacustrine or fluviatile, and where any fresh-water shells are found it is under exceptional conditions, at the bottom of the deposit, where it alternates with ancient river-gravel, upon which it generally reposes, or in basin-like hollows, which must have formed swampy lakes along the valley. Underneath the mud is found alpine gravel, which may be traced up to the Alps, and which shows that when it was formed the river must have had sufficient power to roll along gravel.

Geographically this loess may be traced along the whole Rhine



valley down to its delta, Holland, and also westwards through Belgium into the north of France. M. d'Archiac, a distinguished French geologist, speaks of it as enveloping in Belgium the provinces of Hainault, Brabant, and Limburg like a mantle, every where uniform and homogeneous in character, filling up the lower depressions of the Ardennes, and passing thence into the north of France, where, he adds, it is found on plateaux 600 feet above some of the rivers, such as the Marne. The loess of the middle valley of the Rhine is often 200 feet thick; in Belgium it is usually from ten to thirty feet thick, and is found capping the hills or table-lands about Brussels, at the height of 300 feet above the sea. Sir C. Lyell quotes an opinion of Prof. Bischoff of Bonn, according to which the analysis of the loess shows it to agree closely in composition with the mud of the plains of Egypt. The similarity in per-centage composition of two specimens of clay, though it may show them to have originated from similar rocks, could not of itself give the slightest information as to whether the mud was inundation sediment, like Nilotic mud, or ordinary river mud, such as is found along the banks of all rivers. The peculiar state of division produced by a high state of hydration is a far more important test. True inundation mud, for example, often contains from 35 to 40 per cent of silicates decomposable by acids of moderate strength, and even more; whereas ordinary clay, such as that forming part of what is called glacial till, does not contain in some instances more than one-third that quantity, and rarely more than half. Judged by this test, the true loess of the Rhine and of Belgium, the alluvions of the bottom-lands of Ohio and Illinois, and of warp-lands generally, are undoubtedly very like each other, and no doubt would be found to agree closely in this respect with Nilotic mud, and all fine silt which has become highly hydrated, and capable of being borne a considerable distance in suspension. The loess is to be considered as Post-pleiocene, as the remains of the mammoth have been found in it in Belgium.

If we admit that this widely extended mud-deposit was formed by the inundations of the Rhine, we must assume that the Alps were much higher than now, and that consequently very considerable changes in physical geography have taken place in the whole region between the Alps and the North Sea. This necessarily implies that the Post-pleiocene period was of very considerable duration. But other phenomena compel us to assume that the Alps were formerly much higher than now; such, for instance, as traces of extensive glacial action in parts of Switzerland, where no glaciers now exist. The extent of inundated area may at first appear too extensive for a single river; but the example of the Ganges shows us that there is

nothing improbable in it. The great plains of Bengal are covered with Hinmalayan mud of this kind, which is found up its course for a distance of 1200 miles. During the season of inundation, the whole region to the hills that bound the plain is covered with water, through which the tops of the trees appear here and there; and persons coming down at this season sail over the flooded land.

At Maestricht, on the Meuse, there is an alluvial plain composed of modern loess, undistinguishable from the older kind above described, which is bounded by ridges sometimes forming bluffs, and frequently consisting of a terrace of gravel of from thirty to forty feet in thickness, covered with an older loess, which is continuous as we ascend the Meuse to Liège. That city is situated in a kind of amphitheatre formed by the sloping sides of a table-land of carboniferous and Devonian rocks about 400 feet high, to the north of which the lower valley of the Meuse stretches to Maestricht. The Meuse enters this amphitheatre and lower valley from the south by cutting a deep valley through the table-land, the escarped sides of which are exceedingly picturesque up to Namur, as well as upon its confluent, the Vesdre and Ourthe. The city of Liège is in the bottom of this amphitheatre, the suburbs upon its sides. No loess occurs upon the table-land, but it is found in the suburbs, at the height of 200 feet.

A little below the city of Maestricht a flat-topped spur of the gravel-terrace or bluff, with precipitous sides, and covered with loess like that in the suburbs of Liège, up to which it may be continuously traced, called Caberg, projects into the Recent alluvial plain, and approaches to within about 100 yards of the river. This hill was cut through during the excavation of a canal running from Maestricht to Hocht, between the years 1815 and 1823. A fine section of sixty feet was thus exposed near the small village of Smeermass, consisting of forty feet of gravel, upon which rests a capping of twenty feet of loess. In the progress of the excavation an extraordinary number of bones, tusks, and molar teeth of elephants, horns of deer, bones of species of ox, and other mammalia, together with a human lower jaw and teeth, were found. According to the late Professor Crahay, of the Catholic University of Louvain, to whom we are indebted for an accurate description of the circumstances under which the fossils occurred, this jaw, which is now preserved at Leyden, was found "at a depth of nineteen feet from the surface, where the loess joins the underlying gravel, in a stratum of sandy loam resting on gravel, and overlaid by some pebbly and sandy beds. The stratum is said to have been intact and undisturbed, but the

human jaw was isolated, the nearest tusk of an elephant being six yards removed from it in a horizontal distance. . . . Most of the other mammalian bones were found in or near the gravel ; but some of the tusks and teeth of elephants were met with much nearer the surface."<sup>11</sup> If the explanation of the origin of the loess be interpreted aright, these bones are of very high antiquity, and this case is the European representative of the Natchez human bone in the Post-pleiocene loess of the Mississippi. It is unquestionably the most important discovery of the kind yet recorded, and carries us back almost into the so-called glacial period itself.

We can scarcely avoid referring to the flint implements found in the valley of the Somme, in the north of France ; for although probably of a less antiquity than the bones of the Maesricht loess, they possess a special interest as in a certain sense the immediate cause of the prominence which the question has recently assumed. A considerable part of the department of the Somme forms a plateau, the soil of which is a stiff clay or brick earth without fossils, which, under the name of *Limon des Plateaux*, forms the soil, resting upon chalk, of a large part of the upland of the district. Here and there patches of eocene tertiary gravel are found lying in hollows of the chalk—relics, no doubt, of a continuous sheet of tertiary beds which once covered the whole cretaceous rocks, before the present valleys were scooped out of both.

The valley of the Somme has been eroded out of this plateau to the depth, in its lower course, of between 200 and 300 feet, and having a width of about a mile between Amiens and Abbeville. The sides of the valley are sloping, and show sections of the horizontal beds of chalk. The bottom of the valley is occupied by peat-bogs of from twenty to thirty feet thick, which rest upon a thin bed of stiff clay, as do all peat-bogs formed in hollows in gravel. Beneath this comes from three to fourteen feet of gravel. Resting against the sides of the valley, and in part covered by peat, wherever it has been found, occurs a series of beds, which, like the terraces of the Mississippi, evidently formed part of an ancient alluvial terrace which existed across the valley, but which was eroded in all probability before the gravel upon which the peat rests was deposited, and consequently before the peat itself was formed. Above this relic,—in some places fifty feet above it, or one hundred above the river,—occurs another terrace, a relic of a still older alluvion. The lower terrace at Menchcourt, near Abbeville, and consequently not far from the sea, consists in its lower part of alternations of gravel, marl, and sand, about twelve feet thick,

<sup>11</sup> Geological Evidences, &c.



containing a mixture of fresh-water and land shells, and in some of the lower beds of sand of some marine shells in addition, and also bones of mammoth and rhinoceros, and flint implements. Above this occurs about fifteen feet of buff-coloured loess-like calcareous loam, like inundation mud scarcely stratified, and above this a superficial layer of brown clay and angular flints, &c., from two feet to five feet in thickness.

All the land, river, and marine shells are, so far as is yet known, now living in that part of France, except *Cyrena fluminalis*, which no longer lives in Europe, though it does in the Nile, in Cashmere, and other parts of Asia. The mammalia most frequently cited are the mammoth (*Elephas primigenius*), the woolly rhinoceros (*R. tichorinus*), the fossil horse (*Equus fossilis* of Owen), a species of wild-ox (*Bos primigenius*), a kind of deer (*Cervus Somonensis*), a kind of reindeer (*Cervus Tarandus priscus*), the cave lion (*Felis spelæa*), the cave hyæna (*Hyæna spelæa*), all of which are totally extinct, with the exception, perhaps, of the reindeer, and this is now confined to northern and north-eastern Europe. Higher up in the valley near Amiens flint weapons have also been found, together with the tusks of a hippopotamus, and teeth not only of the mammoth, but of the still more ancient elephant *Elephas antiquus*; but marine shells and *Cyrena fluminalis* are no longer found. In the gravel of the upper terrace, which near Amiens is 100-feet above the river-plain, flint weapons and fossils have likewise been found.

That the flint weapons found in these beds are the work of man is now generally admitted, and could not, indeed, have been seriously doubted at any time. It is equally certain that they have been long buried in the gravel, for they have undergone an amount of surface chemical action which removes all doubt of their genuineness. The lively discussion which has taken place upon the whole subject, both in England and in France, and the careful examination which has been made of the whole valley by many French and English geologists and archæologists, many of whom extracted flint implements with their own hands, since the first notice of the subject by M. Boucher de Perthes in 1847, have exhausted every objection which might be raised as to their great relative antiquity. Even those who were most sceptical at first have gone and examined for themselves, and arrived at the conclusion that the implements were imbedded in the lower gravel, and that they were coeval with the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros.

Caverns in limestone countries are familiar objects; some of them form swallow-holes in which rivers are engulfed; and if subsequently the level of the river sinks or its course is changed,

these swallow-holes are found filled with gravel, sand, and mud, according as the velocity of flow of the stream varied. Sometimes, too, the water trickling from the roof, and holding carbonate of lime in solution, formed a layer of hard stalagmite, or limestone, over the whole. The river bore into those caves, along with the sand and mud, bones, and often perhaps whole animals, which got buried in the mud. Those "bone caves" are well known since the publication, in 1823, of Dr. Buckland's *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*. That geologist at the time came, as is well known, to the conclusion that the human bones or implements which were found in caves were not so old as those of the associated mammoth and other animals. Since then many caves have been examined; but one of the most remarkable investigations into their contents is that made by the late Dr. Schmerling of Liège, who examined above forty such caves in the valley of the Meuse.

These caves are situate high up in the escarped limestone cliffs already mentioned, along the Meuse, the Vesdre, and the Ourthe, which must have greatly eroded their valleys, since streams flowed through the caves, some of which now open out on the perpendicular faces of precipices 200 feet above the present rivers. The loess which we described in the suburbs of Liège bears testimony to the change of physical geography which must have occurred. In these caves Dr. Schmerling found bones of the mammoth, rhinoceros, cave-bear, cave-hyæna, which are extinct, and of the wild-cat, beaver, wild-boar, roe-deer, wolf, &c., as well as many human bones, among others a skull, to which allusion will again be made presently. Dr. Schmerling published an elaborate account of his discoveries in 1833-34: no one who is not acquainted with the scene of them, and with the character of such investigations, can form any idea of the severe labour, physical courage, and great perseverance, which he displayed in the work. That a memoir of this kind should have remained during the whole lifetime of its author almost wholly unappreciated, is the best proof that could be given of the unwillingness of geologists to discuss this subject until it was impossible any longer to avoid it.

About the same time that Dr. Schmerling worked in the caves of the Meuse, Father M'Enery discovered in a cave called Kent's Hole, one mile east of Torquay, in a bed of red loam covered with stalagmite, bones of the mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, cave-bear, and other mammalia, together with flint implements and human bones. The human bones and the flint implements were believed to be of later date than the rest; but Sir C. Lyell infers, from a paper which was jointly drawn up by Father M'Enery and Dr. Buckland, illustrated with plates, and

which has been recently published by Mr. Vivian of Torquay, as well as from some unprinted Ms., that Father M'Enery "only refrained out of deference to Dr. Buckland from declaring his belief in the contemporaneousness of certain flint implements of an antique type and the bones of extinct animals." Mr. Goodwin Austin, a well-known geologist, ten years afterwards found works of man with those of extinct mammalia in the same cave, in what he considered undisturbed clay, and under a layer of stalagmite.

When, in 1858, the entrance of a new cave, which had never been disturbed, was discovered at Brixham, it was thought desirable to have an investigation so conducted as to leave no doubt about the relations of the objects found. The excavations, which were made under the auspices of the Royal Society, were put in charge of a committee of geologists. Mr. Prestwich and Dr. Falconer were members of the committee, and took an active part in the work, which was under the superintendence of Mr. Pengelly. It would be difficult to find a combination of men so well fitted for such a task. Indeed, no man in England is better acquainted with tertiary and superficial deposits than Mr. Prestwich.

During the investigation a journal was kept, in which the actual circumstances under which each specimen was found were carefully registered; and the specimens themselves were numbered and labelled to correspond. We need not do more than mention the nature of the deposits, and of the fossils found in them. The galleries were in some cases entirely choked up with gravel and mud, but sometimes there remained an unfilled space. In this case the floor was often covered with stalagmite in the lateral cavities; but in those parts that appeared to have been tunnels occupied by running water no stalagmite was found. Where the stalagmite occurred, it was from one to fifteen inches thick, and sometimes contained bones, among others an entire humerus of a cave-bear, and an entire antler of the reindeer. Below this was a bed of an ochreous red loamy earth, from one to fifteen feet thick, containing bones of the mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, cave-bear, cave-hyæna, cave-lion, reindeer, a species of ox, and several rodents and other animals not yet determined, and lastly a number of flint implements. Beneath all was a layer of gravel with rounded pebbles, probed in some places to the depth of twenty feet without being pierced through: as this gravel contained no fossils, it was for the most part left in the cave.

The flint implements were chiefly from the lowest part of the clay; and this fact, as well as the occurrence of the bone of the cave-bear in the stalagmite, shows that the implements were



introduced with some of the bones, and before others. This of itself would not be a proof of great antiquity, as ancient bones might be washed out of a gravel-heap, and getting mingled with more modern human bones, might then be swept into a cave. But the point was set at rest by a discovery of the highest importance, namely the discovery of an entire hind-leg of a cave-bear in close proximity to a very perfect flint tool. The earth surrounding the bones was removed, in the presence of Mr. Pengelly, by Dr. Falconer, one of the most competent of living osteologists; and there was every bone in its proper place—proving that it must have been buried in the mud while yet the bones were held together by the natural ligaments. The cave-bear, then, lived in the locality at the time when the implements were made, and he continued to live there up to the close of the deposits in the cave. This is proved by the humerus mentioned above as being found in the stalagmite.

We have evidence that considerable changes have taken place in the geographical features of the neighbourhood of the Brixham cave, as in the valley of the Meuse, since the stream which carried the gravel, mud, and bones was engulfed within it. That stream must in fact have flowed sixty feet above the level of the stream now flowing in the valley.

Twenty years ago, when the occurrence of the bones of extinct mammalia with human bones and flint implements first attracted attention, it was objected that no such bones were ever met with among those of wild and domestic animals found in old tumuli, which nevertheless contained the same sort of flint implements as were found in bone caves. It was argued that, if such animals were contemporaneous with man, they would have been put into the tumuli in accordance with the custom of burying objects of art, and even animal food intended for the use of the dead. This objection has great weight; and when it was put forward by so accomplished an antiquary, and we may add geologist, as M. Desnoyers, who was well acquainted with the Gaulish tombs, its importance was increased. M. Lartet has now, however, supplied evidence that there are burial-places more ancient than the Gaulish tumuli, in which such remains do occur.

A burial-place of this kind was accidentally discovered a few years ago near Aurignac, in the department of the Haute Garonne. It appears to have been originally a natural grotto, about seven or eight feet high, ten wide, and seven deep, situated about forty-five feet above the stream called Rodes, which flows in the neighbouring valley. The floor was covered with about two feet of clay, in which were found about ten detached human bones, mingled with entire bones of living and

extinct mammalia ; and in it was also found a tusk of a young cave-bear, rudely carved, and pierced with a hole. Above this were the remains of seventeen human skeletons of both sexes, and all ages, some so young that the ossification of some of the bones was incomplete,—a flint knife uninjured, flat plates of shell pierced with holes, a few teeth of the cave-lion, and two tusks of the wild-boar. The mouth of this cave was closed with a slab of rock, in front of which, overlooking the steep escarpment of limestone forming the side of the valley, was a small terrace, upon which had accumulated a talus of rubbish, which had gradually fallen from the overhanging ground, and which, until the year 1852, had effectually concealed the existence of the cave. Beneath the fallen rubbish was a layer of earth containing a few scattered cinders and bones, and beneath this, and resting upon the limestone, were layers of ashes and charcoal eight inches thick, with broken, burnt, and gnawed bones of extinct and living mammalia, several flint instruments, hearth-stones of sandstone reddened by heat, arrows of bone without barbs, other tools made of reindeer horn, and a well-shaped and sharply pointed bodkin, formed out of the compact horn of the roe-deer. Bones of the following animals were found scattered through the cinders, representing in many cases several individuals, especially of the herbivorous animals : cave-bear, brown bear (?), badger, polecat, wild-cat, cave-hyæna, wolf, fox, two molars of the mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, horse, ass (?), stag, gigantic Irish deer (improperly called the Irish elk), roebuck, reindeer, and aurochs. The remains of the cave-lion and boar were only found inside the cave. All the bones found inside were whole, while those found outside had their spongy parts gnawed off, as if by hyænas, whose coprolites and bones were plentifully mixed through the cinders and in the overlying clay. The marrow-bones were split open, many of them being burnt, and some scraped, as if with an instrument, to remove the flesh. Outside the cave not one human bone was discovered.

M. Lartet, who visited the place in 1860, did not see the cave before the human bodies were removed, which was done by order of Dr. Amiel, the mayor of the town, who had them interred in the parish cemetery, though the village sexton could not tell the precise spot. The excavation of the talus and of the soil on the bottom of the cave, which were in great part untouched, was made under M. Lartet's own directions.

There seems to be no doubt that we have here a true ancient burial-place, in which were deposited the memorials of the chase—fangs of the lion and the boar, weapons, bracelets of shells—which were protected from beasts of prey by the slab, and in front of which were made funereal feasts.

We shall not follow Sir C. Lyell in his interesting and elaborate discussion of the so-called glacial period, that is, the geological time, still Post-tertiary however, at the close of which the most ancient deposits where remains of man or of his works have been yet found appear to have been formed. At this time a mantle of ice is supposed to have covered many parts of Europe; the soil, perhaps, was frozen for hundreds of feet in depth; and gigantic icebergs floated in our seas, and left memorials of their passage in the boulders of rock, sometimes perched high on the sides of lofty hills. The distribution of land and sea was different from what it is now, the greater part of Great Britain, Ireland, Scandinavia, and Middle Europe, being beneath the sea, thus involving a submergence of land to the extent of 2000 feet at least. A change of level to this extent, at so late a period, might appear at first sight impossible, did we not possess the most positive evidence that proportionate elevations have occurred in recent times—such, for instance, as the elevation of a marine bank, containing marine shells and fragments of pottery, to the height of 300 feet in the island of Sardinia; while in Sicily beds which, if not Post-tertiary, certainly belong to the Newer pleiocene have been lifted up in some places 3000 feet.

We believe this “glacial period” hypothesis to have been pushed too far. That immense glaciers stretched from the Alps to the Jura, and down into the plains of Italy, and that great icebergs floated in the northern European sea, seems all but proved; nevertheless we think we could establish, by a few physical facts, that in the Iberian Peninsula the mean and extreme temperatures have not sensibly changed during the Post-tertiary period, and perhaps even since the middle of the Pleiocene period. But it would be too great a digression from the proper subject, which alone we have proposed to discuss, to enter further into this question here, even if our space allowed it.

So long as the geological evidences of man’s antiquity rested upon a good deal of speculation and a few instances, we should be entitled to question it, or to reject it altogether. But in the face of the body of evidence that has now been accumulated, it would be idle to waste our time in endeavouring to invalidate one or two instances. If there be no standard by which to estimate the duration of the Recent period, it must be obvious that there is also none for the Post-pleiocene period; but although it is impossible, at present, to estimate in years the length of time required by geologists to account for the formations of the two periods, we must, as it appears to us, admit that it was considerable—at all events far more than the received chronology allows for the age of man.



And if, indeed, we must admit that, although man is, geologically speaking, very recent, a long period of time has elapsed since his first appearance, what effect will such an admission have on those sacred traditions on which are founded the hopes of mankind? Or, in other words, how does such a result harmonise with Revelation? We think that it merely affects the chronology which has been adopted, and sweeps away at once a host of difficulties which were true stumbling-blocks to biblical critics.

The unity of the human race, if not the original unity of language, is a fundamental principle of revealed religion. The former we hold to be equally important to the well-being of man, whether revelation is admitted or not. But in a period of four or five thousand years it is indeed very difficult to account for the development of races by climatal influence, especially when we find the Negro figured upon the tombs of Egypt of four thousand years ago with the same features he has to-day. It is equally difficult to account for the American race with its six hundred languages. If in three thousand years the Indo-European languages have not lost the evidences of their radical and grammatical relationship, how are we to account for the development of the Chinese, Hebrew, Sanscrit, and Egyptian in a much shorter period? In the discussion of these points, while the advocate of revealed religion may point triumphantly to the wonderful accordance between the account of the creation given in the book of Genesis, and the results of the most recent discoveries in science, he is nevertheless placed at a disadvantage as regards his opponents, by a mere question of chronology. Now, although it would be very absurd to expect a treatise of geology or of any other science in the book of Genesis, we should like to know how much better the exposition of any modern geologist, who had to address people wholly ignorant of physical science, would be than the Mosaic account? If Scripture contained a revelation of the laws of nature, it would have taken away the greatest stimulus to activity by which man is influenced, namely, the desire to know causes. For this his mind is constituted, and the triumphs he has attained prove it. But he possesses no faculty by which he can know of a hereafter, and for this alone was a Revelation accorded. The wonder, therefore, is, not that the book of Genesis should appear to differ in minor points with the results of scientific investigation, but that in so short a space it should be possible to give so perfect a sketch of the creation. And now, by a simple change in the chronology, the Mosaic account will harmonise with the condition of science even better than it did when it served as the incentive and guide to geological investigation.

Even if future discoveries should show that man existed at or before the glacial period, the fact would be a gain to the advocate of Revelation. During that period the changes of level which undoubtedly took place were very considerable, as we have already indicated by the extent of the European glacial sea. The rise of north Europe and northern Asia must have been accompanied by the sinking of the great platform of the north Atlantic Ocean. Future investigation will probably show that at the commencement of the glacial period, Europe and the eastern part of North America were connected together, and that the latter was separated from the region of the Rocky Mountains by a sea which occupied the great river-plain, and through which flowed the Gulf Stream. If we suppose that part of Europe over which the boulder-drift is found, and which includes the whole of North Russia and Poland to the Carpathian mountains, Germany (north of the Saxon and Hartz Mountains), Denmark, and a large part of Scandinavia, and perhaps a large part of northern Siberia, to have been occupied by a sea in which the icebergs of the polar seas floated, as they do now near Newfoundland, except that in the former case they could not reach the south ; if, further, we suppose a barrier of land to have reached across the North Atlantic, shutting off the stream of warm tropical water from European seas, which then, flowing up the present American river-valley, ran westward, warming the region of eastern Siberia, giving to it a climate like that of Sweden and Norway now, which is just what its fossil forests and abundant mammalian fauna prove,—then we should have a simple explanation of the peopling of America by two distinct races. To the European immigration would perhaps belong the ancient mound-builders, and the builders of Palenque, as well as those various civilised races of which floating traditions exist—the Olmecs, Miztecs, and Zapotecs, who are said to have occupied the Mexican plateau before the arrival of the civilised Toltecs. There can be no doubt that a part of North America formed a portion of the same zoological and botanical province as Europe, and that the mammoth roamed as far south in the former as in the latter. In the present condition of zoology and botany, the only satisfactory explanation we could give of this fact would be the former extension of land across the North Atlantic.

As the Atlantic land sank, the river-plain of America rose on the one side, and North Europe and Siberia on the other ; the Gulf Stream took its present course, and the glacial period of America set in, during the interval which elapsed after the shutting out of the tropical stream, and the complete elevation of the basins of the Mackenzie and the Saskatchewan. The opening of the Atlantic, and the arrival of warm tropical water, ended the

glacial period of Europe ; while the rise of Siberia, shut off as it is from the warm currents of air and water of the tropics, produced the ice-bound beds of gravel and clay which Middendorff bored to the depth of 600 feet beneath Jakutsk. This great geographical change extinguished the woolly rhinoceros and the mammoth, whose bodies, still whole, are entombed in the ice-drift ; while in Europe they lived down through the whole of the Post-pleiocene period. From the completion of this change we might date the commencement of the waves of population from Asia into Egypt and Europe on the one hand, and of offshoots of the Turanian race of North-eastern Asia into America on the other. Ethnologists have always perceived that the American Indian type was allied to the Turanian of Asia ; and the traditions of the Aztecs bring them from the mythic Aztalan of the north or north-west.

It is too much the fashion among ethnologists to reject as wholly unworthy of belief those ancient traditions of nations which run counter to their theories, or which they cannot explain. This is an error quite as great as that committed by raising them to the rank of history. All popular traditions contain some germ of truth ; and, if we do not mistake them for what they are not, they may, when skilfully analysed, afford clues to many obscure events, and throw much light upon the ethnology of early nations. Among the traditions which have thus floated down the stream of human memory, distorted, mutilated, and patched, no doubt, but still with a silver thread of truth running through them, we may certainly include that of the lost Atalanta. Another tradition of the same kind is the Irish one, which is plainly in the oldest Mss., namely, that the ancient warriors were in the habit of visiting Scythia in order to be perfected, in the land of their ancestors, in the use of arms. The journey was supposed to have been made by sailing from the North Sea across North-east Europe. Is this a tradition of the remains of the glacial sea ?

The singular mixture of Germanic, Arctic, and Lusitanian floras in Ireland recognised by the late Professor E. Forbes, and the existence of shells of the last-named province in the drift of Wexford, noticed by Sir H. James, seem to support an earlier connection of Ireland with Spain, and with perhaps the American continent.

The speculation which we have just indulged in must not be confounded with the actual facts which we previously discussed ; we have merely mentioned it to show that, even in the widest speculations of the future, the difficulties of race and language diminish, and the only change we require is a wider interpretation of time.



Many persons, no doubt, will point triumphantly to the contradictory nature of the successive theories put forward by geologists as a proof that no importance is to be attached to the results of the science. This is a grave error, and can only be committed by those who, however well acquainted with the elements of science, have no true idea of its methods, and are unable to estimate the relative values of the elements of which a science is made up. While they wholly forget the stubborn facts which remain unanswered, they often undertake the quixotic task of upsetting a theory, never perhaps accepted, or if so once, perhaps cast aside at the moment. Let it be remembered that no theories can be wholly true, and that no really scientific man ever proposes one in the belief that it will remain for ever part of the science. He proposes it merely as the best mode of linking together the facts which he has observed, so as to enable the mind to coördinate them, and advance one step nearer towards the discovery of the true causes of phenomena. The greater the progress of a science, the more theories will be proposed and cast aside. When, therefore, any one taunts science with the instability of its hypotheses, and recounts a long bead-roll of those which have been cast aside, he unknowingly passes the highest eulogium upon the science he proposes to blame. Progress is the vital principle of human knowledge, as immutability must necessarily be of a revealed religion. All the apparent contradictions between science and revealed religion come from an endeavour to apply the principles of the one to the other. If we had the patience to wait, we should find that science, following the law of its own evolution, though it may affect our translation of a word in an ancient language, or compel us to examine more strictly into the various links of our chronological chain, instead of contradicting Revelation, as it penetrates more and more into a knowledge of causes, itself removes in its progress the very contradictions which for a moment seem to some to seal the fate of Revelation.

Among the many questions connected with this subject which are deserving of serious attention, there is one especially which we should have been anxious to discuss, if we could have done so within the limits of our article, because it affords an excellent example of what we have just stated. The subject we refer to is the osteological character of the skulls found in the old tumuli and caves. No branch of science has afforded a finer field for empiricism than ethnology; and no part of it gave such scope to would-be physiologists and scientific archæologists to disport themselves with the long names of a scientific nomenclature. They measured skulls and drew conclusions, just as another class made lists of unpronounceable words, or as agricul-

tural chemists made hieroglyphic tables of analyses of turnips. If it was not science, it was at all events very like it. The skulls of the Danish tumuli were those of Laplanders, because the hypothesis of the Turanian race having covered Europe required that Finns and Lapps should be found somewhere. The mound-builder of Ohio was the type of the Red Indian, because the American man must needs be a type apart. The skull found in a bone-cave in the Neanderthal approached the anthropoid animals in form, not because that sometimes occurs in individual cases even in the favoured races of Europe, but because it was a proof of the truth of the development theory. But the skull of the Engis cave on the Meuse, more ancient than any yet found, approaches that of the European, according to the opinion of Professor Huxley, an authority on this subject whom few will be disposed to doubt; while Dr. Wilson has shown that the mound-builders were apparently not Red Indians. And lastly, Dr. Aitken Meig of Philadelphia has come to the conclusion, from the examination of 1125 skulls, that no skull can be said to belong exclusively to any race or tribe, that none of them can be regarded as strictly typical, and that there is a marked tendency of the forms of skulls to graduate into each other more or less insensibly. Professor Huxley appears also not to place much reliance upon those elaborate tables according to which the geographical distribution of intellect over the world was so dogmatically made.

From these considerations it appears that when man hunted the great cave-bear and lion and mammoth, while Europe was slowly assuming its present shape, he was still an intellectual being, and had hopes of a future state. We cannot more appropriately conclude than with an eloquent passage on the subject from Sir C. Lyell, in which he is referring to the ancient tomb of Aurignac; though we by no means subscribe to the assumption, which his quotation from Dryden seems to imply, that the savage state, instead of being a degradation, was the true primitive condition of man: "But if," he says, "the fossil memorials have been correctly interpreted—if we have here before us, at the northern base of the Pyrenees, a sepulchral vault with skeletons of human beings, consigned by friends and relatives to their last resting-place—if we have also at the portal of the tomb the relics of funeral feasts, and within it indications of viands destined for the use of the departed on their way to a land of spirits; while among the funeral gifts are weapons wherewith in other fields to chase the gigantic deer, the cave-lion, the cave-bear, and woolly rhinoceros,—we have at last succeeded in tracing back the sacred rites of burial, and, more interesting still, a belief in a future state, to times long anterior to those of history and

tradition. Rude and superstitious as may have been the savage of that remote era, he still deserved, by cherishing hopes of a hereafter, the epithet of 'noble' which Dryden gave to what he seems to have pictured to himself as the primitive condition of our race :

‘As nature first made man,  
When wild in woods the noble savage ran.’”



## THE WALDENSIAN FORGERIES.

THAT the end justifies the means, is a principle which has very often been imputed to Catholics; and the success of the imputation has given it a strange vitality in spite of indignant repudiation, and in the face of a refutation supplied by the practice of those whose lives have represented the ideas of the Church. It cannot be doubted that the Jesuits were seriously injured in reputation by the persistency with which this maxim was attributed to them by Protestant and Jansenist enemies. The supposed immoral policy of the Society was a very powerful weapon in the hands of those who sought to convince the world that it ought to be suppressed. But in reality the very maxim with which the Jesuits were reproached was carried out by the party that pretended to denounce it. For among the measures by which the Protestants endeavoured to secure the triumph of their doctrines, one of the most conspicuous was the wholesale forgery of historical testimony, and the deliberate interpolation and corruption of texts. In the following pages we propose to notice one memorable instance of this policy—the spurious history of the Waldenses, devised by the Reformed Church in France. It is one of the most remarkable forgeries that history records.

The Waldenses originated in the latter part of the twelfth century from a certain Waldus of Lyons, whose name they bear. This is stated by the most credible authorities of those times, and by the oldest writers of the Waldenses themselves, and is confirmed by their earliest confessions. The opinion that Waldus joined a sect which already existed, and took his name from it, or that the name was derived from Vallis, must be rejected.

Waldus of Lyons, hearing the gospel read in the Mass, was seized one day with an earnest desire to know its meaning. He obtained the assistance of two priests, one of whom translated the gospels for him into his own tongue, while the other lent him the use of his pen. By degrees other books of Scripture were translated, and Waldus caused extracts to be made from the patristic writings, which were translated, and arranged under heads. He employed himself diligently in the study of these translations, without yet showing any desire of preaching. The books of the Old Testament were not forgotten; and Yvonet is wrong in saying that the Waldenses reject the Old Testament, and only use the

Gospels in their controversy with the Catholics, in the belief that since the Gospels came, all that preceded them is abolished. The contrary is proved by their commentary on the Canticle of Canticles, and by their frequent habit of taking texts for their sermons from the Old Testament. Parts of it were also contained in the translation of Scripture which was presented to Alexander III.

Waldus was attracted especially by the poverty of Christ, and by His utterances concerning poverty and the danger of wealth. Our Lord's command to leave all things, and to follow Him, decided him to sell all that he possessed, and to give the price to the poor, in order to embrace a state of perfect evangelical poverty. This determination was unquestionably brought about by the example of the early Christians, and by extracts from the Fathers, which we know from the use afterwards made of them to have been selected chiefly with reference to this mode of life. Waldus could not fail to be struck by our Lord's injunction to His apostles that they should possess nothing, and content themselves with what was absolutely indispensable. He understood it as an essential condition of the following of Christ. When he compared with this standard the lives of the clergy of his time, he naturally judged that though they followed the Apostles in their spiritual office, they did not imitate them in the spiritual life. But, as he himself did actually resemble the Apostles in this respect, he deemed himself really their successor; and, in that character, he understood our Lord's command to the Apostles to preach the gospel as addressed to himself. He was no sooner alive to this conviction than, without asking the leave of ecclesiastical authorities, he began to preach in public places. He exhorted the men and women to whom he expounded the gospel to do likewise, and despatched them into the surrounding villages. They went, both men and women, without instruction, ran through the streets, entered the houses, preached in the open air and even in the churches, and urged others to follow their example. They justified the practice by the authority of Scripture and the Fathers, and by the tradition of the Church, in which they maintained that many laymen had proclaimed the Word of God. According to the Abbot Bernard of Font-Caude, there were certain conditions under which the laity could really be allowed to preach, such as that they should not have wives, and should not be occupied with earthly cares. These conditions were accepted by the Waldenses, and exacted of the preachers. Thus the celibacy of the preachers of the Word was added

to the precept of poverty ; and those who were married parted from their wives. These were the perfect ones, the real poor Waldenses of Lyons. This development of a definite class of preachers put an end to the preaching women, who were transformed into a sort of religious order.

At the time when the Waldenses were founded, there were many who expected the coming of Antichrist. This was probably one reason why the exhortations of the new preachers to do penance because the kingdom of God was at hand, met with so much attention and favour ; and it appears from the works of the Waldenses that their preachers were in some measure influenced by the same expectation.

When we compare the doctrine of the early Waldenses with that of Calvin, we find an immeasurable chasm between them. The Waldenses ascribed the fall of man to his own free will, and proceeded on the decided view that the freedom of the will was not forfeited by the fall, although original sin had made grievous ravages in the human soul, so that man of himself could produce only bad and rotten fruits. According to their doctrine, all men may be saved, and there is no absolute predestination. "There is not a word," says Herzog, "about justifying faith, in the sense of the Reformation. The distinctive system of St. Paul is carefully ignored, and only those points are dwelt upon which are common to that apostle and St. James."<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, the Waldensian doctrine of justification is in all its details identical with the Catholic. Starting from the Catholic view, that Christ is the one Redeemer and the one Mediator, they hold to the Catholic doctrine of grace. Man, they believe, cannot begin the work of his own regeneration ; he must wait until God begins it. God seeks us before we seek Him, and if He did not, we should never seek Him. Faith must be the beginning of the new life. Belief in God, accompanied by the fear of Him, becomes obedience to His will ; and this is necessarily followed by humility, which does not proudly discuss the commandments, but fulfils them without contention. From the great value they attached to this virtue, the Waldenses also called themselves *Humiliati*. But they considered every thing vain and worthless without the real keystone of virtue, which is charity. This definition of faith and charity, and of their relation to each other, shows in an especial manner how Catholic they were on this point ; and it is an evidence that the Tridentine doctrine of justification, far from being a novelty, is the ancient doctrine of the Church. We are told in the *Vergier* : "Through

<sup>1</sup> Die Romanischen Waldenser, p. 190.



Faith we are adopted as sons of God. Without Faith it is impossible to please God. Faith must be sought before all things. As the branches of a tree separated from the trunk and the root fall and decay, so works are useless that do not proceed from the firm basis of Faith." But as works are nothing without Faith, so Faith is nothing without works. In innumerable passages Faith alone without charity and works is represented as inoperative for justification. In *Lo Novel Confort*, 81-96, we read: "St. James shows clearly and definitely that man cannot save himself by Faith alone. Faith that is not faithfully joined to works is dead and empty. St. Paul confirms the truth that the hearer of the Law cannot save himself. For as in man there are two component parts combined together, the soul and the body, in this life, so Faith and Works form one combined whole, by which man obtains salvation; and in no other way." Hence the Waldenses use the expression, *Fides Formata* (*Charitate*), and speak of Justification by works.

They held that Righteousness is communicated only through the sacraments. Did they, then, acknowledge the sacraments of the Catholic Church? According to Moneta, it is certain, at least with regard to the French Waldenses, that they confessed that the Catholic Church possesses a real priesthood, and seven true sacraments, and that the Catholic priest can really consecrate the body of our Lord. Moreover, the Waldensian books show that they believed in the seven sacraments. In the *Epistola Fidei* matrimony is termed the fourth sacrament of the Church, according to a way of counting found also among Catholics. In the Paris treatise *De Vitiis et Virtutibus* the seven sacraments are expressly named. In *Cantica* the *Sagramens de la yleisa* are spoken of in such a way that the sacraments of the Catholic Church must be meant. In a formula for ordination it is stated "that the candidate for orders is questioned also concerning the seven sacraments." In the letter of the Bohemian Brethren to King Wladislaus, of the year 1489, wherein they declare their separation from the Church, they affirm that they recognise the seven sacraments.

Without going through the different sacraments, we may say with certainty that they accepted Penance and the Holy Eucharist in a Catholic sense. "On the latter point," says Dieckhoff, "we have no grounds for attributing to them a different view from that of the Church."<sup>2</sup> In like manner, they held that the three essential parts of Penance are *contrition*, *confession*, and *penitencia*; and nobody who considers

<sup>2</sup> Die Waldenser im Mittelalter, p. 359.

the history of that sacrament will discover in this any heretical elements. Doubtless they had their own priests, who considered it their office not only to preach but to hear confessions, and even to celebrate the Eucharistic Sacrifice. As they also recognised the validity of Catholic orders, it is not easy to determine in what relation the Waldensian and the Catholic clergy stood to each other.

At first it was their intention not at all to exclude the Catholic priesthood, but to achieve a moral reformation amongst them; that is to say, they included the clergy in the work of reform which they wished to carry out in the Church. This is the special object of the author of the *Virgier de Consollacion*, where the Catholic clergy is reminded of the qualities necessary for its state. We must remember that the original purpose of the Waldenses was not to abandon the Church, but to take a certain position within her pale. This was understood by the Catholic writers, and they distinguished between Waldenses and heretics. Alanus writes his *Summa* against Heretics, Waldenses, Jews, and Pagans. The Council of Tarracona, in 1242, directed that those who were received into the Church should declare, "Quod non sum vel fui Waldensis—nec hæreticus." In the year 1179 they even appeared before the Council of Lateran with their translation of the Bible, in the hope of obtaining an ecclesiastical approbation. It was only when this had been refused by Alexander III., and they, continuing in the same path, had been condemned in the year 1184 by Lucius III., that their position towards the Church became an altered one; and then only the doctrine sprang up that Christ had indeed conveyed the primacy to Peter and his successors, but that it had been suspended from the days of Pope Sylvester.

The organisation of the sect throws some further light on its views. According to Catholic reports, they admitted the three hierarchical orders of the Church,—bishop, priest, and deacon; but we are not told whether these degrees were introduced among themselves. In the Waldensian commentary on the Canticle of Canticles the three orders are mentioned, but nothing is said of their respective functions. Another distinction, however, comes forth very clearly in their system: that between upper and lower, senior and junior priests. Two priests were always sent together on the mission; the lower and junior was subject to the other. Other priests there were, who did not go on missions, but lived in monastic community; besides which there were communities of women. For our inquiry the first alone are important.

They were ordained by the imposition of hands. Their office was partly to preach, partly to hear confessions and give penance and absolution. Herzog describes them as follows: "When they could not preach, they delivered their discourse in the houses; they read portions of the Bible and other books, which they also offered for sale; and they prayed on their knees with their followers who were present. Their chief occupation was to hear confessions, as the remission of sins was deemed to belong to the priesthood as such; and the decline of discipline in the Church gave an impulse to their activity. The penitent confessed on his knees before his confessor, and the latter pronounced absolution in terms which have been preserved in a German formulary in a Strasburg Ms. of the date of 1404: 'May our Lord, who forgave Zacheus, Mary Magdalene, and Paul, and delivered Peter from his chains, forgive thee thy sins. May the Lord bless and preserve thee, &c.'"<sup>3</sup>

How did this confession and absolution of the Waldensian priests stand with respect to that of the Catholics? Did the first exclude the other? and were they considered of equal value? Herzog says: "At first the Waldenses directed their penitents to the Catholic priests, and explained to the latter the proper way of hearing confessions." Moneta says of the French Waldenses, that "they declared themselves ready to receive the Holy Eucharist and the other Sacraments of the Catholic Church, if they could obtain them." And in fact they did receive the sacraments of the Catholic Church until the sixteenth century.

In order to settle this question, we must examine their ritual in the administration of Communion. In their own writings there is no trace of a separate Communion. The Catholic writers give more information. According to Innocent III.,<sup>4</sup> the Waldenses had on some occasions begun to administer Communion themselves. According to Peter of Vaux-Sernay, they held that in case of need they could consecrate; and such cases of need, in which Communion was refused them in the churches, may have often occurred. It appears, therefore, that they were induced to act for themselves only by necessity, in consequence of being denied by the Catholic Church. They admitted the legitimate authority of the Catholic clergy to consecrate and to absolve; but when they were excluded from participation, they had recourse to absolution and consecration by the hands of laymen. They found a welcome consolation in the controversies of the day. They took their departure from the per-

<sup>3</sup> Die Romanischen Waldenser, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> Epist. xiii. 94.



fectly true principle that God alone remits sins; and they argued that although forgiveness had been made conditional on confession to a priest, and on his absolution, nevertheless in their position the want of both would be pardoned them by God. But we are unable to discern from their books whether confession to the Waldensian priests, and absolution by them, had not simply the character of the confessions made in monasteries before the community, without being regarded as equivalent to confession to a Catholic priest, or as a substitute for it. Perhaps the retention of the *formula deprecativa* in the absolution is intended to express this. For we learn with certainty from the Catholic writers that the Waldenses always sought the Catholic confession as well as the other sacraments, which was imputed to them as hypocrisy by the Catholics; while the Bohemian Brethren refused to be united to them on this account, and the Calvinists made it a condition of their union that such a participation in the worship and sacraments of the Church should cease. In the *Index Errorum* it is even reported that most of their teachers, having little reliance on their own communion, came to communion in the Catholic Church.<sup>5</sup>

The singular form of the maxim, "therefore there are two ways of eating, one sacramental, the other spiritual; sacramental, when both the good and the bad eat; spiritual, when only the good partake,"<sup>6</sup>—appears to us, when we consider that the good are the Waldenses, and the bad the Catholics,<sup>7</sup> to imply that they imputed no sacramental character to their own separate communion, but regarded it only as a means of the spiritual communion. They probably meant to say: When we receive communion with the Catholics, we communicate sacramentally, for there the consecration by the priest completes the sacrament; but when we communicate alone, among ourselves, we do not possess the sacrament, and can therefore receive communion only spiritually. We are compelled so to understand it, because in the *Glosa Pater* a question of time and place is raised, and the sacramental or spiritual character of the communion is determined accordingly. The Waldensian maxim is therefore very different from that of Peter Lombard: "Et sicut duæ

<sup>5</sup> "Plurimi tamen magistrorum suorum, non habentes multam fidem in hujusmodi communione propria, ad communicandum in ecclesia veniunt." *Bib. Max.* xxv. 308.

<sup>6</sup> "Donca doas manieras son de maniar, una sacramental e autre sperital. Sacramental es, cant lo manian li bon e li mal. Sperital, cant lo manian solament li bon."

<sup>7</sup> According to *Cantica*, the Waldenses are the *fidel Catholic*, the Catholics the *mal Catholic*. See Herzog, p. 206.

sunt res illius sacramenti, ita etiam duo modi manducandi. Unus sacramentalis, quo boni et mali edunt; alter spiritualis, quo soli boni manducant." Here the question is as to the manner of partaking, which depends on the condition of the communicant. According to the Waldenses, the mode depends on the time and place of receiving. Otherwise we must assume, what nobody can believe, that the good, when they received communion with the bad, merely received the sacrament, but not spiritually.

It is therefore quite natural that, from the want of a sacramental character, the separate communion of the Waldenses did not long continue, and was not much relied upon by themselves, as the *Index Errorum* expressly says. At first they received communion in common every year, on the evening of Maundy Thursday; but this could only be held when the officiating minister was also a priest ("qui præest inter eos, si est sacerdos"); from which it is evident that they intended on this day to celebrate a sacramental communion. This could only be so long as they had Catholic priests among them. After that, the attempt to have a sectarian celebration necessarily disappeared, as it had done in the time of Yvonet. He, as well as the Inquisition of Toulouse, in 1309 and 1323, found no trace of a separate administration of the sacraments.

We must therefore conclude that the ministry of Penance and the Holy Eucharist by the Waldensian clergy was only exceptional. They moreover retained, according to the testimony of the Catholics, the other fundamental doctrines of the Church,—as that of the Person of Christ, and His descent into hell.

There were only two Catholic doctrines which they rejected,—Purgatory, and the Invocation of Saints. Herzog, indeed says (p. 160), that in all the extant books of the Waldenses belonging to the period previous to their intercourse with the Bohemian Brethren, the expression *purgatori* never occurs, and the doctrine is not expressly denied. He adds that the earliest Catholic writers, Alanus, Bernard of Font-Cauze, Peter Monachus, and the genuine Rainerius, do not affirm that the Waldenses expressly rejected purgatory. And if we examine their statements more closely, we shall find that they spring from a misunderstanding. Such sentences as "in hell there is no salvation,"—"in hell there is no place for repentance and for forgiveness, after death no more time for these," involve no repudiation of the Catholic doctrine, which does not deny either that with the end of this life the decision ensues for heaven or hell, or that

there is no salvation for those who are in hell. It only maintains that those who at their death are found just, and are at once among the heirs of heaven, may yet have some impurities and imperfections upon them which must be removed, since nothing defiled can enter heaven. The Waldenses do not contradict the doctrine that there is no deserving heaven beyond the grave; nor are they in opposition to the Church on the subject of purgatory when they say "that we must do penance here below, and that the brief penance of this life determines our fate in eternity." Even their denial of the efficacy of the intercession and good works of the living to alter the state of the dead, is no denial of purgatory, for these prayers and works were referred by them to hell, and not to purgatory; and even if it were otherwise, the doctrine rejected would be, not that of purgatory, but that of the communion of the militant and the suffering Church. Catholic writers, indeed, drew from these passages the conclusion that "the purifying punishment was held to be only in this life" (Stephanus de Borbone); or, as Yvonet says, that no purgatory exists. In reality, there seems to be in all this only a silence concerning the future, and the mode of its accomplishment, like that which they also observed with regard to the Holy Eucharist, where they affirmed nothing about the manner in which the bread and wine became transsubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ. Our interpretation is moreover supported by Bernard of Font-Cauze. It appears, says Dieckhoff (p. 297), that they held various opinions as to the way to heaven after death; for, according to Bernard, some believed that the souls of the pious are at once conveyed to heaven after death; while others held that the souls of the just are first of all received into places of rest (paradise), until at the last day they enter the real heaven, the *sidereas mansiones*.

The Invocation of Saints was never rejected by the Waldenses; but there is no trace of its actual use in their works.

Such the system of the Waldenses continued down to the Reformation; for even their intercourse with the Bohemian Brethren produced no real change. Although in the letters of Wladislaus of Bohemia, and of Thomas de Fonte Citiculæ, and in the book on Antichrist, a complete separation from the Catholics is spoken of; and although in these writings the Church is most bitterly assailed; yet the doctrine of Justification by Faith and of Predestination is never taught, the doctrine of the Seven Sacraments is never directly rejected, and it is nowhere stated that there are only two.



But monasticism and the Invocation of Saints are rejected, adoration is branded as idolatry, and oral confession and other acts of penance are reckoned among the works of Antichrist. Here there is a decided advance beyond the former opposition to the Catholic Church, but still not the doctrine of the Reformation.

Even in the books borrowed from the Hussites, late in the fifteenth century, the Waldenses still reckon seven sacraments, though with some admixture of Hussite notions, whilst characteristically the condition of a worthy communion is the *fides formata*. In the interpretation of the ten commandments the use of images is rejected; and in the Treatise on Purgatory that doctrine also is given up, with an appeal to the Greek Church. In the Hussite tract on the Invocation of Saints, the opposition of the Waldenses to the Catholic doctrine on that point is much more decided. The book on the Power given to the Vicars of God contains a long argument to show that God alone forgives sins; but even here the simple *fides* of John Hus, from whom the book is partly taken, is more closely defined as *fides formata*. The transition to the reformed doctrines is not accomplished in the Catechism of the Waldenses. To the question, "How many sacraments are there?" the answer is still, "Two are necessary and common to all; the others are not of equal necessity."

In this period, before the Reformation, but influenced by the Hussites, the Waldenses revised their own book *Glosa Pater*, in such a way as to exhibit the most decided hostility to the doctrine of Transsubstantiation, while the greatest weight is attached to the spiritual communion. This was their tone in the time of Seissel, archbishop of Turin, who saw a great deal of them at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Even in their reports to the Reformers, Œcolampadius and Bucer, in 1530, they still held fast by their old doctrines and practices. They had still their unmarried clergy, who were ordained by imposition of hands, after receiving communion, and were then sent forth two and two; and the senior in orders was still the superior. "Likewise we hold that there is no mediator with God excepting Jesus Christ; but that the Virgin Mary was holy, humble, and full of grace; we believe the same of all the other Saints, persuaded that they are awaiting in heaven the resurrection of their bodies at the last day." After this life, they believed in only two places,—paradise for the elect, and hell for the damned,—and they utterly denied purgatory. They also rejected the

festivals of the saints and their vigils, holy water, regular fasts, and especially the mass, which they learned, under the influence of the Taborites, to abominate. Still they retained the seven sacraments; and George Morel significantly adds to his account: "In this, however, we erred, as I am informed, inasmuch as we thought that there were more than two sacraments." Even auricular confession was still deemed useful; and the sacraments were received, not from Waldensian priests, but from the Catholic clergy.

The same old system of the Waldenses appears in the forty-seven questions which were submitted to the two Reformers. The hierarchical order of episcopate, priesthood, and diaconate, still seems to them of apostolic institution; the gift of the keys of the kingdom of heaven to Peter makes him the head of the Church, although the effect of the Reformation is to make them waver in their idea of the power which the keys confer. They knew as yet no distinction between the canonical and the deuterocanonical—or, as they call them, uncanonical—books of Scripture; and they still regarded the knowledge of the whole Bible as dangerous for the people. In a different spirit to that which we have just seen exemplified, Morel asks: "whether there are more than two sacraments, as the papists say there are seven?" Now they begin to doubt whether there are commandments and counsels of Christ. The question, "whether it is right that the servants of the Word (*i. e.* the Waldensian clergy) should administer the uses and ceremonies of the sacraments when they can," shows how little Morel thought of breaking off the attendance at the Catholic service. The views of the Reformers on the worthlessness of works, and the *sola fides*, are incomprehensible to them: on these points, says Morel, they require particular instruction. Their greatest difficulty came from what they heard and read in Luther about free will and predestination. They had always believed that some power was implanted in man by God, and that man can do something by its means, although God first moves him,—otherwise, they could not see how so many positive and negative commandments, as Erasmus explained, were to be understood. "Concerning predestination we believed that the Almighty knew infinitely before the creation of heaven and earth who would be saved and who would be lost, but that He had created all men for eternal life, and that the damned were lost by their own fault, because they would not obey or observe the commandments. But if every thing happens by necessity, as Luther says, those who are predestined for life cannot be damned, nor the others

saved, because the divine decree cannot be baffled. Wherefore, then, should there be so many writings, preachers, and physicians for the body? For through them nothing happens, more or less, because every thing happens by necessity."

In the letter to Œcolampadius, it is true, they say, "in all things we agree with you, differing from you only in this, that, through our fault and the dullness of our spirit, we understand the Scripture far less well than you." We have seen what this deficiency was, and how great was the difference from the teaching of the Reformers.

Œcolampadius insisted in his answer on the immediate abandonment of the Catholic communion, and of participation in the "abominable mass," picturing in the darkest colours the horrors of Antichrist. Bucer did the same; but his answer to the question concerning the number of the sacraments is remarkable: "We know no sacraments but baptism and the Lord's Supper:" *Nos non haven conegiu* is a wrong translation of *novimus*, which Bucer must have written in his Latin reply. This mistranslation played afterwards, as we shall see, a very important part.

When Morel returned to Mérindol from his mission to Bucer and Œcolampadius, he declared publicly to his brethren, not that their doctrine entirely agreed with that of the Reformers, but "in how many and what grave errors they lived, with which their old priests had misled them, and guided them astray from the right path of piety." In Provence the Waldenses appear to have decided at once in favour of a junction with the Reformation. The final step was taken at the assembly in the Valley of Angrogne, on the 12th of September 1532, at which all the Italian Waldenses were represented by their clergy, and to which an embassy from the Swiss community had been invited. Farel and the pastor Saunier represented the Swiss; and here, under Farel's influence, the teaching and practices of the Waldenses were brought into agreement with those of the Reformers. Even predestination and the rejection of free will were adopted as articles of faith. "Whoever asserts free will utterly denies predestination and the grace of God." The Scripture, it was declared, knows only of two sacraments, Baptism and the Holy Eucharist.

Now at length unity was established between the Waldenses and the Protestants, though not without creating an opposition party among those who wished to remain faithful to the traditions of their fathers. The Bohemian Brethren also declared themselves against this measure of the Walden-



ses. The Reformation among them was not immediately carried out every where. Its victory was not decided till the union of the Valleys, in the year 1571.

The polemics of the Catholic divines against Protestantism rested mainly on the want of succession, and perpetually repeated the question where the Church could have been before the Reformation if Catholicism had completely abjured the true Christianity; and the Protestants saw the importance of meeting the reproach. For this purpose the enormous forgery of the history of the Waldenses was devised. Perhaps there was the additional motive of reconciling the Waldenses themselves with the Protestant system, which was so entirely new to them.<sup>8</sup> Herzog may be right in assuming this; but he has done the Waldenses great injustice by attributing to them alone this falsification of their own documents, and by supposing that it was done in their interest, and for their advantage only. "This retrospective reformation," he says, "was connected with the circumstance that the leaven of Catholicism had not yet been completely cleared away from the minds of the Waldenses. For what is the common source of all such attempts to give an earlier origin to the sect? Simply the Catholic principle, that the age of a doctrine is the proof of its truth. True disciples of the Reformation would therefore never have had recourse to that principle. Consequently the Waldenses were in reality obeying a Catholic impulse when they endeavoured to give a Protestant character to their past history, and to their literature." On the contrary, it is precisely the genuine disciples of the Reformers who had recourse to this principle, unless the members of the whole reformed church of France at the beginning of the seventeenth century are denied that character. The cause of falsification is wrongly described by Herzog when he writes: "The Protestants who accepted the statements of the Waldenses were impelled by party interest, supported by want of criticism, and by their ignorance of the scattered documents, which were written, moreover, in a strange extinct tongue."

<sup>8</sup> This may be gathered, for instance, from the seventeenth national synod, of Gap, in 1603, *matière. part.* art. 16. "Sur la lettre des frères de la Vallée de Barcelone, demandant quelle conduite ils doivent tenir maintenant qu'ils sont en danger d'être privés par le duc de Savoie du libre exercice de la vraie Religion qu'ils professent? La Compagnie, voulant leur donner toute la consolation possible, les exhorte de persévérer constamment dans la dite profession avec ceux des aultes vallées du Piémont, leur promettant les mêmes secours de charité, en cas qu'ils soient molestés ou exilés, qu'à ceux qui sont unis avec nous par une même doctrine et discipline." The question evidently was, whether in their extremity they might not return to their old institutions, to the concealment of their religion, and partaking in the Catholic service.

The Protestants did not *accept* these statements from the Waldenses, but fabricated them themselves, not in uncritical ignorance, but by means of the most arbitrary kind of criticism, governed by the interest of their party. Herzog, indeed, admits that there are few examples of such a forgery, though analogies are not entirely wanting. The manner in which it was accomplished we now proceed to describe.

The articles of the Union of the Valleys in 1571 completed the alliance of the Waldensian and the Reformed doctrines; but from the very first the false expression was introduced, that these were the articles of the old *union continuée de père en fils*. The *Historia breve e vera degl' affari dei Valdesi delle Valle*, an Italian Ms. at Cambridge, says that the reformed doctrines which now prevailed among the Waldenses had been taught for five hundred years, and, according to the pedigree of the Valley themselves, had been handed down from father to son from time immemorial. Vigneaux translated this book into French. If it contained this assertion from the time when it was written,—for it was afterwards involved in the process of falsification<sup>9</sup>—there was, at any rate, no intentional deceit. The intention was only to express what the Protestants meant by their even then frequent appeals to the Waldenses. The Catholics had not failed to represent the Protestants as offshoots of the Waldenses, and the common testimony of both sides is cited as evidence of the transmission *de père en fils* of the fabulous history by the first author of the forgery.<sup>10</sup>

Perrin, pastor at Nions in Dauphiné, published his *Histoire des Vaudois* in 1618 and 1619, and first attempted to prove that the ancient doctrine of the Waldenses was “in all points conformable to the Word of God, and to the doctrine now received in the reformed church.” His chief purpose was to refute the taunt, “where was the Church in the past centuries?”<sup>11</sup> And, according to the words of his dedication, “this history would shut the mouths of opponents.” In fact, he gained his object, although he contradicted all the Catholic writers of the Middle Ages; but he rested his case on the writings of the Waldenses themselves, which were accessible only to himself and a few others.

The appearance of Perrin's work was the signal for an

<sup>9</sup> Gilles, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, p. 382.

<sup>10</sup> Perrin, *Histoire des Vaudois*, i. 44 sq., i. 61 sq. “Il ne faut donc plus disputer de l'ancienneté de la doctrine, ains seulement de la pureté d'icelle : puisque non seulement par le dire mêmes des adversaires des Vaudois et de la dernière Reformation, etc.” Léger, i. 29.

<sup>11</sup> “Que c'est donc sans raison qu'on demande où estait l'Eglise es siècles passés.”

ever-increasing falsification of the Waldensian history, which has continued down to our day. Perrin had been satisfied with tracing the reformed doctrines to a period before the Reformation, and showing that they were held by the Waldenses; he had referred the origin of the Waldenses to Waldus, and had used their books as very ancient authorities, without fixing definite dates upon them. The next historian of the Waldenses, Gilles, carried the work of forging farther: the third writer of the series, Léger, completed all that remained to do. He begins by stating that the Waldenses derived their doctrines from the Apostle of the Gentiles, or at least from his immediate disciples, and had kept them unchanged to the Reformation; so that it is his principal object to prove the continuity of this apostolic succession, which Perrin and Gilles had overlooked, and also to show that the doctrines consequently never needed to be reformed. We shall return presently to his arguments, but we will first follow the course of this delusion through various works down to the present time.

In 1732 George Conrad Rieger published an account of the Protestants who emigrated from Salzburg.<sup>12</sup> He says, that "if the Waldenses really sprang, as some supposed, from the Albigenses and Petrobrusians, they would indeed be somewhat older" (than Waldus), "but still too young to be cited as adversaries of the papacy from the earliest times, when the claws of the Pope first appeared. For we should desire to discover in history such societies as opposed the papacy more and more vigorously from the beginning of its rise in Christendom, and ran parallel with it, as Saul and his men marched on one side of the hill, and David and his men on the other side of the hill." Rieger's argument is the most ludicrous that can be imagined. They have their doctrine probably from St. Paul; for if he went to Spain, he no doubt passed the Alps.

Eighteen years later Léger's *History of the Waldenses* was translated into German by the Baron von Schweinitz, and dedicated to the King of Prussia. Baumgarten, one of the founders of rationalism, who wrote a preface, explains the importance of the information the work contains. According to him "it conclusively refutes various arguments which the advocates of the papacy were accustomed to use as serviceable prejudices for the defence of their cause;"

<sup>12</sup> "Salzbund Gottes mit der evangelisch-salzburgischen Gemeinde, oder ausführliche und erbauliche Erzählung von dem Ursprung und sonderbaren Erhaltung, wie auch andern merkwürdigen Schicksalen derer von einem halben Jahr her aus dem Erzbisthum Salzburg emigrirenden evangelischen Christen." Stuttgart, 1732.



that is to say, "the ancient, constant, and undisturbed possession which that church professes to have enjoyed down to the sixteenth century in respect of her ceremonial and her doctrines, as well as of the claims, privileges, and rights connected with them, together with the right of prescription against all contradiction which is derived from them." It is the same thing as regards "the pretence of this party that it is the universal church, and was generally recognised as such until the Protestant separation." This is also a refutation of the view "that Luther and his colleagues had no predecessors, that there was no true church before their time, since the Roman Church was not the true one. . . ." "The third great use of this history must be considered to be, that it clearly exposes the injustice of the claim of some recent communities to the uninterrupted connection with these old evangelical churches, and the wrongfulness of the schism and disturbance of our church sometimes founded on this pretence by those who have deserted it. If the pretence of Count Zinzendorf's adherents,<sup>13</sup> the Moravians, that they spring from the ancient churches, the Bohemian Brethren and the Waldenses, had not been so often solemnly repeated in published works, and maintained with the greatest obstinacy, it could hardly be supposed that impudence would go so far as to outrage with such a falsehood both the church which they abandon, and the old communities whose name and reputation they abuse and dishonour." So strong was the desire, in the middle of the last century, to represent the Protestants as descendants of the Waldenses. In the year 1796 the pastor Brez, who came from the Waldensian Valleys, and who maintained that their Pauline church

<sup>13</sup> "It is curious to remark what has been made till very recently of this fiction of an independent and pure succession of episcopal orders among the Waldenses from the time of the Apostles. At the end of the fifteenth century the Bohemian Brethren caused their bishops to be consecrated by a so-called bishop of the Waldenses, in the archduchy of Austria, and supposed that in this way they obtained an apostolic succession independent of Rome. After their community had been dissolved in the Thirty Years' war, the descendants of their bishops handed down the episcopal consecration which they believed that they possessed by the imposition of hands, which they generally gave to their sons. In this manner the celebrated Jablonski, preacher to the court of Prussia, who played a conspicuous part in the ecclesiastical measures of the government of Berlin early in the last century, had received this consecration in the cradle from his father, who belonged to a family of Bohemian Brethren, and several General Superintendents were made bishops by him. Zinzendorf was also consecrated by him, and thus transferred into the community which he founded the orders which had been received through the Bohemian Brethren from the Waldenses. Even in our own day Baron Bunsen has gravely declared in his book on the future of the Church, that the Protestant Church could obtain an episcopal consecration, going back to the Apostles and independent of Rome, through the Moravians." Dieckhoff, *Die Waldenser im Mittelalter*, p. 8.

was of equal authority with that of St. Peter at Rome, said in his *Histoire des Vaudois* (i. 43), that the Reformers had been instructed by the Waldenses, for "our churches are the mother-church of all reformed churches."

Even in our critical generation this opinion has not only survived, but has found new advocates, such as Muston, in his *Histoire des Vaudois des Vallées du Piémont et de leurs Colonies*. This work called forth the answer of Monsignore Charvaz,—*Recherches Historiques sur la véritable Origine des Vaudois*,—and the result was not to the advantage of the cause which Muston had undertaken to defend. He, however, reiterated his statements in the year 1851, in his work *L'Israel des Alpes, première Histoire complète des Vaudois*. Four years previously Monastier had published a *Histoire de l'Église Vaudoise*, with the same tendency. Both of these writers are Waldenses, and they are consequently not entirely impartial; but the same views are maintained by the German Hahn, in the second volume of his *History of the Medieval Heretics*.

A practical interest attaches at the present day to this account of the history of the Waldenses. The government of Turin actively encourages the sect, which receives large sums from Protestant countries; and pains are taken to represent it to the Italians in an attractive light, as a broad church which has preserved the light of the Gospel from the earliest ages, and through evil times, and may now serve as a proper rallying-point for the different forces that are hostile to Catholicism. In December 1853 a large Waldensian church, capable of containing two thousand people, was solemnly opened at Turin. It had cost above 8000*l.*, no part of which was contributed by the Waldenses themselves, of whom at that time there were not above three hundred at Turin. At Genoa there were none; but an old church was bought for them by the Protestant association. "Only in our own day," says a Protestant divine, "first of all under Charles Albert, did the Waldenses obtain liberty of conscience in the kingdom of Sardinia. Since that time they have founded congregations in several towns. This opens a new phase in the history of the Waldenses, on the future consequences of which the historian must suspend his judgment. In many quarters great hopes have been founded on this new development of their community. Some have expected that the Waldenses, as the only Protestant sect that has subsisted in Italy in former times, will form the centre of that significant movement which has spread of late in Northern Italy and in Tuscany. This belief is particularly

strong in England, where all efforts are made, and not always with proper means, to promote the evangelical movement in Italy. It is supposed that the Protestant Church would be more acceptable to the Italians if it presented itself, not as something foreign, but in the shape of a national religion. But irrespective of the fact that it is wrong, in matters of faith, not to rely exclusively on the power of the truth, and on the preaching of the pure Word of God, this opinion is also unfounded, and a sign of the usual ignorance of the state of the Continent among Englishmen, inasmuch as the Waldenses represent the Italian nationality neither in customs nor in speech. In contrast with these expectations, it appears that divisions are arising between those Waldenses who cling to their traditions, and the new uncertain tendencies of the evangelical movement in Italy, which have already manifested themselves in a schism among the communities at Turin.”<sup>14</sup>

Bossuet had already remarked, in his *History of the Variations*, that the date of the tract on Purgatory must be erroneous; that no man could point out a library containing the works of the Waldenses; that Perrin was expecting too much if he thought men would be satisfied by his merely quoting “vieux livres des Vaudois;” and that there was ground for suspecting the Waldensian books to have been prepared or altered by the reformed Waldenses of the school of Farel. Bossuet was right; but he had no proof of the justice of his accusation. Such a proof it was reserved for our time to supply.

The first of our contemporary writers who questioned the dates of the Waldensian books was Maitland.<sup>15</sup> He was followed by Dr. Todd, in his *Discourses on the Prophecies relating to Antichrist*, and in the *British Magazine* of 1841, where he described the Waldensian Ms. in the library of Trinity College. The enquiry which they had begun was brought to a termination by two Protestant divines in Germany, Dieckhoff, who, in 1851, came near the solution, and Herzog, who, after extensive researches at Geneva and Dublin, finally settled the question.<sup>16</sup> We will examine the process of the forgery he has discovered.

<sup>14</sup> Dieckhoff, p. 6. The Waldenses have established a review at Turin, *La buona Novella*, for the especial object of defending the existence of the sect in the early centuries, and of vindicating for it the paternity of the Reformation.

<sup>15</sup> Facts and Documents illustrative of the History, Doctrine, and Rites of the ancient Albigenses.

<sup>16</sup> Dieckhoff, *Die Waldenser im Mittelalter*, 1851; Herzog, *De Walden-*



A record was preserved of Morel's negotiation with Œcolampadius and Bucer. Herzog found on examination that "the Ms. has been corrupted by a later hand, indeed by several hands, and Perrin made use of the interpolated Ms. But there are other interpolations which Perrin did not use, and Perrin's text exhibits interpolations which do not occur in the Ms." We shall presently explain this circumstance, which Herzog does not pursue further.

According to Morel, candidates for priests' orders ask for admission *genibus curvis*. Perrin discerns in this practice too great a concession to Catholic humility, and he therefore omits the words. The statement that these candidates came mostly from the plough or the sheepwalk, and had to be taught to write, is struck out in the Ms., and is not used by Perrin. On the margin of the Ms. it is added, that they must learn from the Old Testament *de Salomon, de David et des prophètes*, which is adopted by Perrin, in order not to betray any neglect of the Old Testament, with which they had been reproached, in 1547, by Coussord, of the Sorbonne. The decrees of Angrogne were inconsistent with the passage of Morel: "that young men who devote themselves to the ecclesiastical state are brought to a place where certain women, who are our sisters in the spirit, lead a life of virginity." These words are consequently struck out in the Ms., and omitted by Perrin. Morel says: "item alcuns de nos menistres de l'evangeli *ni alcunas de las nostras fennas non se maridan.*" The words printed in italics are struck out; but another accomplice wrote on the margin: "Cet article ne doit (être) inséré, d'autant qu'il conste (constat) de par les mémoires du sieur de Vigneaux, que plusieurs Barbes ont été mariés." Accordingly Perrin leaves it out, for fear of countenancing in any way the practice of celibacy.

The place where it is said that the clergy receive their means of subsistence from the faithful *en luoc d'almonas* (*loco eleemosynarum*) is struck out as too humiliating; but Perrin retains it. George Morel says: "car de l'estremita de una fin a l'autra haya plus de oyt cent mills." That is, the Waldenses extend over a space of above 800 miles. This is an exaggeration, according to Herzog. But on the margin is written, 800,000; that is, that they were 800,000 in number—a far greater exaggeration. Where Morel says that a Waldensian is never (*mais*) or seldom (*o rar*) guilty of any

thing that deserves punishment, the words *o rar* are struck out. But the most important alteration is at the fourteenth question put by Morel to Bucer, respecting the number of sacraments. In the manuscript it stands: "R. Busseri [Bucer's answer]: Nos [the Protestants] non haven conegu autre sacrament que lo baptisme e la eucharistia." It was important that this should be represented as a statement of the Waldenses respecting themselves. The words *R. Busseri* were therefore struck out; so that what followed appeared to be the words of Morel himself.

Perrin, however, made additional changes in this report, where there was nothing struck out, and nothing inserted on the margin. The most considerable is the introduction of the words, "Entre las autras potestas Dio done a li serf competent qu'ills eslegissan regidors del poble e preveires en li lor officis segond la diversita de l'obrament en l'unita de Christ. E l'apostol ensempr prova aizo Tit. 1: Yo laissai tu en Creta per la gratia," &c. Now according to Seissel the Waldenses affirmed: "En toute Loy nous lisons avoir été ordonné ou observé, que celui que le peuple, le Prince, ou ceux qui par le decret du peuple ont puissance d'eslire, que celui, di-je, qu'ils auront choisi pour Pasteur, soit tenu pour Pasteur," &c. Perrin evidently borrowed this from Seissel.

It was especially desired, says Herzog, to vindicate for the Waldenses before the Reformation the doctrine of two sacraments. "In general we see that no scruple was felt about interpolation when the object was to represent their early condition in a favourable light. No care was taken even to blot out what was objectionable. Much, it is true, remained in Morel's report that is not favourable to the Waldenses. But Perrin has omitted it; and he does not bring forward one of the delicate questions touched upon by Morel." He says, indeed (ii. 225), that the books he is using are taken from very early Waldensian writings; but not a word about Morel being the author.

He gives also a *Confession de Foy des Vaudois* (i. 79). It is not an early document, not even a spurious copy of one, but an abstract of later writings, especially those of George of Morel, though Perrin pretends that they are very ancient. He makes use of the Report in two ways: "First of all, whole passages are taken from Morel, and then the replies of Ecolampadius and Bucer to the questions are given as parts of the confession, and are evidently intended by the

writer to pass as the statements of the Waldenses." Morel requested Œcolampadius to point out the canonical and apocryphal books of Scripture, which the Reformer did. Perrin makes use of this in the confession he fabricated in order to attribute to the early Waldenses this distinction between canonical and apocryphal books which they received from Œcolampadius, without considering that the distinction was unknown to the whole of the medieval church. In the confession which afterwards received the date of 1120, we find the words, "nos non haven conegu autre sacrament que lo baptisme e la eucharistia." This reply of Bucer's, therefore, passed from the interpolated report of Morel into a pretended confession of the twelfth century.

Another spurious work, which, however, Perrin deems to have been composed before the Reformation, is the so-called catechism, or the *interrogacions menors*. "Perrin's text," says Herzog, "is different from that of the Dublin copy, which is the more singular because Perrin knew the *interrogacions menors* under that name, and very probably knew the Dublin copy. Substantially the two texts agree; the order of the matters is the same in both; but the *interrogacions* contain some peculiarities corresponding to the old Waldensian system which are omitted in Perrin. . . . Thus the question as to the number of sacraments is answered as follows in the *interrogacions*: 'Dui son necessaris e comun a tuit, li autre non son de tanta necessita.' In Perrin, the answer is entirely Protestant: 'Dui, czo es lo baptisme e la Eucharistia.'"

In his extracts from the treatise on the sacraments (ii. 324) he is careful to omit the names that occur in it, Dr. Evangelic (Wicliffe) and Jacobus de Misa, in order not to betray its Taborite origin; he does not say that the treatise recognises seven sacraments, and instead of the word *messa* he says *sancta cena*. In the treatise on the explanation of the Ten Commandments (i. 29, ii. 182) he alters the Catholic mode of reckoning into the Protestant, and attributes it to the Albigenses, in order to date it from the time when the Waldenses were supposed to have been called Albigenses. He pretends that the book on Antichrist belongs to the year 1120, although Laurentius Valla, who lived in the middle of the fifteenth century, is mentioned in it. In like manner he claims for the Hussite works on Purgatory, and on 'the Invocation of Saints, great antiquity and a Waldensian origin.



Perrin also corrupted the decrees of Angrogne. At the very beginning he represents the Reformers as congratulating the Waldenses simply on having preserved the true faith in superstitious times, whereas Farel and his companion only expressed their joy that the Waldenses had preserved the Holy Scriptures, assuming at the same time, of necessity, that they had not understood them. He also cites them so that it may appear that the decrees corresponded with the doctrines handed down among the Waldenses *de père en fils* from time immemorial. In the Ms. there is not a word to this effect. Two of the articles of Angrogne are left out; the others are given in inverted order, so as to suit the type of the reformed system.

The next historian of the Waldenses, Gilles, added little to these falsifications. He speaks very briefly of the books of the sect, and does not name one of them in particular. The forgery was really concluded by Léger.

Léger gives the dates of the books; but the Mss. which, according to him, contained them have perished. He puts the *Nobla Leyczon* in the year 1100; omits, in his extracts, all that resembles Catholicism; recites the duties of the pastors, excluding those of enjoining their flock to confess their sins, to fast and give alms, which are mentioned in the original as necessary for salvation; and he even affirms that it rejects auricular confession. He inserts spurious passages in direct contradiction to Catholicism. Of the *glosa Pater* he quotes only the explanation of the three first demands, but passes over the fourth, where the transsubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ is spoken of. The books on Purgatory and the Invocation of Saints are, according to him, of the year 1120, as well as the *Confession de Foy*, which is taken from Morel's report, and in which he also inserts the passage on the two sacraments. Léger generally adopts the alterations made by Perrin in the originals; but in the *Almanac spirituel* he changes the expression *fe forma* (*fides formata*) into *foi ferme*. "It cannot be denied," says Herzog, "that Léger is adroit in helping himself; but here his ignorance may have helped him."

At this point Herzog concludes his enquiry; and Dieckhoff says, in an address of the year 1861: "It has been displeasing to many that recent investigations on the sect of the early Waldenses should have destroyed the groundless supposition of their purely evangelical character. Some time ago a famous divine of Berlin expressed to me his regret that we could no longer send our fraternal greeting

to the medieval Waldenses with as good a conscience as heretofore."

Without examining the Mss. themselves, it is of course impossible to pursue the train of discovery of which they have supplied the materials. But in another way we are able to carry the enquiry further. Herzog and Dieckhoff have only proved that a corruption of the documents took place, and they have left the blame of having originated it on Perrin; but we said at the beginning that it was the act of the Reformed Church of France. The darkest secrets of the past are revealed sooner or later; and if the authors of this great deception had foreseen the advance of historical science, which knows of no unfathomable mysteries, they would have been more careful in changing the Mss., or would have made them utterly illegible.

The process of interpolation and corruption extended, as we have seen, over a period of about twenty years. The national synods of the French Protestants were not only active in urging the publication of replies to Catholic theologians, such as Bellarmine and Baronius, but they undertook to promote the composition of historical works with assistance from public funds. As early as the year 1563 the synod of Lyons (Aymon, *Tous les Synodes Nationaux*, i. 47) decreed that every church should faithfully collect all the local events, and send the account to Geneva. In 1572 the national synod, which met at Nîmes, desired all ministers who possessed narratives relating to the recent history of the Church to transmit them to Lyons, to be arranged and published (*ib.* p. 121). At the same time, Berauld and his colleagues at Montauban were directed to procure from Camerard of Toulouse the History of the Albigenes, written in their language, which was then to be translated into French. At La Rochelle, in 1581, it was directed that each Colloquy should name a deputy, to whom the memoirs of every church should be sent, by whom they were then to be forwarded to the provincial synod, to be transmitted to the national synod (p. 150). As this order was not obeyed, the synod of Montauban, in 1594, desired the deputies to remind the local clergy of their duty (p. 181). When D'Aubigné undertook to write the history of his times, the national synod of Gap, in 1603, sent word to every province to institute researches into their acts and records for the last fifty years (p. 281).

A similar order was made in favour of the history of the Waldenses which was to be written by Perrin. Gilles relates (p. 383), that in 1604 the synods of France had requested

the Waldenses to send to the pastor Perrin, in Dauphiné, all their books and records which could be found. Vigneaux was appointed by the Waldenses to arrange the papers they had collected.<sup>17</sup> "Among other things," says Gilles, "we gave him the Italian work which Hieronymus Mire, pastor at Angrogne, composed twenty years ago with great industry. Vigneaux translated it into French, and added something of his own. We also procured for him a great number of the Waldensian books, which he proposed to carry to the national synod of Gap in 1603 for the above purpose. But he was dissuaded on account of his advanced age; and his son Jean Vigneaux conveyed them to Gap." It appears, therefore, that Perrin began his work under the auspices of the reformed synod of France. Their connection with his undertaking did not end here.

The synod of La Rochelle, in 1607, admonishes him to pursue his labours in order to complete the true history of the Waldenses and Albigenses; and, in order to encourage him, all who possessed records of their doctrine, discipline, or persecutions, were directed to forward them to him as soon as possible (Aymon, 313). In 1609 Perrin submitted his plan to the synod of St. Maixent (*ibid.* p. 361). They expressed their satisfaction, and urged him to continue. In order to assist him, it was ordered that Ferrier, Durand, Benoist, de Castelfranc, and Vignier—himself a historian, and secretary to the synod of Alais in 1620—should send him all the materials they could find, in order that his work might be completed without delay. He was also to be paid his expenses, and recompensed for his trouble. From this declaration of the national synod it appears how much they were committed to the scheme of interpolation, and that it is the French Protestants, and not the Waldenses, who so urgently desire the completion of the work, and its speedy publication.

Perrin at length presented his history to the national synod of Privas in 1612 (*ibid.* p. 404). His Ms. was placed before a committee, consisting of the leading pastors, who were to report upon it; and Perrin received a sum of three hundred *livres*. After the committee had reported, Perrin was requested to revise his book in agreement with their remarks, and then to submit it to the synod of Dauphiné, in

<sup>17</sup> To this the words of Perrin, on the title of his dedication, must refer: "Le tout fidèlement recueilli des historiens qui en ont escrits, et des mémoires qui nous ont esté fournies par personnes dignes de foy, habités en ladite contrée, et cottés en marge."



order that it might be published with the acknowledgment that it had been revised in accordance with the intention of the community (p. 429). It was therefore distinctly declared that the book must be brought into entire harmony with the designs of the synod.

In 1614 the national synod desired the synod of Dauphiné to examine the book, and directed the author to send a copy, as soon as it was printed, to every province (ii. 11). But in 1617 the deputies of Dauphiné report to the national synod that Perrin's book had been examined, but is not printed or distributed, and it is decided that it must further be submitted to the faculty of Geneva, while the synod of Dauphiné undertakes the publication (p. 87). In the two following years the book was published; Perrin appeared at the national synod of Alais to report upon it, and received its solemn thanks.

From these circumstances it is evident that Perrin's forgery was not a private but an official act, accomplished in the intention, with the approbation and with the co-operation, of the whole reformed Church of France. Hence it may be possible to throw some light on the present condition of the Ms. he used. Herzog found that it was "corrupted by a later hand, indeed by several hands; and Perrin used the interpolated Ms. But there are things inserted which Perrin did not use, and there are interpolations in Perrin which do not occur in the Ms." Many passages are struck out, and remarks are written on the margin by which he was to be guided, and which did actually guide him. Indeed, this deed of falsehood, perpetrated for the service of religion by the French Calvinists, was received from the first with suspicion. Perrin says, in his preface, that some persons disapproved of the undertaking as soon as they heard of it, in the persuasion that the object could not be attained if the truth was to be told.<sup>18</sup>

The intrigue made a very great impression at the time; for in that very year, 1618, another Protestant divine, Cappel of Sedan, published *La Doctrine des Vaudois*, in which he brought forward the points that were discussed among the

<sup>18</sup> "En ceste sainte occupation il ne faut point redouter le venin des mauvaises langues, les brocards des athées, ni les risées des prophanes. Un estomach mal habitué n'aime que ce qui lui est contraire, ni les malins ne peuvent priser que ce qui est conforme à leur humeur vitieuse. Si les picqueurs des meschans devoient accrocher le service que nous devons à Dieu et à son Eglise, nous n'aurions pas escrit trois lignes de ceste histoire que nous en eussions quitté la suite: car elle a esté mordue par plusieurs sur le seul bruit qu'on la traçoit: que ne feront ils maintenant qu'ils y verront ce qu'ils n'ont jamais estimé que nous peussions soutenir si véritablement."

Protestants with reference to the Waldenses, and which was particularly adapted to throw discredit on the work of Perrin. For Cappel describes the old Waldensian system according to Seissel, whose book appeared after his death, in 1520, and Coussord, who wrote in 1547; and he considers that he has done enough when he defends the Waldenses against both, and shows their resemblance to the Protestants. He has no idea of showing, as Perrin undertook to do in the same year, that the system of the Waldenses was, point for point, identical with that of the Calvinists. He endeavours to explain that they agree *en substance*; but it is by means of interpretation, not by showing the harmony by documentary evidence. Cappel concludes "that it is not only since yesterday that churches have existed in great numbers (therefore not only the Waldenses) that condemn the Church of Rome on the same grounds as we do." These doctrines, he says, "would come out more distinctly from the works of the Waldenses themselves; but they are not easily obtained, and our adversaries would treat them with suspicion. But this suspicion cannot arise if we describe their doctrines from the works of their opponents."

If Cappel deemed quotations from the books of the Waldenses open to suspicion, what must have been thought when the French Calvinists suddenly discovered the whole reformed system in the Waldensian papers, in contradiction to the testimony of all the Catholic writers? It became necessary that the operations of Perrin should immediately be repeated by other hands. In 1623, Tillot, pastor at Sedan, was commissioned to write a history of the Albigenses, and all the provinces were desired to send him materials (Aymon, ii. 248). Cappel's book had appeared in that town, and was dedicated to the Princess Elizabeth of Nassau, the sovereign of Sedan; and the intention probably was to make it harmless. Tillot appears to have neglected the order. Gilles also says to his brethren, in the preface to his history of the Waldenses (1655): "You know partly why, through whom, and how, I was commissioned to write the history of your churches." According to Herzog, Perrin's book was at once found to be unsatisfactory; and Gilles commenced his labours, and received his remuneration, as early as the year 1620. In 1646 Léger was asked by the churches of Piedmont to continue the work of Gilles, which was not printed till 1655. His materials were destroyed by fire; but he was induced to resume his labours. Inasmuch, he tells his colleagues, as Gilles says nothing about the doctrine and disci-

pline of the Waldenses, and Perrin describes them only from old Mss. of the sect, which the people in Rome consider suspicious, and hold themselves free to reject, he undertook to prove the truth of the account from the works of the adversaries of the Waldenses. We have seen how he fulfilled his task, and how little the French Protestants shrank from an unexampled deceit, on the principle that the means were justified when the end was *service à Dieu et à son Eglise*.

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## MILNER AND HIS TIMES.

THE Catholic body, though united in one faith and communion, has always had room for conflicting opinions upon theoretical questions, and for great varieties of ethical tone, ecclesiastical spirit, religious instinct, and political tendency. These differences are permanent, and have their life in the various ecclesiastical schools and parties, which, though sometimes disguised or buried, never perish, but are constantly reappearing under novel and unexpected forms. Amongst these various parties the Popes themselves are distributed. The group of Pius V., Paul IV., and Sixtus V., is very different from that of Benedict XIV. and Clement XIV., and from that of Urban VIII. and Innocent XI., which forms the connecting link between them. And while the successive occupants of St. Peter's chair are thus subject to the oscillations of the pendulum of time, each community that goes to make up the great whole of Catholic Christendom experiences similar changes, and successively passes through various phases of Catholic opinion and tone.

It has been so with the English Catholics since the Reformation. In politics they were strong enough, during Elizabeth's reign, to stand by themselves, and even to divide into factions. That queen owed her peaceable succession to the throne mainly to the loyalty of the majority of them. Her persecutions afterwards called into being the party of Mary Stuart, the Spanish faction, the French faction, and the partisans of the Infanta. Under James the Catholics distributed themselves amongst the loyal party—again in large majority—the party of Arabella Stuart, and the Gunpowder-Plot conspirators, who intended to find a Catholic husband for the princess Elizabeth, and to place her on the throne. After this they ceased to be sufficiently strong to stand alone, and always had to attach themselves to some one or other of the existing political interests. Under Charles I. they were almost all cavaliers, so that “papist” and “malignant” became synonymous terms; and they made no response to the advances of the Puritans, when they suppressed the High Commission. This embryo alliance was more nearly realised under James II., whose policy united the interests of Catholic and Dissenter in favour of toleration and against the Establishment. After 1688 the Catholics continued Jacobites, and were crushed by the penal laws, which the Dissenters escaped by their loyalty to the new dynasty. It was only after 1778,

when these laws were relaxed, that common interests once more drew Catholic and Dissenter into political community, and kept them united for half a century.

Such have been the political phases of English Catholics. Nor has their unity been greater upon ecclesiastical questions. Their divergence on the deposing power of the Pope was first revealed by their reception of the bull of Pius V. against Elizabeth; a bull which caused so many difficulties, internal and external, that Gregory XIII. was led to "mitigate" it, while Urban VIII. taxed it as unwise, bewailed it "with tears of blood," and refused to act in its spirit. Not that Urban gave up the deposing power, or sanctioned that oath of abjuration about which the English Catholics had, in his day, come to dispute. For Elizabeth, satisfied at length that not all her Catholic subjects thought it a duty to rebel whenever they were commanded to do so by Rome, issued a proclamation, dated 5 Nov. 1602, in which she showed a favourable disposition to the secular clergy. On this hint, thirteen secular priests signed a declaration of allegiance and civil obedience, and promised to defend her against invasion in spite of any excommunication, though they at the same time carefully guarded the spiritual supremacy of the Pope. It was on this declaration that James I. founded the oath of allegiance of 1608, which expressed the abhorrence, detestation, and abjuration of the "impious, heretical, and damnable" deposing and king-killing doctrine. This oath was taken by numbers of Catholics, including Blackwell the archpriest; these were styled "Catholics" by the government, while the upholders of the deposing power were styled "Papists." Paul V. interposed twice in favour of the "Papists," and proscribed the oath, as containing many things plainly adverse to faith and salvation, and as wresting the sacred sceptre (of the deposing power) from his hands. The "Catholics," in their natural desire to escape from the ruin and torment of the penal laws, drew up three new forms of oath; but all were rejected by the same authority. In 1634 another attempt was made. Charles I. required an oath which should guarantee "a true, civil, and natural obedience and fidelity," and forms were supplied by Father Leander and Panzani, the papal agent, who fell into disgrace at Rome for his attempt. In 1647 the "Catholics" signed a paper embodying the substance of the abjuration without its offensive imputations of heresy and mortal sin; but this also was condemned by Innocent X. in 1648. Alexander VII. condemned in 1660 the Irish remonstrance to the same effect. A paper drawn up by Lord Arundell and Bellings in 1661 affirmed that obedience

to the prince was an "article of their faith," while the deposing power was no such article. The measures founded on this declaration were defeated partly by the internal divisions of the Catholics, partly by the intrigues of Clarendon, so that Rome did not pronounce upon it; and the question did not emerge again till 1778. James II. did not exact the obnoxious oath, and the Catholics after 1688 were restrained from wishing to take it as much by their Jacobitism as by their religion. But in 1778, after they had explained to the king that their "dissent" from the Establishment was purely religious and not political, they and the vicars apostolic, without the concurrence of Rome, agreed upon an oath which absolutely denied the deposing power, or any civil jurisdiction, direct or indirect, of the Pope in England. On this oath the relief act of 1778 was based.

This controversy about the abjuration of the deposing power was not the only one which divided the English "Catholics" from the "Papists." Two other questions were intimately connected with it:—whether the English missions should be served by regular or secular priests; and whether they should be governed by ordinary Bishops or by vicars apostolic. The "Papists" wished for regular clergy and vicars apostolic, as immediately dependent upon Rome; while the "Catholics" wished for secular clergy and ordinary Bishops, who, as canonically independent of Rome, would be more likely to follow the example of the French hierarchy, and proscribe the tenet of the deposing power, on account of which the English Catholics had endured so long a martyrdom. In 1685 this wish had become so strong, that two secular priests of great reputation, Holden and Blackloe, conceived the project of getting the French prelates to consecrate a Bishop in ordinary for England, supposing that after the thing was done it would be easy to obtain the sanction of the Holy See.

Such were the internal questions which divided the English Catholics from 1560 to 1778. Since that period their history has belonged more to the general history of Catholicism. As a small and remote body, educated abroad, and often dependent on foreigners for the means of maintaining their religion, they have been especially open to foreign influences, and to the impulse of the changes of European opinion. Thus they have responded in unison to the great continental schools, the Gallican, with its constitutional development under Grégoire (which we may call the Febronian), and the Ultramontane revival.

The school which on the Continent bowed like a reed



before the blast of Voltaire did so more from a sympathy with that spirit of enquiry of which his scepticism was an offshoot than from fear of his power. In England, however, fear was the prime mover. The English Catholics were convinced that their only safety was in obscurity.<sup>1</sup> They thought it safer to confess that they had been guilty of what they were accused of, than, by denying it, to court a renewal of the persecution. A typical but respectable instance of this class of men may be found in the celebrated Charles Butler. But Joseph Berington, the leader of the Staffordshire clergy, was a man of fearless nature. Both, however, belonged to one school, which was all-powerful in the upper classes of English Catholics from 1780 to 1820.

The relief of 1778 had been obtained through a committee, which Milner praises, because, under the management of its secretary, William Sheldon, it avoided occasions of dissension by "timely submitting the religious part of the bill to the judgment of the prelates."<sup>2</sup> The prelates, on the other hand, so far from submitting their judgment to the Holy See, intentionally abstained from so doing, because "the oath, as Dr. Challoner remarked, contained something to which Rome would probably object if consulted beforehand, but which it would tolerate if informed after the measure had passed."<sup>3</sup> This example of the prelates had its effect on the subsequent conduct of the managers of Catholic affairs. In 1783 another committee was formed. Its secretary was Charles Butler, and its chief object was to obtain Bishops in ordinary instead of vicars apostolic. The committee objected to vicarial government as theoretically irregular and practically inconvenient. The result of this government, said one of its members, had been to subject English Catholics to the penal laws for two centuries. He argued that an independent hierarchy would have sanctioned an oath of allegiance in 1608 instead of waiting till 1778. But "the vicars being the immediate agents of the Roman court, their acts of authority are generally directed to support the pretensions of that court; their delegation depends on it. We have known an archpriest recalled for daring to denounce the deposing power; and we know that a vicar apostolic has no more authority than an archpriest." Such a form of government, he continued, destroyed all possibility of appeal. The vicars "are merely

<sup>1</sup> See Berington, *State and Behaviour of English Catholics*, pref. pp. vi. vii. and 129. 163, 164; Fitzpatrick, *Life of Dr. Doyle*, i. 141; Flanagan's *History*, ii. 337, 338; and for a later period, the Address of the Hon. C. Langdale at Ushaw in 1858, *Dublin Review*, Oct. 1858, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> *Supplementary Memoirs*, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Flanagan, ii. 376.

the organs through which the Pope speaks to us; an application, therefore, to Rome against their decisions is no more an appeal than a complaint made to a master of the bad conduct of his steward." Such a government, he said, was also "strictly despotic," and had no guarantees for the inferior against the oppression of his superior.<sup>4</sup>

Similar views were published in a paper signed by the whole committee, and dated 24 May 1783. An antagonism so openly expressed naturally precluded any such harmony with the vicars as had existed in 1778. In 1788 the renewed committee, in communication with the Dissenters, who had an equal interest in the removal of disabilities, drew up a protestation, characterised by their great antagonist Milner as "expressly contrived to deceive both Protestants and Catholics,"<sup>5</sup> in which they reduced Catholic doctrines to their simplest forms, so as to recommend them to Protestants. After this protestation had been signed by all the vicars, and by 1523 clergymen and laymen, it was used by the committee as the basis of a new oath, which the Catholics would accept if the legislature would relax or repeal the remaining disabilities and penal laws. In this oath it was proposed to call the English Catholics *Protesting Catholic Dissenters*,—as *protesting* against the deposing power, *catholic* in religion, *dissenters* in their legal relation to "Church and State." The individual words had been often used in the same sense without offence, but this was the first attempt to fix them upon Catholics as their legal style and title. The vicars were justly indignant, and condemned the proposed oath; and the committee published an appeal against their decision, dated 25 November 1789. Wilks, a Benedictine monk and missionary priest of Bath, was suspended from his functions by his Bishop for taking part in this act as a member of the committee. Fourteen of the Staffordshire clergy protested against this suspension. Early in 1790 two of the vicars apostolic died; and the committee, through Sir John Throckmorton, made an earnest appeal to the clergy and laity to take the opportunity of renewing the old canonical discipline of electing their Bishops. The failure of this project, the renunciation of Dr. Berington, who had been elected to the London district, and a fresh condemnation of the proposed oath, called forth an intemperate protest from the committee, dated 19 January 1791. However, some parliamentary relief was granted without the obnoxious oath, for which that of the Irish Catholics was substituted.

<sup>4</sup> Throckmorton, Letter i. 2d ed. pp. 68, 69, 67.

<sup>5</sup> Husenbeth, Life of Milner, p. 23.

The ten years of the committee being over in 1792, most of its members then joined in founding the "Cisalpine Club," with the object, says Milner, of opposing "the usurpation of the Pope, and the tyranny of the vicars apostolic." This club continued for nearly thirty years, and from it emanated, in 1807 and 1808, the Catholic board, which, however it varied in politics, took much the same concessionary line on the question of giving the government a veto on the appointment of Catholic Bishops in return for political emancipation, and on the further question of clogging emancipation with guarantees for the maintenance of the Protestant religion, as the committee of 1783 had taken upon the question of the oath.

The soul of this triple dynasty of lay interferers, as Milner called them, was Charles Butler, a celebrated conveyancer of Lincoln's Inn. A nephew of Alban Butler the hagiographer, he was a person of kindred temperament, "sober," perhaps half sceptical, on the subject of raptures, visions, revelations, and miracles, but much interested in, and writing largely (and Milner says flimsily) on, ecclesiastical history and mystical theology. His disposition, naturally and traditionally timid and cautious, delighted in the labyrinthine resources of the law. But his practice,—in chambers, not at the bar,—taught him to bring to his historical enquiries more of the spirit of the enquirer, and less of that of the advocate. Still, he never learned the real disinterestedness of the scientific search after truth; and his historical works were, as he himself confesses,<sup>6</sup> rather pamphlets to serve a political purpose than investigations into the real sequence of events. In his relations with those who were not Catholics he exhibited a liberality and mildness that seemed to spring from a desire of recommending himself and his opinions to their good-will. He wrote an essay on the reunion of Christians, which was blamed for softening Catholic doctrines in order to make them more acceptable to Protestants. He hoped that if union in faith were found impossible, a union of hearts might still be brought about. He seemed at the time to be convinced of the feasibility of the project, though, quite late in his life, he told Parr that he had never thought it practicable, and that his only object in writing had been to show that the differences were not so great or so many as was generally thought, to soften the asperities of controversy, to bring all denominations of Christians into friendly intercourse, and to acknowledge the sincerity of all.<sup>7</sup> In his treatment of the faith he followed those divines who made it their chief business to enquire how

<sup>6</sup> *Reminiscences*, 1824, i. 240, 243.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 218.



much must necessarily be believed, and to separate, by an infinite gulf, dogma from opinion.<sup>8</sup> He despised eloquent and fervid preaching which appealed to a man's feelings or fears, and approved the "elegant, persuasive, and argumentative" style of the sermons which Archer pillaged from Blair.<sup>9</sup> In controversy with his fellow Catholics he was bland, gentlemanlike, and lawyerlike; when he was overmatched in argument he sometimes lost the fairness which he valued so highly, and became quibbling, spiteful, and insolent. It was only with persons of another religion that he was always conciliatory. In devotion, his favourite authors were Alban Butler, Challoner, Bossuet, Kempis, and Baker. He had ideas not usual among Catholics about the general perusal of the Bible by the laity. In ecclesiastical politics, he was a champion of canon-law against arbitrary decisions, of the constitution of hierarchies, councils, and ecclesiastical courts, against the absolute rule of the Pope and Roman congregations. He was a thorough Gallican; yet he liked the religious orders, and had long cherished a wish to join one of them. His whole life exhibits his opinions concerning the right of the laity to a voice even in the discipline of the Church. He often tried to bring about an official settlement of professions of faith and points of discipline without any intervention of the Bishops. In politics his opinions were liberal. Burke was the statesman for whom he professed the greatest admiration. He held no mean rank in literature; he wrote in a clear and elegant manner, and was not often silly, except in his reminiscences and his correspondence with Parr, which were the production of his dotage. In spite of the occasional character of his historical pieces, and in spite of his scanty preparation for them, their blunders are far outweighed by their just views and not unskilful combinations.

When Wilks was suspended for his share in the appeal of 1789, his cause was adopted by some priests of the Midland district, who were afterwards known as "the Staffordshire clergy." Local circumstances appear to have made these clergymen more devoted to a measure which would identify the interests of Catholics with those of Dissenters than the clergy of London or the West could be expected to be. There are Dissenters and Dissenters. The "three denominations," Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, together with the Socinians, Quakers, and other minor sects which had suffered under the penal laws, are very different from the Wesleyans, who, in 1780, were hardly Dissenters, but a kind of rabble

<sup>8</sup> *Memoirs*, ii. 306.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 319, 320; compare Flanagan, ii. 431.

at the tail of the Establishment, who did not as yet make common cause with the other Nonconformists. The Wesleyans were considered by Milner the chief authors of the Gordon riots in 1780.<sup>9</sup> In London and the West, the Catholics alone suffered at the hands of Churchmen and Wesleyans; but in the Midland parts of England, where the Anglican clergy were strongest and most bigoted, and ever inciting the mob to violence, the old Nonconformists suffered more. Priestley, whose house and chapel were destroyed at Birmingham in 1791, lamented that the Dissenters had not accepted the generous proposal of the Catholics to unite for the repeal of all the penal laws, and feared that the golden opportunity had passed away for ever.<sup>10</sup> But he did what he could to effect the alliance; and he, Parr, Porson, Berington, Galton the Quaker, and the rest of the "Lunar Society," met in conclave to ratify it.

Berington was a stronger man than Butler. Of tall and majestic figure, lofty bearing, and courtly manners, his sanguine temperament lightened his angular and well-chiselled features, and gave an air of mirthfulness to his stern countenance, compressed mouth, fastidious nostrils, and cold gray eyes. He was of ancient and good family, a finished gentleman, and a model of ecclesiastical decorum; his tastes were artistic, his habits methodical; sparing in expense for himself, he was always liberal to the poor.<sup>11</sup> He was punctilious in exacting the honour which was his due, and exhibited a marked contrast to the timidity of some of his contemporaries. He was the first priest in England who ventured to dress like a clergyman.<sup>12</sup> He claimed the rights of a man and an Englishman, and openly declared that the refusal of those rights created in him "a restless desire of change and revolutions." He strove to bring to light every element of Catholic life, without respect to the displeasure of his brethren, whom he did not want "to please, but to inform, and, if possible, to correct." Though he reduced Catholicism to its *minimum*, it was not through fear or through falsehood, but to satisfy his own conscience. His defence of St. Thomas Becket is chivalrous in comparison with Lingard's surrender.<sup>13</sup> This, perhaps, was due rather to a liberal love of fair play, than to devotion to the interests of the Church. Otherwise he would scarcely have laughed at the "subservient spirit of the cowl," and at the missionary zeal which evangelised sin-

<sup>9</sup> Husenbeth, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> Appeal to the Public, 1791, p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> Mrs. Schimmelpenninck's Autobiography, p. 43, &c.

<sup>12</sup> Husenbeth, p. 100.

<sup>13</sup> See his History of Henry II., i. 69, 87, 297-299.

ners who "neglected to pay the tithes of their cheese and wool;" nor would he have praised Matthew Paris for seeing the abusive pretensions of Rome, and boldly censuring them,<sup>14</sup> nor written so strongly as he did against the miracles alleged to have happened at Rome in 1797.

The relation in which he stood to those outside the Church was peculiar. He was not only closely connected with them politically; but, after making due allowance for the exaggerations of his enemies, he must be held to have compromised his prudence, if not his orthodoxy, by his religious approaches to them. He had no fears for their salvation. According to his antagonist Milner, he confessed that "many things in the Catholic belief weighed rather heavily on his mind, and that he would have been glad of a freer field to range in;"<sup>15</sup> and he refused an invitation to preach in a Socinian chapel solely on the ground of the novelty of the proposal, and the offence which would be taken. To preach in the meeting-house of another worship, however, did not necessarily imply any religious communion. After the demolition of the London chapels in the Gordon riots, while the priests were enquiring for places where they could say Mass, some of the London Catholics were collecting the instances, so common in Germany, of the same churches being used at different hours of the day for the rites of different religions. The wish thus implied by the Catholics was openly expressed by the Dissenters; and Priestley, after the riot in 1791, when his chapel at Birmingham was burnt, blamed the elergy of the place for not offering him the use of one of the churches. It was, doubtless, to show that his practice was in harmony with his theory, that he once invited Berington to preach in his chapel; and the same motive sufficiently accounts for Berington's hesitation before refusing the offer. Berington was drawn towards the Protestants by an idea that the Catholic religion, remaining essentially one, ought to be allowed to shape itself in each country according to the national character of the people.

In this respect Eustace's Classical Tour may be taken to represent his views. His whole life was meant to prove how easy the reunion of Christians might be, if Catholics would come down, and Protestants rise up, to his standard. His controversial method was adjusted to the same object. He taught that the humble submission to the definitions of the Church must be limited to those points which our Lord has commanded, and that on every other subject there must be the

<sup>14</sup> History of Henry II., pref. pp. xiii. xvii. xxi.

<sup>15</sup> Supplementary Memoirs, p. 45.



utmost freedom of reasoning and discussion; the consequent agitation of opinions, if an evil at all, he held to be one inseparable from that liberty of thought and speech which should not, and could not, be abridged.<sup>18</sup> Yet he set his face against the common controversial disputes.<sup>19</sup> He thought that Christians had wrangled too long on *à-priori* grounds, and had not sufficiently listened to the lessons of history.<sup>20</sup> These lessons, though they affected the interests of the Church, he wished to see exhibited "with the cool indifference of philosophy,"<sup>21</sup> and without "prejudice or the degrading expressions of party zeal."<sup>22</sup> His own method of doctrinal controversy was to exhibit without any comment, or direct allusion to the opinions of others, the texts of Scripture, and the corresponding texts of the Fathers, so as to allow the reader to form his own judgment without prepossession or the bias of argument.<sup>23</sup> His own temper, and the exigencies of the controversy with Protestants, naturally led him to cut down his belief to the scantiest proportions consistent with orthodoxy. His patristic studies confirmed him in this; and his entire ignorance of the theory of development led him to limit each doctrine to the proportion in which it was actually found in the writings of the Fathers. He did not allow to the Church any authority to declare a new article of belief.<sup>24</sup> His doctrine about the Pope is a fair specimen of the result of his method. The Pope, according to him, had only a primacy and the right of superintendence; while the supreme defining power resided in councils, which were the representative body of the Church.<sup>25</sup> The Papal jurisdiction was subject to the control of canons and established laws. The Pope's power was in no sense absolute. He was no more than a constitutional chief magistrate, attending to the execution of the laws, and watching that the Christian republic should receive no injury. Every parish-priest, every diocesan bishop, every metropolitan and patriarch, had a similar, though inferior, right, "a proper and essential jurisdiction, wholly uncontrollable by, and independent of, the See of Rome."<sup>26</sup> In politics he was a liberal, not to say revolutionist, and considered that the confusion in France in 1793 was the necessary prelude to a consummation that would "secure the rights of men, break the arm of despotism, and give liberty to millions."<sup>27</sup> Like most of the Catholic aristo-

<sup>18</sup> Faith of Catholics, Waterworth's edition, i., introduction, xxx. xl.

<sup>19</sup> State of Catholics, int. p. ix.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. p. 6.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Memoirs of Panzani, pref. p. xvii.

<sup>23</sup> Faith of Catholics, int. p. vi.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p. i.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. p. xxxviii.

<sup>26</sup> State of Catholics, pp. 153, 154.

<sup>27</sup> History of Henry II., dedication, p. vi.

crazy of his day, he belonged to Mr. Fox's school. But his house was decorated with Jacobite symbols. He had a historical mind, much erudition, and honesty of intention. But he was unconsciously a slave to the ideas of the school of Febronius and Tamburini; and the scientific historian would blame his *à-priori* assumptions and foregone principles, such as those which assert persecution to be at all times and places a sin, and toleration "a Christian doctrine." His orthodox faith, coupled with his denial of development, necessarily resulted either in seeing in history more than was really there, or in contenting himself with imperfect doctrinal formulas, insufficient to correct the errors which have emerged since the patristic period.

In 1792 some propositions from three of his works were censured by the vicars apostolic. He left the Midland district for that of London in 1793, where he was suspended till he should retract. After a time he made what Milner called an "illusory retraction," and was restored by Dr. Douglass, but was obliged to sign a more ample retraction in 1801. Milner, however, says that he did not really adhere to any of these retractions, but that he reasserted all his principles in his *Faith of Catholics*, published in 1815.<sup>28</sup> Berington distinguished between the retraction of a given proposition, and the disavowal of a general principle supposed to be contained in that proposition; this distinction Milner must have overlooked when he questioned his honesty.<sup>29</sup> Berington, however, outlived suspicion. His work on the *Faith of Catholics* has survived the opposition which it called forth; and Dr. Waterworth's enlarged edition of it has become one of the English classics of Catholic controversy.

Butler and Berington represented a party which gave too great a prominence to the lay element in the Church, and tended to subject the hierarchy to the civil power, the pastors to their flocks, the Pope to a council, the council to a general acceptance of the faithful, the current sentiment of Catholics to written forms, and measures of ecclesiastical expediency to the fixed rules of canonical obligations and immunities. Against this "ecclesiastical democracy," as it was uncritically called, Milner was the predestined champion of hierarchical independence. A man of more robust cast than Butler, of rougher mould than Berington, he partook of a type commoner among Englishmen of the last than of the present century, and best known to us in Dr. Johnson and Dr. Parr. Born in 1752, of parents in the lower stratum of the middle class, one of whom passed the last years of his life in a madhouse, Milner inherited

<sup>28</sup> Husenbeth, p. 403.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. p. 396.

just so much of eccentricity and violence as was necessary to arouse an otherwise gentle and loving nature to the energy requisite to restore a falling cause. Educated at Douai, he imbibed the theology and the generous devotion of that seminary of martyrs, but continued free from the taint of Gallicanism which infected some of its members. As an English priest he joined the party which Butler's friends considered to be "more anxious to propagate the opinions and maxims of the court of Rome than the genuine principles of the Catholic religion; more desirous of promoting the papal pretensions than the welfare of the English Catholics; and uniformly opposed to every measure which tended to wipe off the aspersions thrown upon them, and to reinstate them in the good opinion of their fellow subjects."<sup>30</sup> Berington and Butler gave currency to many crude opinions through their personal and social influence. Milner's appearance and manners were against him, even in contrast to the less important members of the Catholic committees and board. What he has done, he did by the force of truth, of right principles, or of practical talent, and not by the strength of his personal influence. His greatness must not be estimated by the description of his person and character which Dr. Husenbeth enables us to give, but by the things which he accomplished, and the mark which he impressed, not only on his contemporaries, but on his successors even to the present day, nearly forty years after his death. He was as opposite in character to the cool, critical, and sarcastic temperament of the committee, as he was to their politics. Their evasive timidity was outraged by his straightforward boldness; and their polish was too sensitive to endure the "fine pontifical strut"<sup>31</sup> which they saw in his gait, or the analogous Johnsonese pomp which he sometimes affected in his speech. He so little understood humour or ridicule, that he never knew when he was exposing himself; he had no consciousness of failure in what he did ill, and once even ventured to croak a duet with Catalani.<sup>32</sup> No difficulty could be proposed which his slovenly strength could not overcome; often, indeed, by silencing his adversary, rather than by settling the question. Assuming that the reasons which satisfied him ought to satisfy every one else, he dictated rather than argued; and sometimes incurred no small ridicule for constituting himself both judge and jury in his own case. He was often the slave of words, not from any disposition to quibble, but from his sense of the overwhelming necessity of preserving all orthodox forms of speech. This made him sometimes more

<sup>30</sup> Throckmorton, Letter ii. Appendix, p. xxx.

<sup>31</sup> Husenbeth, p. 531.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* p. 560.



attentive to the letter than to the spirit of what he criticised, and unable to disengage true principles from inexact propositions in which they might be contained. He was an honest advocate, who thoroughly entered into the merits of his own case, but could not see those of the opposite side. In his eyes, his adversaries were rogues and traitors, and their propositions antichristian; and errors were not involuntary mistakes, but tokens of the secret presence of deep-seated evil and satanic malice. In the course of the world he saw rather the struggle of arbitrary wills than the progressive development of a providential design. Though he lived in the days of an ever-growing liberality to Catholics, he stood in continual dread of the outburst of a terrible and bloody persecution.<sup>33</sup> His violence was boisterous; his fellow Bishops accused him of arbitrary offensiveness, domineering, loss of temper, and betrayal of confidential secrets. His personalities were gross. These faults were just such as hid from opponents the merits by which they were more than compensated; and he was often treated with an indignity from which his personal character, no less than his office, should have secured him. This treatment rendered him touchy in company where he supposed he was watched or suspected; but his natural amiability reappeared when he found himself among disciples and admirers.<sup>34</sup>

He was courteous to Protestants, and interested himself in their controversies. In his *Letters to a Prebendary* he defends high-church principles against latitudinarians. If he could not persuade his readers to be good Catholics, he would have them remain good Church-of-England men.<sup>35</sup> His *End of Controversy* was locked up for fifteen years in deference to Horsley, "the light and glory of the Established Church."<sup>36</sup> In these two books he makes the gulf that divides the Anglican from the Catholic to consist, not so much in particular dogmas as in the rule of faith, "the living tribunal of the Church." Dr. Phillpotts classed him with Lingard and Butler, as one of those controversialists who designedly stated the tenets and described the practices of Catholics in a manner the least offensive to those whom they addressed.<sup>37</sup> But, unlike Butler, he never publicly advocated any scheme of reunion. Late in his life, in 1821, when Doyle, the Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, published his letter on that subject, Milner regretted that a young prelate, celebrated for his political sagacity—"a

<sup>33</sup> Husenbeth, p. 197.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. p. 266.

<sup>35</sup> *Letters to a Preb.*, viii. 317, ed. Derby, 1843.

<sup>36</sup> *End of Cont.*, Derby, 1843, Address, p. 27.

<sup>37</sup> Shutte's *Life of Phillpotts*, pp. 32, 94.

quality so rare in a person of his station"—should have put forth a proposal, not barely useless and inexpedient, but wrong, and productive of mischief, calculated to set Catholics considering what parts of their system they could give up, and what parts of the Protestant system they could adopt in order to effect the compromise.<sup>38</sup>

But, in spite of the similarity which Dr. Phillpotts discovered, Milner's method of treating the Catholic faith was quite different from that of Berington and Butler. They called themselves "rational Catholics," because they had examined each article of their creed with the free discussion of philosophers;<sup>39</sup> whereas Milner never enters into a metaphysical discussion of doctrines, but devotes his whole power to the proof of the rule of faith. He accepted what God revealed, without trying to penetrate its meaning, or striving to reconcile it with his antecedent ideas. For this cause he could never be a theologian, like St. Athanasius, who attended to principles rather than expressions, and could therefore discover the same orthodox meaning beneath discrepant forms of words. For him, words were realities. He thought that to adopt a name made a man really that which the sound signified. To accept the title of "Protesting Catholic Dissenter," though the first and last words had no religious meaning at all, was in his eyes an act of apostasy, and he therefore "admonished" some of his flock "that, but for his pastoral efforts" (in opposing the "heterodox" oath, and the veto), "they would by this time have ceased to be Catholics."<sup>40</sup>

Milner was open-hearted and honest; he despised and detested a lie. But he never carried his measure of the duty of historical truthfulness beyond the notion of honest advocacy, which, while strictly adhering to facts, makes out a case for one side only, and abstains from giving any assistance or making any unnecessary concessions to the other. He censured Lingard on the ground that, as a priest brought up by the Church to defend her, he ought to have efficaciously advocated her cause, and to have looked upon the education she had given him as a retaining fee, which obliged him to give a controversial bias in her favour to all his studies and all his statements;<sup>41</sup> and he complained that Charles Butler, in his memoir of the Gunpowder Plot, seemed "rather to have taken a brief against us than for us."<sup>42</sup> A man who takes this contentious view of history can never have a true idea of historical growth and development. In his eyes history is

<sup>38</sup> Husenbeth, pp. 495-497.

<sup>39</sup> Berington, Letter to Hawkins, p. 22.

<sup>40</sup> Husenbeth, pp. 246-248.

<sup>41</sup> *Ib.* p. 394.

<sup>42</sup> *Ib.* p. 429.

but a patchwork of precedents and a magazine of instances. Though asserting the eternal fixedness of the formularies of the faith, and making the one business of the Church in all controversies to consist in the enquiry, "What is and ever has been the doctrine" on the point, and in the rigid exclusion of all novelties,<sup>43</sup> Milner did not see, as Berington did, how rigid and meagre such a theory would make the faith of Catholics; for, with all his knowledge of the Fathers, he had not studied them accurately to see how far they bore out modern expressions of doctrine, but devotionally for the sake of their moral and spiritual applications of the Christian mysteries. There is great truth in the remark quoted in Dr. Husenbeth's life of him,<sup>44</sup> that he chiefly studied theology in the lives of the Saints. This practical and mystical bias made him quite opposed to the school of Berington; his aim in preaching was not argument, but unction; in discipline, the rigidity of his theological training strove with and overcame the indulgent kindness of his own nature. It was through him that the Saturday's abstinence was not sooner abolished in England;<sup>45</sup> and he would only allow four ounces for the collation on a fast-day.<sup>46</sup> "He dreaded relaxation either in doctrine or morality,"<sup>47</sup> and was extremely severe about theatres, dancing, and ball-dresses. In devotion he was the first to object to the cold and argumentative tone of the old-fashioned prayer-books, and to the length and intricacy of their sentences; in their place he introduced devotions to the Sacred Heart, and the Meditations of St. Teresa,<sup>48</sup> and he liked to substitute Kempis for Challoner.<sup>49</sup>

In dealing with other Catholics he hardly thought himself bound to show the same courtesy as to external opponents. Whether he took a severer view of their duties and their shortcomings, or whether he considered a different tone to be demanded by his position towards those who acknowledged his episcopal character and jurisdiction, it is certain that his manner was much harsher to Catholic than to Protestant opponents. We have already noticed his personalities. To these was added an employment of his authority as ecclesiastical judge, hardly decent when combined with his violent pamphleteering and journalising. He would publish an abusive letter full of personalities, and when he was repaid in his own coin he would take refuge under his mitre. He provoked his opponents to be rude, and then called their roughness persecution. But he did not scruple to interfere with the busi-

<sup>43</sup> End of Controversy, Letter xi. p. 150.

<sup>44</sup> p. 537.

<sup>47</sup> Ib. p. 554.

<sup>45</sup> Husenbeth, p. 277.

<sup>48</sup> Ib. p. 25.

<sup>46</sup> Ib. p. 563.

<sup>49</sup> Ib. p. 563.



ness of the other Bishops; to write pastorals, circular letters, or articles in journals about Dr. Poynter or Dr. Douglass, Dr. Collingridge or Dr. Gibson; to censure their conduct, criticise their expressions, and condemn propositions out of writings which they permitted to be freely circulated in their districts. His criticisms may have been just, though many of his censures on the *Faith of Catholics* seem captious and unfair; but his manner was such as to earn the severest censure of the Propaganda.

In politics he was a genuine Tory; that is to say, he had no political principles properly so called, but only political feelings or prejudices. He was capable of embracing a political cause, but incapable of entering into a political idea. "Religion is all my politics," he said; he supported any party that would give a momentary support to the Catholic cause, or prevent the hasty adoption of an imperfect solution of the Catholic question. Yet he saw something essentially religious in Toryism, with its loyalty and personal attachment to monarchs; and something essentially turbulent, unjust, and infidel in radicalism and the theories of the Whigs. George III. was a monarch after his own heart, and Napoleon he regarded as a monster and a cannibal. As he loved religious politicians, so he hated political religionists. He censured any separation of religion from politics, and implicitly denied the civil rights of heretics. He condemned Catholics who declared that they desired no religious freedom for themselves which they did not wish to extend to every other class and denomination;<sup>50</sup> and he denied the right of the State to legalise any religious establishment but the Catholic,<sup>51</sup> or of the Catholic legislator to concur in the maintenance of the Established Church.<sup>52</sup> In this absence of all political principle, we cannot wonder at his veering round from the Tory party to O'Connell, or his delight in Cobbett's unscrupulous history of the Reformation, or his inability to explain the repudiation of Cobbett's advocacy by the Catholic Association on any other hypothesis than that of cowardice.<sup>53</sup>

First as agent of the English vicars, in 1791, and afterwards as Bishop, in 1803, and agent of the Irish episcopate, Milner waged a long, and not unsuccessful, war against the party of Butler and Berington. He criticised them for taking the Catholic cause to mean, not the safety and prosperity of the Catholic religion, but only the exemption of its professors from civil disabilities and penalties;<sup>54</sup> and charged them with bartering the liberties of the Church for the liber-

<sup>50</sup> Husenbeth, p. 309.<sup>51</sup> *Ib.* p. 259.<sup>52</sup> *Ib.* p. 260.<sup>53</sup> *Ib.* p. 499<sup>54</sup> Supplementary Memoirs, p. 1.

ties of Catholics, and purchasing their individual freedom at the price of the subjection of the clergy to the State. He saw clearly that the freedom of the Church necessarily included the free exercise of her own authority, and the administration of her own laws in her proper sphere, independently of state interference and control. On the other hand, he did not properly appreciate the concurrent freedom of the State. But his opponents exaggerated this freedom. They were irritated against the authority which would only in 1778 concede what 170 years before would have saved the Catholic Church in England,—would have preserved the laity from the fines, dungeons, and disabilities of the penal laws, the clergy from the gallows, and thousands of families from apostasy. Estimating in this way the losses which the stress of ecclesiastical authority had caused, they tried to rid themselves of some of it, even by the help of the State. In their notion, emancipation contained two parts,—deliverance from the penal laws, and deliverance from their own Bishops. Hence they regarded a State veto on the appointment of Bishops not only as a concession to Protestants in payment for emancipation, but as a real boon to themselves. They thought that any measure of emancipation which refused it would only change one servitude for another. Hence they wished to hurry on the measure, while there was a chance of clogging it with such a restriction. Milner, on the other hand, strove to postpone civil freedom till it could be secured without ecclesiastical servitude. For him, the Catholic cause meant the safety and free action of the hierarchy, the clergy, and laity, in their respective functions. Not that he left much margin for the layman's activity. He declared it to be the exclusive province of the clergy to decide all controversies about political measures which interfered with ecclesiastical matters. And in the exercise of this decision he forbade the slightest interference of lay dictation, guidance, or influence, and renounced both the advice of politicians and the fascination of popular applause; if these were withdrawn, the pastors, he said, would always decide aright. The laymen, on the other hand, represented by the gentry and nobles, were to transact the public and religious business of the body "after it had been made known to them by the prelates." Any further interference on their side was, he said, sure to lead to disorder, division, and irreligion; and while deprecating their political zeal, he dictated what grievances they were to remedy,—the religious disabilities of soldiers and sailors, the invalidity of Catholic marriages, and the insecurity of chapel funds.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Supplementary Memoirs, pp. 47, 255, et sqq.

Dr. Milner's three great political campaigns were directed against the oath proposed by Butler, against the veto, and against clogging emancipation with any guarantee for the maintenance of the Protestant Establishment. In the two first he was successful; in the last he succeeded as long as he lived; but after his death his condemnation of the guarantee was forgotten, and the Emancipation act of 1829 was accepted, clogged with a form of the very condition which had made him denounce those of 1813 and 1821. In his battle against the oath he owed his success to the politics of his opponents. The Catholic committee gave evidence of its revolutionary tendencies by its alliance with the Dissenters, while Milner's early publications glowed with an extravagant loyalty which must have recommended him to the Tory majority. No wonder, then, that in 1791 he was able to discredit the new oath, which was to have ratified the union of Catholicism and Dissent by fixing on Catholics the title of "Protesting Catholic Dissenters," and to convince Pitt that it was impolitic to relieve those discontented Catholics who were willing to bear that title, while the disabilities were to remain for the rest. But in his campaign against the veto his strength was in Irish support. Before the Union in 1800, ten of the Irish Bishops had expressed a willingness to give the government a negative voice in episcopal elections, provided the clergy were endowed. When the veto was first proposed in 1808, they were supposed to be still favourable to the project; and Milner, their agent, advocated it in a tentative tract, privately printed by himself and surreptitiously published by his enemies. But in the September of that year the Irish prelates pronounced against it, and Milner withdrew his pamphlet. Hesitation on this subject was a political impossibility in Ireland after the Union, to those who felt the Church to be the only national institution that remained independent of the British government. Any blow against this independence would tend to denationalise it, by withdrawing its diplomatic business from Ireland and Rome to London, and committing its affairs to an agent exposed on the one hand to the intrigues of politicians, and on the other to the influence of the English Bishops, especially that of the vicar apostolic of London, who, as metropolitan prelate, would naturally assume a weight proportioned rather to the preponderance of England in the empire than to the relative numbers and importance of the English and Irish Catholics and clergy. All this would be aggravated by the restoration of diplomatic relations between London and Rome, when the presence of a nuncio at the seat of government would finally make the English metropolis the centre of the



ecclesiastical government of Ireland. Thus supported, and countenanced at first by Rome, Milner gradually triumphed over the party of Butler, and afterwards over Rome itself, and his own most interested supporters—the Irish Bishops.<sup>56</sup> Few pages of ecclesiastical history are more honourable to the Catholic champion than those which relate Milner's obstinate opposition to the concessions of Quarantotti, Litta, Consalvi, and Pius VII.<sup>57</sup> It was by this grand effort, when he stood alone against the world and won his cause, that he deserved and gained the title of the English Athanasius.

As his Tory politics had helped him to dispose of the oath in 1791, so his Radical allies stood him in good stead in 1815-21. In this interval the political position had quite changed. In 1791 the lay committee was Whig, or rather Jacobite disguised as Jacobin, while Milner was an ardent Tory. After the Congress of Vienna the Catholic board, represented chiefly by the late Lord Clifford, had become Tory and Legitimist; the Jacobite spirit remained, purged of its disguise; while Milner's allies were the Irish, led by O'Connell, and the English Catholics, who followed Andrews, the editor of the *Orthodox Journal*. At a time when the whole hope of the court of Rome was in the Legitimist governments of the Continent, and when it dreaded the revolution more than the alliance of heretical and schismatical states, the Catholic board had naturally succeeded in Roman esteem to the position occupied by Milner in his Tory days. Hence, although, by the force of reason and good sense, by the powerful backing of his Irish allies, and by very intelligible hints that a decision in favour of the veto would not be obeyed,<sup>58</sup> the authorities at Rome were induced to withdraw their original concession, they did not pardon the man who had overcome them. And when Milner's organ, the *Orthodox Journal*, went so far as to contend that the revolution was not due to irreligion, but to "abuses springing from the union of Church and State," and "the bad example of a degenerate clergy,"<sup>59</sup> the magazine was censured by Propaganda as one which, with the greatest

<sup>56</sup> In 1821, when the Irish Episcopate was willing to accept Plunkett's compromise. See Fitzpatrick, *Life of Dr. Doyle*, i. 154.

<sup>57</sup> See Husenbeth, pp. 269, 294-300.

<sup>58</sup> See Milner, *The Inquisition*, a Letter to Sir T. C. Hippley, 1816, p. 13, where he makes Dr. Troy say, in answer to the question, "Will you support [the Irish resolution against the veto] in opposition to the See of Rome?" "We trust that no such opposition between that See and us will ever take place. . . . After all, we, who have divine jurisdiction over the Church, and the power of consecration in our hands, must be parties to any such change."

<sup>59</sup> Nos. 81, 82, and 85, for Feb., March, and June 1820.

temerity, grievously blackened by detraction, abuse, and enormous calumnies the reputation of Catholics, of the vicars apostolic, and even of the ministers of the Holy See; and Milner was warned never again to take part, directly or indirectly, in its publication, or to promote or patronise it, under pain of deprivation. He obeyed, but wrote to Andrews the editor, "I am forbidden by Rome, under severe threats (however unjustly), from contributing a word or suggestion to the *Orthodox Journal*; though I am still at liberty, as I conceive, to aid Mr. Andrews in a different kind of publication."<sup>60</sup> Andrews was no more docile than Milner. He suppressed his journal in consequence of the failure of his agents, and not of the censure, and almost immediately, in December 1820, established a new one, with the significant title, *The Catholic Advocate of Civil and Religious Liberty*;<sup>61</sup> and published three letters to Hugh Clifford (the late Lord Clifford), wherein he accuses him and the Catholic board of having become thorough partisans of the restoration, advocates of legitimacy and divine right, of despotism and absolute power, over all which they threw a religious halo; and openly attacks the Roman rule as "a government principally in the hands of ecclesiastics," and conducted in a way "calculated to excite complaint, and render misery certain." "Nearly all the institutions of the Popedom," he says, "are radically bad, and calculated more to oppress than please the people."<sup>62</sup> We have already seen that Milner had called the Catholic committee "ecclesiastical democrats." This accusation had been retorted by the Catholic board upon the *Orthodox Journal* and its adherents. Milner's whole policy was criticised as one which set class against class, and based Catholic interests on the support of the rabble, instead of that of the educated classes.<sup>63</sup> In truth, Berington's system was analogous to a constitutional aristocracy, Clifford's to a romantic monarchy, and Milner's to a democratic imperialism, in which divine right and the will of the people were amalgamated.

Milner's campaign against clogging emancipation with guarantees for the Establishment was cut short by his death in 1826; and the bill of 1829 enacted the oaths and undertakings against which he had so earnestly striven for the last ten years of his life. But though he failed in this, his influence had wrought great effects. He had found English

<sup>60</sup> Husenbeth, pp. 423, 424.

<sup>61</sup> It does not appear whether Milner contributed to the *Catholic Advocate*, though he certainly did to the *Catholic Miscellany*, which Andrews brought out the next year. See Husenbeth, p. 447.

<sup>62</sup> Second Letter to Clifford, pp. 17, 19.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. p. 45.

Catholicism Febronian in discipline and Gallican in doctrine and devotion. He left it tending to become Roman in discipline, and, though still Gallican in doctrine, tending to become Italian in devotion. English Catholicism remained essentially Milnerian till about 1840.<sup>64</sup> Nothing shows the ascendancy of Milner more than the influence he exercised on Lingard, who was as much his superior in learning as he was his inferior in genius for governing. Lingard began his career in the wake of Berington, who soon recognised in him an "enlightened Catholic," and therefore advised him to undertake the history of England, which could only be properly executed by a man of such temper. "The language of truth," he said, "flows not from the pen which prejudice guides." Like Berington, Lingard brought to the study of history *à priori* ideas derived from the education he had received. Hence his views of the Middle Ages, in his account of Gregory VII., of Becket, and Joan of Arc, are full of eighteenth-century prejudices, and in Catholic spirit are inferior to the works of the German Protestant historians, and even to Berington's own life of Henry II., published in 1790 to vindicate Becket from Lord Lyttelton's attacks. For this coldness Milner animadverted upon him, and contrasted his account of St. Thomas with the prayer of the Church, in which she asserts that the glorious martyr suffered for her cause.<sup>65</sup> But Lingard joined Milner in opposing the veto, and vindicating the liberty of the Church. He proved, in answer to Hippenley, that the rights of the sovereign in the nomination of Bishops only began when the bishopric was endowed by the State, or when the Bishop had become a temporal lord under the paramount protection of the king. Neither was his method of regarding the faith different from that of Milner, who indeed in this particular resembles Berington, and Butler also. All four were accused by Protestants of disguising the real doctrines of their Church, and

<sup>64</sup> Milner's opinions may be collected from the authors whom he recommended. In 1790 he translated St. Teresa's *Meditations for Communion*. In 1803 he recommended to his clergy for doctrine the *Douay Dictates*, and the works of Challoner, Manning, Gother, Gobinet, Hay, Hornyold, Boudrand, Bourdaloue, Alban Butler, Baker, Appleton, and Reeve; and the rigid Collet for casuistry; for devotion he recommended Carron's *Pensées Ecclésiastiques*, the *Miroir du Clergé*, and the *Memoriale Vitæ Sacerdotalis*. In 1804 he published his *Exercises for Sundays and Holidays*, which he meant to supersede a book of devotions compiled by Joseph Berington at the request of his brother the Bishop, and published at Wolverhampton in 1800. In the preface he criticises the length and intricacy of the ordinary prayers, and the exaggerated scope they give to the reasoning at the expense of the affective parts. He always had the Litany of Loretto sung at the clergy meetings; and in 1821 introduced the Devotion to the Sacred Heart.

<sup>65</sup> Flanagan, ii. 442.



attempting to impose a false, but flattering, portrait of the Catholic creed upon Englishmen. In reply, Lingard said that the real doctrines of the Church must be studied in those writers who carefully distinguished them both from erroneous tenets imputed to her by her adversaries, and from the unauthorised opinions of private individuals in her communion. Such writers, he says, were Holden, Véron, and Bossuet. But, in spite of these approaches to Milner, Lingard and the learned school which he founded, represented by the late Canon Tierney, stood aloof and never mixed heartily with Milner's followers, by whom they were always regarded with some suspicion and dislike.

Before the Union with Ireland the English Catholics were too few to be of much political importance. After the Union the Irish element grew daily more preponderant, Irish Catholics became the chief champions of emancipation, and the English Catholics either retired into the background, or united with the Irish. Milner was one of the latter class; and the royalism, the hatred of democracy, and the disgust at popular applause which he had expressed in his earlier days, gave way before the democratic agitation of O'Connell, which carried him away in his maturer years. His position obliged O'Connell to be an instrument of the Irish priesthood; and the interest of the Irish clergy was to prevent the bands of union between the two countries being drawn tighter, and to avoid all risk to their position as the representatives of Irish nationality. For this reason, among others, after the Emancipation of 1829 the Catholic members did not amalgamate with the other representatives of the empire. As long as the State could be suspected of desiring to tamper with the hierarchical independence of the Church, so long was the Church obliged to stand aloof from the State. Hence, while it was the interest of the Irish statesman, as such, to develop the union of the empire, the interest of the Irish Bishops led them to keep the kingdoms still distinct. O'Connell's advocacy of the chimera of repeal was both a testimony to the paramount influence of the clergy in Ireland, and a tacit confession that, as long as that influence was exerted in the same way, it would be impossible to be at the same time a British statesman and an Irish Catholic member of Parliament. The tenant-right question, which was afterwards substituted for repeal, though more plausible, was another expression of the same necessity; and the still later policy of independent opposition bore one more testimony to the political impotence to which the Irish Catholic member was doomed, so long as any incompatibility was thought to exist between the national

independence of the Irish Church and the development of the union between England and Ireland.

Milner, as we have seen, was not willing that the political activity of Catholics should be directed to any thing more than the removal of the religious wrongs which paupers, sailors and soldiers, and prisoners had to suffer, that is, to questions not of policy, but of administrative detail. But if his principles had been carried out in 1829, and the Catholics had refused to accept emancipation clogged with guarantees for the maintenance of the Irish Establishment, the destruction of that Establishment would have been such an object for their political action as would have ensured the existence of a Catholic party in Parliament till the end was attained. Failing this, there was no question really political which sufficed for the basis of a Catholic policy. Shut out, therefore, from taking their share in the political movement of the empire, and unable to frame any special policy of their own, the Catholics were for years an excrescence in the House of Commons, with no career before them but a personal one, and with no weight, because, whenever their opinions were worth consideration, they spoke not as representatives of a nation, but in a private capacity.

It is possible also that the democratic element in the agitation which preceded the Catholic triumph of 1829, and which we cannot altogether separate from the democratic movements in France, Belgium, Poland, and Italy in 1830, may account for the subordination of political to social questions among Catholics. There was so much of the spirit of socialism abroad as may suffice to explain how politics, in the real sense of the term, fell into disrepute and neglect. Religious essayists, on the other hand, rejoiced in the lull of political agitation; they boasted that emancipation, instead of making Catholics more worldly, more time-serving, more eager as a class for the prizes of this life, had tranquillised all political ferment, and left the road open for the advance of spiritual activity, by annulling that consciousness of ill-treatment which had produced an exaggerated value for political privileges, and distracted the mind from religious advancement.

The spirit in which emancipation was given was another cause of its sterility. It was a concession to force rather than to justice, to fear and not to reason. It was the grudging tribute of a beaten faction, convinced against its will, and therefore remaining still of the same opinion. It was not a political act, like the adoption of a new tribe to the rights of citizenship, but an act like that of a beleaguered city buying

off the pressure of a horde of barbarians by concessions which are meant to be more specious than real. This was the effect of emancipation being carried not by the Whigs, but by the Tories; not by philosophic statesmen, but by the unreasoning champions of existing interests, who endeavoured to preserve by diplomacy the ascendancy which they were no longer strong enough to preserve by force. The Tory party looked upon emancipation as a temporary settlement, and a compromise whereby an accidental difficulty might be tided over; they did not mean it to be a new start in the career of the country, a fresh principle introduced into the government, a new element of the national life, or a new development of the political and social organisation of the nation. They treated the Catholic representatives as intruders, and forced them to band together, not to advance a common policy, for they had none, but for mutual protection. The Catholic cause soon lost its popularity in the country, and public opinion has never, since 1829, forced Parliament to develop the principles of the Emancipation Act. Of all our great constitutional laws, it alone is looked upon as a dry contract, to be construed literally, and not liberally interpreted. Hitherto, therefore, it has never borne the fruit expected of it. For some years after emancipation the chief organ of the Tories was demanding either its repeal or the repeal of the Union. The policy of the party was like that of the American Republicans in demanding either abolition or disunion. Ireland, they said, must either be set adrift from us to be reconquered, or it must be converted. This revolutionary idea was combated by Peel, who told them, in 1840, that they might as well try to stop the revolution of the earth as to repeal emancipation. He advised that the law should be fairly carried out, and that the government should cease from making the religious opinions of any man the ground of disqualification for the exercise of civil functions. The statistics in Father Perraud's book on Ireland show how far Peel's statesmanlike views are from being realised, even at this day.

The English Catholics, on their side, wisely acquiesced in the annihilation which emancipation had brought upon them as a political party. The Catholic Institute was founded in 1838 to be the organ of a combination amongst them; but its founders took care that from this combination all political purposes should be excluded. It only aimed at counteracting the social persecution to which Catholics were exposed, and extending a knowledge of the real tenets of the Church amongst non-Catholics. At its first anniversary meeting, in June 1839, the position of the English Catholics was well



summed up by one of the speakers. After emancipation, he said, they were no longer a party, nor the subject for a party. They had become part of the people. The bonds which had kept them together were those of misfortune; and when the external pressure was removed, each went his way into his proper rank in society. Their political friends departed from them, and they were left to their own resources. There would have been no need of any organisation among them at all, if it had not been made necessary by the "social annoyances and petty persecutions" to which they were still subject; and it was solely against these grievances that they desired the Institute to act.

But while the English Catholics were thus protesting against an organisation for political purposes, O'Connell and the Irish party did not care to conceal their opinion that the only use of the Institute would be to serve as the basis for the political organisation of the Catholics in England. After a sarcastic compliment to the newly-founded association, and to the meeting as being "one of the first which they had ventured to have," coupled with a sneer at the aristocracy for their backwardness in joining the society, O'Connell declared that the English Catholics wanted only two things—organisation and publicity. Not that he had any particular aim to propose to them for their organisation. His great argument was the standing calculation—"If they were a million, a shilling a year, a penny a month, a farthing a week, would give them 50,000*l.* at the end of the year." The Institute, he said, was an excellent beginning; he hoped it would grow up a stouter being than it was. It appears that he was so enamoured of agitation, that he considered an agitating-machine to be a good investment of capital for its own sake, whether or not there was any material for it to act upon. The Institute could not make head against the opposition expressed by O'Connell, which afterwards found an organ in *Dolman's Magazine*; and after a few years it ceased to exist.

Milner's influence was more visible in the ecclesiastical advance of English Catholics. The clerical spirit which he had evoked showed itself before he died. Priests began to wear cassocks indoors about the year 1825; a taste for splendour in religious ceremonies was not far behind, and Milner's influence in this respect found its highest expression in Prior Park, purchased by Dr. Baines in 1829. The services were performed there with all attainable pomp; the rubrics were observed as strictly as at Rome. The procession of Corpus Christi and the benediction from the altar under the portico surpassed any thing then known in England. Baines was

Roman and Italian in his taste. But Milner, though he had no taste, yet by his antiquarian researches may claim to be considered as the founder of the Gothic revival amongst English Catholics. In a wider view, however, he and his followers were in this respect only an offshoot of the Romantic school of France and Germany.

His influence was also shown in the conversions which by 1825 had become frequent in England.<sup>66</sup> Unlike those theologians who looked forward to a reunion of Christian bodies to the Church, Milner addressed his controversy to individual souls; and unlike our controversialists since 1840, his endeavours were directed, not against one particular development of Anglicanism, but against all kinds of Protestants. For the last quarter of a century our controversial writers, with few exceptions, have aimed rather at convincing the Tractarians, than at arguing with Evangelicals, Rationalists, or Deists. Milner, on the contrary, addressed his *End of Controversy* to an imaginary society consisting of a Latitudinarian rector, "Predestinarian and Antinomian Methodists," "mitigated Arminian Methodists of Wesley's connection," Quakers, "Rational Dissenters" or Socinian Presbyterians, a stanch Anglican, and a Churchwoman who frequented Wesleyan missions. Conversions were really made from all these classes of persons; and in such numbers, that the majority of the managing body of the Institute in 1838-9 were converts, and the converts in London alone were estimated at 4000.<sup>67</sup>

It forms no part of our plan to trace the changes of English Catholicism during the last quarter of a century. Indeed, it would be impossible to give such critical biographies of living persons as would exhibit their influence on the movement. The general results may, however, be stated. The controversy, which in Milner's hands had been general, became, after 1840, specially directed to High-churchmen and Tractarians. The devotional and liturgical changes introduced by him were carried out to their full development, and were made instrumental to the introduction of an Italian and Roman standard of tone and spirit amongst English Catholics. In connection with this movement, the religious orders of men and women were largely increased. The clerical converts from the Tractarians, who submitted to the Church in large numbers between 1845 and 1852, formed no party within her, but were absorbed in the general movement of Catholicism, to which, however, they contributed many of its peculiar features. The increase and improvement of institutions for education is in a measure due to them; and the method of

<sup>66</sup> Husenbeth, p. 508.

<sup>67</sup> Cath. Mag. 1839, p. 684.

historical development introduced by them into England is another of their contributions to the common stock, which has received an additional importance from the definition of the Immaculate Conception in 1854, and from the controversy since 1859 about the relations of the temporal sovereignty to the spiritual supremacy of the Pope. The establishment of the hierarchy in 1850, while it altered the relations between Catholicism and Tractarianism, consolidated the Catholic body under the pressure of the persecution with which they were threatened, and, for a time at least, suppressed all differences amongst them. In politics their position is altered by the diminution of the social grievances of which they had to complain with respect to the religious position of soldiers and sailors, paupers and prisoners. Their alliance with the Dissenters, begun in 1778, came to a natural end in 1829; and since that time the tradition which identified the interests of Catholics with those of the Liberal party has been gradually dying out, till, under the influence of Lord Palmerston's Italian policy, the "independent opposition," which was the last vestige of a distinct Catholic party, is merged into positive Toryism. In all these changes there have been action and reaction; and each phase has seemed to the less moderate of its respective patrons the only one which in tone and spirit corresponded to the ideal of Catholicism. They have forgotten that Catholicism is a fact, and not a theory. Whatever schools of thought have their existence within the Church, and are not cast out from her communion, are, *ipso facto*, shown to be consistent with her spirit:—not perhaps with the prejudices, more or less narrow, of this or that school, or with the impetuous popular feeling of a given period; but with the generous spirit of historical Catholicism, which is tolerant of differences in doubtful matters, provided that unity is not broken in the necessary points of faith and morals.

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26. *History of Frederick II., Emperor of the Romans, from Chronicles and Documents published within the last ten years.* By T. L. Kington, M.A. 2 vols. (London and Cambridge: Macmillan.)
27. *Geschichte der eidgenössischen Bünde. Mit Urkunden.* Von J. C. Kopp. Vol. III. 1. König Adolf und seine Zeit. 2. König Albrecht und seine Zeit. 1292-1308. (Berlin : Weidmann.)
28. *The History of Girolamo Savonarola and of his Times.* By Pasquale Villari. Translated from the Italian by Leonhard Horner, F.R.S., with the coöperation of the Author. 2 vols. (London: Longman.)
29. *Calendar of State Papers. Colonial Series : East Indies, China, and Japan, 1513-1616.* Edited by W. Noel Sainsbury. (London : Longman.)
30. *The Scholemaster.* By Roger Ascham ; edited, with Notes, by John E. B. Mayor, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. (London: Bell and Daldy.)
31. *La Diplomatie Vénitienne. Les Princes de l'Europe au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle. François I, Philippe II, Catherine de Médicis, les Papes, les Sultans, &c.* D'après les Rapports des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens. Par M. Armand Baschet. (Paris: Henri Plon.)
32. *Don Carlos et Philippe II.* Par Charles de Moüy. (Paris: Didier.)
33. *Beiträge zur politischen, kirchlichen und Cultur-Geschichte der sechs letzten Jahrhunderte.* Herausgegeben unter der Leitung von Joh. Jos. Ign. v. Döllinger. Vol. I. (Ratisbon: Manz.)
34. *Wallenstein's vier letzte Lebensjahre.* Von Fredrich von Hurter, kk. wirklichen Hofrath und Historiograph. (Vienna: Braumüller.)
35. *Madame de Maintenon et sa Famille. Lettres et Documents inédits.* Publiés par Honoré Bonhomme. (Paris: Didier.)
36. *La Femme au Dix-huitième Siècle.* Par Edmond et Jules de Goncourt. (Paris: Didot.)
37. *The Life of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke.* By Thomas Macknight. (London : Chapman and Hall.)



38. *The Life of William Warburton, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester from 1760 to 1779.* By the Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. (London: Longman.)
39. *Deutsche Geschichte vom Tode Friedrichs des Grossen bis zur Gründung des Deutschen Bundes.* Von Ludwig Häusser. Vols. II. III. Dritte Auflage. (Berlin: Weidmann.)
40. *Biographical Sketches.* By Nassau W. Senior. (London: Longmans.)
41. *Remains, in Verse and Prose, of Arthur Henry Hallam. With a Preface and Memoir.* (London: Murray.)
42. *Histoire Parlementaire de France.* Recueil complet des Discours prononcés dans les Chambres de 1819 à 1848 par M. Guizot. 2 vols. (Paris: Michel Lévy.)
43. *A Dialogue on the best Form of Government.* By the Right Honourable Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Bart., M.P. (London: Parker, Son, and Bourn.)
44. *Griechenlands Schicksale, vom Anfang des Befreiungs-Krieges bis auf die gegenwärtige Krisis, in kurzer Uebersicht dargestellt durch Dr. Heinrich W. J. Thiersch.* (Frankfort: Heyder and Zimmer.)
45. *Demokratie, Nationalität und Napoleonismus. Drei Worte an die Deutsche Nation.* Von B. Carneri. (Vienna: Fromme.)
46. *The Second War of Independence in America.* By E. M. Hudson. Translated by the Author from the second revised and enlarged German edition. With an Introduction by Bolling A. Pope. (London: Longman.)
47. *A Critical History of Free Thought in reference to the Christian Religion.* The Bampton Lectures for 1862. By A. S. Farrar, M.A. (London: Murray.)
48. *St. Winifred's; or, the World of School.* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black.)
49. *Le Fils de Giboyer.* Par E. Augier. (Paris: Michel Lévy.)
50. *A New Pantomime.* By Edward Vaughan Kenealy, LL.D. (London: Reeves and Turner.)

1. The interest of Dr. Colenso's examination of the Pentateuch is rather subjective and psychological than objective and positively scientific. It shows into what straits a Protestant, believing in Christianity on the authority of the Bible only, is driven, as soon as he has lost his hold of the absolutist theory that every word and syllable of Scripture is dictated by God, and begins to require some test to distinguish between the human and the divine utterances of the inspired books.

Dr. Colenso was evidently brought up in the idea, which he considers to be almost universal among Protestants, of the syllabic infallibility of Scripture. When, soon after his ordination, he contented himself with drowning misgivings in the whirlpool of paro-

chial work, silencing objections with the common specious explanations, and acquiescing in the general truth of the Bible, he did not see the necessity of providing another theory of inspiration as the basis of his belief in the Bible, but tacked together his old doctrine and his new opinions with the cobweb thread of mere inattention. When the character of his work changed, and he became a translator of the Bible instead of a parochial or diocesan organiser, the old difficulties revived, the old solutions faded into insignificance, and his mind was left with only two issues before it,—either to revert to the old theory of the infallible truth of every syllable of the Bible in its natural and common meaning, or to deny its historical truth altogether. He is at great pains to deny, *à priori*, the possibility of any other issue. The Pentateuch, if its arithmetic is wrong, he thinks must be “unhistorical,” that is, “not historically true” throughout, and only not “fictitious” because fiction conveys the idea of conscious dishonesty, and an immoral intention to deceive. And he boasts that it is the characteristic of Englishmen, as distinguished from Germans, to grapple boldly with the dilemma, to choose honestly one of its horns, instead of providing by nice distinctions and scholastic subtleties some third way, which would permit them both to deny the truth of the numbers and the historical accuracy of certain details, and to affirm the general historical truth of the narrative, and the divine character of the revelations which it enshrines. “To this strong practical love of truth in his fellow-countrymen” he appeals in these volumes. In the second Part he is as decided as in the first to reject any notion of inspiration but the syllabic one. Thus to his mind the fact that the Pentateuch is compiled out of more than one document is a proof against its inspiration, because it implies that an inspired compiler had “amended, added to, or erased portions of a story, which either was, or was believed to be, in its every letter and word, of Divine original, and as such of absolute immutable authority” (Part ii. p. 178). By what right does he transfer his doctrine of syllabic inspiration to the age of the first editor of the Pentateuch, except *jure paupertatis*, because of his sheer inability to conceive any other theory of inspiration than the one against which he argues? This intellectual narrowness is ominous. It is impossible, he says, to state in what way the usual elements of Christian doctrine appear to be affected by the unhistorical character of the Pentateuch, till we know what is the residuum of real fact left behind when the Pentateuch is thoroughly examined. A provisional Christianity, dependent for its existence on the issue of a cause already half lost, is the logical development of that positive assertion of the narrow idea of inspiration which alone Dr. Colenso is able to form or to accept.

In Part I. the author discusses the arithmetical difficulties of the Pentateuch; in Part II. some of the chief philological objections. In Part I., with characteristic narrowness he forgets to discuss the peculiar sources of error with which “political arithmetic” so abounds, as to make an argument from statistics in the hands of an

inexperienced reasoner one of the least trustworthy of all kinds of deduction. He forgets also to make allowances for the mystical significance of numbers, which for ages was considered by Jew and Christian far to outweigh in importance their historical truth. Besides this, allowance must be made for Oriental exaggeration; and against this it is no valid objection to prove that the number first assumed goes through the whole successive history, for this is a mere arithmetical provision; and it is the extreme of impatient short-sightedness to reject a book which has such profound roots in history as the Pentateuch, on account of such "palpable contradictions and manifest impossibilities" as these are. Dr. Colenso has tested the Pentateuch by a rigid rule to which it was never intended to conform, and has deduced the arithmetical absurdities which follow from treating a loose or mystical number as an accurate or historical one. He has thus concluded: "If you cannot believe this, you must give up the Bible numbers as impossible; and if the Bible numbers are impossible, then the Pentateuch is no record of real facts; it is not historically true." On such principles we should give no credit to Idacius or Jornandes, because they say that above 300,000 men lost their lives in the battle of Châlons. This is simply the reaction of a rigid intellect against a narrow dogma, first accepted as certain, and then found to be untrue.

2. If Dr. Colenso's book is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the rigid theory of inspiration, which makes every sentence, word, and syllable of the Bible the absolute dictation of God, the answer of the Oscott divines exemplifies the dangers of a too narrow interpretation of the Catholic theory of inspiration. Though the church has defined nothing on this head, the schools hold with considerable unanimity that neither the words nor style of the inspired writer, nor his narratives of historical facts known to him by natural means, are to be attributed to any special inspiration or revelation, but that he enjoyed such assistance as was necessary to preserve him from all, even the slightest, errors and blunders in the *substance* of that on which he was commissioned to write. It is manifest that an opening for dispute is given by the word *substance*. What is the divine substance of Scripture? Is it divinity or humanity? Faith and morality, or history, science, and literature? The old-fashioned schools answer that the *substance* of Scripture is all matter, divine or human, upon which Scripture in fact treats. The theologians who have followed the progress of the natural and historical sciences for the last half century are unanimous in confining the substance of Scripture, in which the divine voice speaks with infallible certainty and precision, to the theological revelations which are chiefly the doctrines of faith and laws of morals. Thus the doctrine of inspiration which was opposed when supported by Erasmus, and found little favour even when recommended by the authority of Holden, has come to be the only one which has been defended, for many years, by any Catholic theologian of real weight and significance.



The authority of the Church is the force which protects the divine substance of revelation from inapplicable criticism, and which therefore makes this theory of inspiration, however dangerous to the Protestant, whose only authority is the Bible, quite safe to the Catholic, who receives his faith from the tradition of the Church, and believes the inspiration of Scripture rather as one of the ecclesiastical dogmas than as the basis and authority of all of them. Dr. Meynell sees this clearly, and therefore is inclined to put it forward as the sole reply which should be made to Dr. Colenso. He has one plea which makes all answers to individual difficulties "superfluous" (p. 34). There is but one issue, and that is, "How if God commanded you to believe the history of the Exodus as narrated in the Bible? Are you so certain that there is no error or misapprehension about the *data* on which the supposed inconsistencies are founded, that you would dare tell Him that you would not, could not believe?" (p. 12.) At the same time it is manifest by his criticism of Dr. Stanley's treatment of the history of Samuel that, if he did descend to details, he would be found to belong to that narrow school which treats the whole *contents* of Scripture as its substance; though at the same time he avoids discussing objections of detail, to which he feels that no satisfactory answer is possible on the system he holds.

Dr. Northcote seems entirely without this consciousness. He is willing to descend into the arena and combat each difficulty in detail, armed with this one postulate, that it is enough to show the scriptural statements, as they stand, to be not impossible (p. 19). Such a postulate gives the answerer the right to pile epicycle upon epicycle of new hypotheses to stave off each new difficulty, or fraction of a difficulty, which the advance of physical or historical science brings to light day by day in the Hebrew books. It obliges him to imagine new miracles to fill up the voids of the old, and daily to add to the complication of arbitrary guesses, in order to save his arbitrary theory of inspiration. This is not theology or biblical criticism, any more than Girolamo Frascatoro's fancy of seventy-seven solid cycles was astronomy. The theologian has to defend the Scripture as inspired, and not this or that theory of inspiration, the offspring perhaps of an unhistoric age, or the shibboleth of a controversial school, but not a definition of the Church, or an article of our faith. The faith teaches that the Bible is inspired. Therefore its inspiration is compatible with any inaccuracy of fact which it may happen to contain. This must be the Catholic "stand-point" for reviewing Dr. Colenso's books. But the "stand-point" of the Oscott divines is, that, there being only two theories of inspiration (that of syllabic dictation, and that of substantial infallibility in all statements whether of fact or doctrine) recognised in the Catholic schools, every statement in Scripture apparently incompatible with one or other of these theories must be denied, explained away, or plausibly accounted for by some possible hypothesis. They never seem to dream that these theories of inspiration are themselves merely scholastic hypotheses, undefined by the Church, and there-

fore, even though recognised by her, not unchangeable, but destined to be adapted to each new phase of historical science. For, as Dr. Newman says,<sup>1</sup> "the teaching of the Catholic Church is variously influenced by the other sciences. Not to insist upon the introduction of the Aristotelic philosophy into its phraseology, its interpretations of prophecy are directly affected by the issues of history; its comments upon Scripture by the conclusions of the astronomer and geologist; and its casuistical decisions by the various experience, social, political, and psychological, with which times and places are ever supplying it."

3. As Dr. Colenso's work illustrates the theory of syllabic dictation, and that of the Oscott divines the theory of the substantial infallibility of every statement of Scripture, so do Dr. Stanley's Lectures on the Jewish Church illustrate the theory formerly called "lax," but now adopted by every Catholic critic of real mark, which teaches that the inspired writers were left to illustrate the dogmas and laws which they had to teach, by notions and opinions of their own, and were only warranted to be free from error in the delivering of things appertaining to dogma and moral code.

To the Protestant, who knows of no external authority for his faith but the letter of Scripture, and therefore has no sure guide to enable him to divide between texts which refer to faith and texts which refer simply to opinions, there is probably no theory of Scriptural inspiration which can ensure orthodoxy, except that of verbal and syllabic dictation. Either of the other theories gives the reins to private judgment, and permits each man to consider for himself what is that *substance* of Scripture from which errors are excluded by the guarantee of inspiration. But this freedom, so fatal to Protestant orthodoxy, is not necessarily injurious to Catholic belief, because that belief is not grounded on Scripture, but on the Church. When the Catholic believes Scripture to be inspired, this dogma is not the basis of all his faith, but merely a part of the superstructure. He enlarges his belief in this article of faith to the exuberant dimensions of thinking every syllable dictated by God, or cuts it down to the narrow circle of the "lax" theory of inspiration; but he does not, provided he keeps within the definition of the Church, either commit an offence against the faith or imperil his own belief. The authority of the Church is the fixed point round which his interpretation of the Scriptures revolves with great freedom. We may apply to him Donne's ingenious conceit, wherein he compared himself and his wife to a pair of compasses:

"Thy soul, the fixed foot, makes no show  
To move, but does if th' other do  
And though thine in the centre sit,  
Yet, when my other far doth roam,  
Thine leans and hearkens after it,  
And grows erect as mine comes home.

<sup>1</sup> Lectures on University Education, 1852, p. 79.

Such thou must be to me, who must,  
 Like th' other foot, obliquely run :  
 Thy firmness makes my circle just,  
 And me to end where I begun."

The firmness of the Church in the centre regulates the mobile course of biblical criticism, and causes the Catholic critic ever to end in the same faith in which he began. Thus the union of stability with progress is ensured. The hierarchy is the principle of stability; its office is to preserve the dogma, laws, and traditions of the Church; it is the conservative organisation of ecclesiastical magistracy. But the progressive principle resides in no fixed seat, proceeds by no prescribed rules, is not attached to the hierarchy, nor given by the imposition of its hands, but appears wherever Providence distributes the gift. Sometimes it may appear in the highest places of the hierarchy, as in Gregory VII. Sometimes it springs up in the lowest grades of the Christian community. In this case it acts without authority, creating little by little a public opinion, which gradually reacts upon the hierarchy. Sometimes the light comes from outside the Church, as when Augustine sends the student of Scripture to the commentaries of the Donatist Tichonius.

In the Jewish Church these two principles of conservatism and progress were embodied in two institutions—the Levitical priesthood and the schools of the prophets. Dr. Stanley exhibits his real Protestant bias, not so much in the rules of criticism which he applies to the Jewish history, as in the contempt which he expresses for the Jewish (and Christian) hierarchy in comparison to the looser organisations of elders, judges, and prophets. Protestant critics seem to be incapable of appreciating at their true value the dualisms which Providence has established in and around the Church. Mr. Buckle makes the value of the dualism of Church and State consist in the antagonism, and consequent mutual neutralisation, of two powers equally adverse to civilisation. Warburton confounds the dualism in an alliance in which the State absorbs the Church. The Puritans, on the contrary, made the Church absorb the State. So it is with regard to the dualism of the prophetic and sacerdotal functions in the Church itself. Dr. Stanley, by his frequent denials of the succession of the Christian priesthood to the Levitical hierarchy, and by making it the development of the Jewish eldership (p. 162) and prophetic office (p. 450), virtually denies the hierarchical element of Christianity which makes the Church a pillar and ground of the truth; and he converts Christianity itself into a fluctuating institution, dependent on caprice, or at best on criticism. The Christian clergy, in his eyes, succeed to the office of the Jewish prophets; they have, like them, to make "a constant protest against the sacrificial system of the Levitical ritual," and "either disparage it altogether, in comparison to the moral law, or else fix their hearers' attention to the moral and spiritual truth behind it" (p. 447). They have to assert "the supremacy of the moral and spiritual above the literal, the ceremonial, and the dogmatic elements of religion"



(p. 449). The Levite in his eyes is a mere chronicler (p. 446), who exalts ceremonial duties at the expense of morality (p. 449), and is the element of stolidity and immobility in the Jewish Church. Here is the real objection to Dr. Stanley's book. His error, which is implicitly contained in several of the earlier lectures (*e. g.* pp. 156-160), but is explicitly taught in the two last, is a heresy in political philosophy as much as in theology; being in the one case a revolutionary and democratic principle, in the other the very essence of Protestantism. It is on this ground alone that Dr. Arnold, Dr. Jowett, Dr. Stanley, and many other Protestants, can be with perfect fairness accused of rationalism. It is not that they deny all miracles. Dr. Stanley accepts heartily those which he cannot explain by natural causes, such as the shining of Moses' face (p. 153) or the predictions of the Jewish prophets (pp. 460-472). He believes in the substantial truth of the biblical narrative; he also believes in the supernatural order, and in the communion between God and the Christian soul. He cannot, therefore, be classed with Dr. Colenso, who has certainly a tendency to deny all these things. He is not a rationalist because he says that the peculiar character of the narrative of Samson "warns us off from a too close scrutiny of its details" (p. 366), as Dr. Meynell objects; but because, having once admitted the freedom of criticism in the Bible, his only rule of faith, his faith is henceforth as liable to variation as his interpretation of the pillar and ground of it.

4. Dr. Vosen's Rudiments of the Hebrew language may be safely recommended as a most desirable book for beginners. We know of no work in English or Latin which can be compared with it for the conciseness, clearness, and completeness with which all the fundamental notions of the Hebrew grammar are given. The misprints of the first edition have mostly disappeared from the present one—in which, however, the 68th section has the odd title "*De feminis segolatis.*"

5. Dr. Latham has published an enormous book, with the professed intention of "laying before the reader the chief facts and the chief trains of reasoning in Comparative Philology." The reader, however, who expects to find them in it will be grievously mistaken. There is a great deal to confuse and mislead a reader ignorant of the science, and there is nothing, on the other hand, which can be of the least use to him. The only persons who can profit by the book are those who are sufficiently advanced to be able to make use of some of its materials in accordance with a method they have learned elsewhere, and without paying the least regard to the author's reflections. About seven hundred pages of it are occupied with short notices and vocabularies of languages from all parts of the earth. The remainder, which represents the more abstract and scientific part, is confined to about fifty pages. Those chapters which treat about languages with which ordinary scholars are familiar, such as the principal Indo-European or Semitic tongues, are not calculated to inspire much

confidence in the chapters which treat of languages the very names of which may be unknown to the most accomplished of comparative philologists.

It is one of the "chief facts" in the science of language, that an immense number of words may be introduced into a language from another quite foreign to it. It is another "chief fact" that languages do not interchange grammars as they interchange words. Since these facts are known, the science of language cares a great deal about the comparison of grammars, and very little for such a comparison of vocabularies as Dr. Latham's book presents, unless accompanied by notes and comments which, had he been able to give them, would have swelled his work perhaps to fifty times its present extent. Such notes are absolutely necessary to explain both the points of coincidence and the points of divergence between two vocabularies. No two languages can be more nearly related than the Latin and the French; yet *vir, mulier, caput, os, ignis, aqua, lignum, dies, lapis*, to take some of the leading words of Dr. Latham's vocabularies, cannot be said to resemble *homme, femme, tête, bouche, feu, eau, bois, jour, pierre*. In some of these cases the corresponding Latin and French words are really cognate, though the relationship is not apparent. "Word for word," we are told, "*évêque* and *bishop* are the same, yet they have not a single letter in common." How can we know whether such cases are frequent or not in languages which are only known to us by vocabularies of some twenty or thirty words? But it is no less important to remark that every one of the French words just mentioned has a Latin origin, which is entirely lost sight of in the mere comparison of the ordinary French and Latin vocabularies. How can we know, without authentic information to the contrary, that some such light might not be thrown on the relationship between two languages whose specimen vocabularies are altogether unlike? Dr. Latham tells us that "the words which are chosen as samples are not chosen on *à priori* principles." He every where expresses great contempt for *à priori* reasoning. His vocabularies seem to us notwithstanding to involve several *à priori* assumptions. Such vocabularies tacitly if not avowedly take it for granted that each language has only one word to express each object. Now, though the English language has but one word for silver and another for gold, the Persian has ten words for silver and a dozen for gold, and the Sanskrit has upwards of twenty-five for silver and at least a hundred for the more precious metal. The extraordinary wealth of the Arabic in synonyms is well known. It is said to have a thousand words for sword, five hundred for lion, and more than eighty for honey. Even the Hebrew, in spite of the small extent of its literature, is wonderfully rich in synonyms. The Laplanders have more than thirty names for the reindeer. Of all such synonyms the vocabularies take no account. It may happen that a vocabulary limited to one word for each object may be fairly constructed for the comparison of *two* languages, and yet be utterly unfair for the comparison of any other two. A Latin and a German

word of the same meaning may be akin respectively to two quite different Sanskrit synonyms. In the comparison between any language and the Coptic, we see no reason why *aspe*, *meri*, *eushi*, and *tebt*, should be selected in preference to others quite as good to represent *tongue*, *day*, *night*, and *fish* respectively. As we happen to have fallen on the Coptic for an illustration, we may remark that the words for *evening* and *rain*, in which Dr. Latham sees coincidences with the Basque, are incorrectly printed in his book. The Coptic for *evening* is not *aroupi* but *rouhi*, which sometimes is found with the epenthetic *a*, *arouhi*. The Coptic for *rain* is not *eroou*, but *hōou*, or, with the epenthetic vowel, *chōou*, which certainly does not look like the Basque *uri*. The Coptic for morning is not *atooni*, but *tooui* or *a-tooui*; and the sun is *re*, not *ri*. These blunders, so easy to avoid in the case of a language like the Coptic, do not promise much accuracy for "that inordinately large proportion" of words for which Dr. Latham "is simply under the guidance of his authorities."

Another objection to short vocabularies unaccompanied by accurate analyses is, that they ignore another of the "chief facts" in the science of language. If they do not positively imply that names of things are mere arbitrary representatives of them, just as a bank-note may represent five pounds or five hundred, they at least do not correct this impression, if it exists in the mind of the reader. Now it is certain that an immense number of words in the languages best known to us express attributes. They are descriptive of the objects of which they are the names; and if they have in process of time in many instances lost their primitive significance, this is frequently discoverable in an earlier stage of the language. *Father*, *mother*, *daughter*, *gold*, *silver*, and *tin*, were originally as expressly descriptive as *lapwing* and *redbreast*. But each name, as a rule, expressed only one attribute exclusive of the others, and hence in many languages the multitude of names for a single object. *Father* did not originally mean male parent, nor did *daughter* signify female child. It is only when the analysis of such words is completely mastered, that the student can thoroughly understand, on the one hand, the wonderfully intimate connection which subsists between languages of the same family, and, on the other, the little importance which can be attached to the most complete divergence between such short vocabularies as those contained in Dr. Latham's book.

Of his peculiar views as to the relations which exist between many important languages, it is quite needless to speak seriously until he possesses a greater knowledge of the subject than he exhibits in this and in his other works. If he has, as he declares, "no more cognisance" of the Sanskrit language "than is shown in the statements" of a small chapter, in which the Sanskrit, Persepolitan, Prakrit, Pali, Kawi, and Zend are discussed, it is simply absurd to say that he speaks as a logician, not as a scholar, of matters which cannot be seen in their true light without a considerable amount of scholarship. With such superficial knowledge as he thinks sufficient, it is not wonderful if he questions the high antiquity of the



Sanskrit literature, or feels doubtful whether the Zend language be not after all a forgery; or again, if he talks about Chinese somewhat differently from Stanislas Julien. But if he "puts a courteous and otiose belief in the teaching of the special Zend scholars," we do not see why he should assume a dogmatic tone when speaking of the interpretation of Egyptian inscriptions, on the details of which interpretation he owns that he can form no independent opinion. When he asks, "Why have we not a series of old Egyptian texts in the ordinary Coptic alphabet, of which an ordinary Coptic student could judge?" he is apparently not aware that Coptic transcriptions were formerly used, and have long since been given up as unscholarlike. There is no more reason why we should transcribe Egyptian in Greek (for the Coptic alphabet is, with the exception of three letters, wholly Greek) than in Hebrew or Sanskrit letters. The best judges in this matter are partisans of transcriptions in Roman letters. Dr. Latham is also apparently not aware that the best Coptic scholars of the present century, Quatremère, Peyron, Ideler, and Schwartz, not to mention others, have openly declared themselves convinced of the truth of Champollion's discovery and method, and that the judgment of Silvestre de Sacy is by itself sufficient to counterbalance all the adverse judgments that have yet been given, from that day down to this. The long and short of the matter is, that Dr. Latham has written a very large book touching a great many subjects, on most of which he knows either nothing or next to nothing.

6. M. Emile Burnouf is already favourably known to the learned public by several excellent works intended to facilitate and popularise the study of the Sanskrit language and literature. The first edition of his Sanskrit Grammar was rapidly sold, and we believe his edition of the Bhagavad-Gîtâ has met with an equal success. The eagerness with which his Sanskrit Dictionary is looked for proves how deeply he has interested the French public in these studies. His last publication consists of a series of lectures addressed to an audience consisting of persons of "different conditions and religions." It is, therefore, not intended for the learned, but for the general public, who will find in it a very excellent summary of what is known with reference to all the elements of civilisation in that early stage of society of which the Veda is the only remaining document. A short sketch of the different periods of Indian history prepares the reader for the principal questions of history, ethnology, comparative mythology, and comparative philology, which are raised by the study of the Veda. M. Burnouf devotes a chapter to the history of comparative philology from the time of Leibniz down to our days. He then describes the poetry of the Veda with reference to its contents and to its literary form. It would perhaps have been well to warn the reader that the numerous translations which occur through the book are not to be implicitly depended upon. The time has not yet arrived in which the hymns of the Veda can be translated as easily as the Bhagavad-Gîtâ or the Hitopadesa. The very best scholars do

not profess to warrant more than the approximate fidelity of their own translations. Those of Wilson and Langlois have no higher claim than as representing the traditional interpretation of literary documents which we know now to have often been grossly misunderstood by the oldest commentators. From the poetry of the Veda, M. Burnouf proceeds to the discussion of the country in which the hymns were composed, and the races mentioned in them. He next examines the proofs of the authenticity of the Veda, as furnished by the traditions and by the religious and literary history of India, and he describes three classes of authors by whom the hymns of the Rig-Veda are said to have been composed. The first class comprehends those who name themselves in their hymns. No serious doubt can be entertained with reference to these; but some authors are named by others, and criticism has to decide how far this information is trustworthy. Some authors are certainly fictitious, whilst the authenticity of certain hymns can be positively asserted, in consequence of the indisputable identity of style and thought which characterises the productions of many poets of that early age.

Another important result of Vedic studies is the distinction which must be made between the different periods in which the hymns were composed. The most recent hymns, M. Burnouf says, were composed in the higher valleys of the Ganges and of its affluents, the earliest in the neighbourhood of Cabul, and the greater part in the Saptasindu in the period comprised between the two extreme epochs. The chronological order of these hymns agrees, therefore, as a whole with the geographical. It is, however, not less true that the Aryas slowly advanced into the heart of India, and that whilst the most recent hymns were being sung on the banks of the Ganges, poets were still composing others in the north of the Saptasindu.

M. Burnouf examines into the origin and constitution of the Aryan family, and he describes the changes which it successively passed through. He then proceeds to discuss the civil and political society, shows that the system of castes was not yet constituted, but that all its essential elements were already in existence. He explains the functions and occupations of the brahmans, rājās, and vaisyas, and draws a lively picture of the social life which prevailed during the last period of the Vedic age. After an account of the struggle for supremacy between the rājās and the brahmans, which finished with the establishment of the castes, his book treats of the Vedic religion, the nature of its worship, the organisation and spiritual power of the priesthood, the religious ceremonies and the mythology. In a final chapter entitled "*Ce qui n'est pas dans le Vêda*," the author shows that the Veda knows nothing of the fundamental traditions or essential doctrines of the Hebrews. The doctrine of the Veda is irreconcilable with that of a creator. The fall of man, the earthly paradise, and the deluge, are traditions not to be found in the Veda. Neither is the idea of redemption there. And though the notion of incarnation is extremely familiar to the Indian mind, M. Burnouf points out the essential contrast between the Indian and the Christian notion.

Whereas the latter necessarily implies the union in one person of two whole and perfect natures, the divine and human, the human soul being a created nature wholly distinct from the divine, the Indian mind conceives all human souls as identical in substance with the deity ; all men are therefore, in one sense, incarnations of the deity, and what is technically called so merely implies that the deity is present with all his active power and might in an individual.

M. Burnouf is deserving of the highest praise for his conception and execution of the really arduous task of setting before a popular audience an accurate and methodical exposition of the results of a very difficult science. He thinks that he has carefully kept all his private opinions out of sight, and that one might "seek in vain for his personal ideas on religion, politics, and philosophy from a book where they would be out of place." In this respect he has not been quite so successful as he supposes. The persons of "different conditions and religions" who composed his audience must have more than once been rather startled by the expression of opinions wholly uncalled for by the subject, and, we must say, wholly unjustified by any scientific interest. The book, for instance, finishes with saying that the Indian mind has a decidedly pantheistic tendency at variance with the Semitic monotheism founded on the doctrine of creation; that this tendency has existed in other Aryan countries, where it has, however, always been arrested by foreign influences; that India alone has fully developed this pantheism, and has only failed to prove its doctrines by facts methodically observed, and thus to produce scientific pantheism. "Ce sera là peut-être," he concludes, "à côté du christianisme, l'œuvre réservée aux générations futures dans la race indo-européenne revenue à son unité." To all Englishmen and most Frenchmen this anticipation must sound as unscientific as the anticipation of a future scientific astrology.

At page 280 the author goes out of his way to talk about the hierarchical organisation of the Christian clergy. He tells us that a Catholic priest has no freedom of thought in matters of religion, and that, as almost all sciences have more or less reference to religion, freedom of thought "en toute matière" is generally denied to the Catholic clergy. Believers and really pious laymen, on the other hand, he says, never revolt against their priest, but take him as their spiritual guide in all things; they sacrifice to their faith their freedom of thought, and even make science subordinate to the doctrines established by ecclesiastical authority. He, however, amusingly enough, adds, "à la vérité ces personnes sont aujourd'hui si rares que, pour ma part, je n'ai jamais pu en rencontrer une seule parmi les gens instruits."

7. A considerable part of some of the most important chapters of M. Oppert's Report on Mesopotamia is taken up with contradictions of statements or conclusions of Sir Henry Rawlinson. On most of the questions, if not on all, it is impossible for any one not an eye-witness to be a competent judge. How can we tell whether the



extent of Tell Amran is four times or twelve times that assigned by Diodorus Siculus and Strabo to the hanging gardens of Semiramis? There is no reason why M. Oppert should not tell the truth, if he has discovered mistakes made by his predecessors; but there are very good reasons why he should not do so in a disagreeable tone. The public has no ground for believing his word rather than that of Sir Henry Rawlinson, and is quite as likely to account for the contradiction by the petty jealousy which so often unhappily exists between rival archæologists as by any other reason.

Setting aside this serious drawback, M. Oppert's narrative will be found interesting and often amusing; though some of the lighter portions are hardly befitting the gravity of a scientific report. The first 134 pages describe the writer's travels from Malta, through Alexandria, Beyrut, Issus, Aleppo, Diarbekr, Nisibin, Mossul, and Bagdad, to Hillah. This part of the report is pleasantly written, and full of anecdotes illustrative of the present social and political condition of the places passed through. A few more pages, however, like those on the characteristics of the dialect of Bagdad, would have been more welcome to the scientific reader than the hackneyed account of the donkey-drivers of Alexandria. The second book is taken up with a description of the diggings and other operations at Babylon. M. Oppert gives the translations of a good many of the inscriptions discovered. No one who is aware both of the extent to which the decipherment of these inscriptions has advanced, and also of M. Oppert's attainments in the science, will be disposed to think lightly of these translations. It is, however, well known that whereas the sense of a great many words may be considered as proved, the sense of many others is uncertain or unknown. It is therefore to be regretted that M. Oppert has not followed Dr. Hincks's example of enabling us by his occasional use of italics to distinguish those parts of his version which he considers as certain from those which are only conjectural.

8. The second volume of Dr. Brugsch's *Recueil de Monumens Egyptiens* is not less valuable than the previous one, already noticed in our last number. The first twenty plates represent inscriptions from Thebes, chiefly from the times of the great Ramses and other kings of his family. Most of the remaining inscriptions belong to the Ptolemaic and even the Roman period. These, owing to the changes which had gradually crept into the hieroglyphic system of writing, are often extremely difficult to decipher. This difficulty is increased tenfold when the inscriptions are carelessly executed by the Egyptian artist, as is often the case, or badly copied. If any thing can encourage one to undertake the formidable task of deciphering such a text as that given in plate lxxii. 1, which would certainly have been utterly unintelligible to the great Ramses himself and to his most learned scribes, it is the wonderful beauty and accuracy with which the Egyptian characters have been copied by the German engraver. In the last text of this plate we find

an instance, parallel to that of the Latin *humilis*, of the change of meaning in words consequent on a change of religion. The Coptic *ouahe-het* is never used in any but a bad sense, as arrogant, hard-hearted. The old Egyptian author of the inscription given us by Dr. Brugsch tells us, on the other hand, quite simply, that he is *uah-het* because the gods have given him increase upon earth. At page 73, we find that very curious text of Edfu, in which geographical names, as Teb and Unep, are explained by etymological myths. The most important text, however, of the whole book is the celebrated medical papyrus of Berlin, a facsimile of which occupies the last twenty-three plates. M. Chabas pays it rather too high a compliment when he praises the beauty of its writing; but it is very readable, and we cannot be too thankful to Dr. Brugsch for making this curious and interesting document accessible to scholars generally. His analysis of it is very complete, and will give a very exact notion of the progress which has been made up to the present moment in the interpretation of old Egyptian texts. No part of the manuscript is, properly speaking, unintelligible. There are, however, a good many names of medicines which it is impossible to identify. The determinative characters attached to these names enable us only to distinguish between herbs, liquids, and medicines in a granular form and in cakes. This *materia medica* comprises about fifty plants; nine species of trees, among these the cedar, the cyperus, and the sycamore fig; twenty-five medicines in granular form, such as salt, incense, and nitre; and twenty-five kinds of liquids, among which we find honey, the milk of women, cows, and goats, wine, beer, vinegar, and human urine. Great virtue is attached to animal excrements;—to those, for instance, of the ass, the lion, the goose, or the crocodile, and also to the blood, bile, raw meat, fat, horn, and other parts of animals. The use of ointments, frictions, cataplasms, emetics, purgatives, and clysters, is prescribed according to the nature of each case. A tumor, *uchet*, on the legs is to be cut with a knife of cypress-wood.

The manuscript consists of three different compositions, the second being professedly on the cure of tumours, whilst the third treats of cases of pregnancy. The anatomical knowledge displayed is not very considerable. "A man's head has thirty-two *ducts* which bring air to his heart, they give air to all his limbs . . . . He has two ducts in his breast, they give heat to his lungs . . . . He has two ducts in his legs and two in his arms . . . . He has two ducts in the occiput, two in the sinciput, two on his neck, two in his eyelids, two in the nostrils, two in his right ear, by which the breaths of life enter. There are two in the left ear, by which the breaths enter." Constipation, or some such disorder, is ascribed to the duct of the legs. The word which we have rendered by *duct* is translated "*vaisseau*" by M. Chabas, who leaves it undecided whether it means arteries, veins, nerves, or imaginary passages. We have long since, guided by the suggestion of M. Chabas, and the Egyptian group for *three*, arrived at the same reading of the word as Dr. Brugsch. The

Coptic word *mout* is used both for *nerves* and *arteries*, and has the sense of *junctura*. It may possibly be connected with *moit*, a passage. This reading helps us to those of *matu*, poison (Todt. 149, 27); *moten*, tranquil (Leps. Denk. ii. 150, a), probably *mut* in the same sense (Papyrus Magique, ix. 1, 7); and that of the group signifying *canal* (Pap. Mag. viii. 8). It gives us the Egyptian originals of the Coptic *mouti*, to name, proclaim, call out (Champ. Mon. xliii.; Anastasi, vi. 2, 16); *mati*, delight (Sallier, i. 8, 8, 11); *mete*, middle (Sharpe, E. I. i. 22); *shemei*, want, desire, love (Todt. 78, 35). The last hieroglyphic group referred to, *chemt*, is followed by three strokes ideographic of the numeral *three*, in Coptic *shemt*, and by the sign of negation or privation. In all carefully-executed texts the three strokes are carefully distinguished from the water-lines (see, e.g. Denk. ii. 26, iii. 24, o). We might mention other groups on which this reading throws light; and we look forward with interest to Dr. Brugsch's dissertation on the subject. We had not thought seriously of *metre*, witness, and we still see difficulties in the way of its acceptance.

There is a couple of very important groups which we are disposed to read differently from Dr. Brugsch and other Egyptologists. The first of these is the name of the king in whose days the treatise on the cure of tumours was discovered. The first sign of this name is very rare, and M. Chabas has adopted the conjectural reading T'aT', in consequence of its appearing sometimes at the end of the well-known group of which that is the phonetic reading. On referring, however, to Champollion's *Monumens*, pl. 251, we find it apparently with the value of S, in the well-known phrase *sut Amenti*, "the region of the West." The monument belongs to an excellent period. Another example of this variant is found in the great hieroglyphic papyrus of Trinity College, Dublin, one of the finest in the world (see also Leps. Denk. iii. 78, a; 231, b; Sharpe, E. I. i. 22). We know of several other examples. If we now apply this reading to Sallier, i. 6. 4, *sun su na at'au*, the sense is evidently "the robbers plunder him;" the three last words, as every one allows, mean "the robbers . . . him;" and the Coptic dictionary, under the word *soni*, explains the rest. The *sennui* in Sallier, ii. 7. 2, of whom it is said that "he is more wicked than any one," is probably a *thief*. The Coptic *sun*, precious, is perhaps to be found in the hieroglyphic form on the obelisk of Karnak (Leps. Denk. iii. 24. 8); and we are afraid that a remedy of the medical papyrus (vi. 3, 6), which we read *stu*, must be translated by the Coptic *sot*, stercus. Comp. Anastasi, vii. 9, 8. And may not *sot*, redimere, be the meaning of *stu* in Sallier, iv. 8. 7? The appearance of the sign in question at the end of the group T'at'au must be explained, we think, in harmony with the *two* other forms, which must be read T'at'a-su (see M. de Rougé, *Tombeau d'Akmes*, p. 190, note). The sign itself represents a *bar* or *beam*, in Coptic *soi*; and the name of the king in the papyrus must in all probability be read, not Zazati or Thoth, but SuT.

Dr. Brugsch is, if we mistake not, the first who discovered evi-



dence that the name of one of the Egyptian gods should be read Shu instead of Mu. All Egyptologists have acquiesced in this change, and some of them have generally given to the first sign of this name (the Feather) the value of *Sh* whenever it comes before the vowel *u*. We entertain, however, very strong doubts as to the polyphonous nature of this sign. That the Egyptian expression for *without* should be read MaU eM is certain from a variant in Sharpe's *Inscriptions*, ii. 41, lines 20 and 21. Too much importance has perhaps been attached to the parallelogram which is sometimes prefixed to the name of the god, and which has habitually the alphabetic value of *Sh*. It is very frequently used ideographically for *water*. It will be found, to quote a few instances, after such words as *Hâpi*, the Nile (Leps. Denk. ii. 139, d. c. n. 149 c. 151, a); *atur*, the river (Denk. ii. 149, e. g. Champollion, *Notices*, p. 438); *nen-nu*, lake (Denk. ii. 149, g.); *uat' ur*, the sea (Denk. ii. 149, iii. 38, c. lines 33, 34); *To-mera*, Egypt (Denk. ii. 149, f.). Now *water* in the Egyptian language is *mau* or *mu*; and this is quite a sufficient reason for placing an ideographic sign expressive of water before the name of a god whose name is *Mau* or *Mu*. It is thus we account for the orthography of the god's name as found, for instance, in the tomb of Seti I. (Champ. *Notices*, p. 427); and it would be better, until further evidence be produced, to return to Champollion's transcription of this and all other words beginning with the ostrich-feather.

9. It was a remark of the late Arthur Hallam, that it would be a prize of inestimable value to the philosopher to know something, not of the mythology or philosophy, but of the *religion* of the ancients; not only of the thoughts of the sceptical or enlightened few whose words have come down to us, but of the actual feelings of the believing multitude who knelt before the shrines of Zeus or Athene. To this question Mr. Cox's *Tales of the Gods and Heroes* gives no reply; and, from the nature of the case, there is none to give, except of the vaguest and most negative kind. That the popular religion was not only dissociated from morality, but, at least in historic times, was a direct sanction and instrument of sin, there can be little doubt. But of the real *animus* of the worshippers we know, and can know, next to nothing. Of that the *vates sacer* tells no tale. On mythology, however, recent researches, and the application of scientific method, have thrown much new light, and in stripping off the garb of a fictitious realism have given it a deeper interest by claiming for it a higher truth. It has now come to be accepted as the living record, not indeed of human facts which "the lively Grecian" had idealised into supernatural mysteries, but of a stage of society and condition of thought through which the whole Aryan race had to pass in the dim twilight which precedes the dawn of history. Among those who have pursued these investigations in England, three names stand preëminent, those of Mr. Grote, Professor Max Müller, and Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Grote, as the historian of external facts rather than of laws of thought, naturally satisfies himself with disproving the historical value of the

Greek legends, as rationalised by Euhemerus, and then dismisses them as the pictures "of a past that was never present." To a discussion of the opposite theories of Max Müller and Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Cox has devoted the interesting preface to his book. It might perhaps be objected that the children for whom the *Tales* are written would not understand the preface; while the scholars who will be attracted by the preface are not very likely to read the *Tales*. Both, however, are good in their own way. The preface exhibits in small space extensive reading and careful thought. Mr. Gladstone's exposition of Greek mythology traces it up to its source in a lost or corrupted revelation with a minute ingenuity which not only recognises in Zeus, Hades, and Poseidon the representatives of a trinity, and in Apollo an embodiment of the predicted Messiah, but even reads in the rape of Ganymede a distorted version of the translation of Enoch. The very diversity of the early tradition measures the grossness of its later perversions, and "the stream darkened more and more as it got further from its source." Fascinating as this theory is to some minds, especially in all the variety of its detailed illustration, it is beset by the most serious difficulties. Mr. Cox has dwelt on the improbability of such a terrible corruption in an age like the "heroic," to say the least, not conspicuous for immorality, and when too there appears to have been rather an advance than a declension of moral tone, as from the Homeric to the Hesiodic poems; on the many contradictions of detail the theory involves; and on its failure to explain all the phenomena of the case. A still graver objection lies in the close analogy now proved to exist between the Greek mythology and that of other branches of the same Aryan race. The Norse legends and the Indian Vedas alike bear witness to their substantial harmony, and exhibit in germ that personification of the powers of nature which is their common origin, though in the Greek poets it had reached a further stage of development. All alike date from that pre-historic period when man, as yet a "baby new to earth and sky," passed from wonder into poetry, and poetry was formulised into worship. When this idea is once clearly mastered, and we have learnt the wide extent of what our author calls the "solar myths" of Greece, we cease to marvel at the coarse sensuality of many of their later poems, and are able too to understand how the great epic of Homer is but the story of the *Volunga Saga* and *Nibelungen Lied*, coloured by the change of climate and national character in its transition from the ice-bound North to the sunnier skies of a bright and fruitful land. For the proofs of a common derivation of the different branches of Aryan mythology, we are mainly indebted to Professor Müller. And this fact would be quite sufficient to prove that recollections of a primitive revelation can have had at best but a very subordinate place, if any, in the theological systems of Greece; and there is, as Mr. Cox very properly insists, a previous question as to the nature and extent of that revelation itself. And it must not be assumed that doctrines of which we, in the noonday of Christian illumination, can trace the

foreshadowings in Genesis were clearly apprehended by our first parents and their immediate descendants.

For the sake of the Greeks themselves, one is thankful to be compelled to reject a theory so discreditable to their moral sense, and to perceive in their mythology, not the wilful degradation of religious belief, but an example of the spontaneous process of the laws of the human mind. "It can be no subject of regret to learn that they were as little responsible for the moral standard of Achilles and Meleagros as for that of Zeus and Heracles; and that the idea of each originated as little with them as the conception of Odin and Baldr, of Sigurdr and Gunnar, originated in the mind of the Teuton." It enables us to believe that their personal morality was often far higher than the theological ideal set before them, and their faith purer than the forms of its ritual manifestation. Nor is it any longer matter of surprise that in later days all that was best and holiest among the Greeks was found, not in alliance with the popular religion, but in instinctive, perhaps unconscious, antagonism to it. If the traditional mythology was neither an outgrowth nor a memorial of religious belief, it was natural that those who believed most deeply should turn with the strongest recoil from a system with which they, of all men, had least in common. That God never left Himself without witness among the Gentiles there is abundant evidence. *Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum* is no less the verdict of history than the statement of Holy Writ. But it is one thing to ascribe their noblest efforts and highest utterances to the influence of a divine Spirit, quite another to call whatever their legends contained of truth or holiness echoes of a forgotten revelation.

In the kind of writing to which the Tales in his book belong Mr. Cox is no novice; but it is of course a very difficult thing to clothe in English dress myths so completely bound up with the character, and even the language, of another people and a civilisation long passed away. That difficulty is greatly increased when the attempt is to make them intelligible to children. Scholars who have spent years in classical studies, and drunk deeply of the pure fount of Greek inspiration, have done something to bridge over the vast chasm which divides modern associations and habits of thought and sentiment from those of the ancient world, though even they must be content to see through a glass darkly that mythical past of which later writings contain the sole but imperfect record. To make children, who have gone through no such training, really enter into the spirit of the old myths is simply impossible. As long as they could be told "that demigods and heroes were real men, over whose actions tradition has thrown a mist of poetry and romance," the case was somewhat different. But the very process which, by destroying their historical basis, has given them for us a deeper significance, removes them still farther from the apprehension of untutored minds. It accordingly becomes the object of writers like Mr. Kingsley and Mr. Cox to utilise the myths for a moral purpose, which was not ordinarily any part of their original intention, and thus to raise them,



in a child's mind, above the level of mere fairy-tales, and give him some indistinct appreciation of the real greatness of the olden days they speak of, and of the substantial unity in what is lovely and of good report that underlies the widest diversities of climate, age, and race. Many at least of the legends "will delight the youngest child, as much as they still please those who have traced them back to their earliest form," though the pleasure is of course of a totally different kind. But it is obvious that such a scheme requires much care and skill for carrying it out, both as to the matter of what is told and the manner of telling it. We have no right to Christianise the myths, as a living writer has sought to Anglicanise the *Pilgrim's Progress*. In these points Mr. Cox is not always sufficiently scrupulous. There is something, for instance, almost Euhemeristic in speaking of a flower growing up *by the grave* where Narcissus slept, and a laurel *on the bank* where Daphne had plunged into the stream. The old legend knows of no such poetical subterfuge. The myths, again, are sometimes made the vehicles of a moral teaching which they do not even adumbrate. Thus the charge of Apollo to his priests, in the Homeric hymn, to take care of his temple, and not suffer its credit or revenue to decline, lest his wrath come upon them, is expanded into an exhortation to "keep their hands clean and their heart pure, . . . to deal rightly, and not speak lies or do iniquity." This may be very edifying, but it is hardly fair. There are occasional indications too in the style of a laboured attempt to write down to the capacities of children, with very superfluous reiteration of "O" and "Ah," which the author would do well to avoid in future. It is both an incongruity and a blunder. The Greek myths have all the freshness of boyhood, but they are never childish, like a modern fairy-tale. On the whole, however, Mr. Cox has discharged his task successfully; and there is a purity and eloquence in his language specially adapted for the rendering of these ancient tales, which only grow more musical by repetition.

10. An extremely readable, very close, and generally accurate version of the *Odyssey* has been given by Mr. Norgate. We cannot decisively say that it is the best of the very many poetical English versions that have appeared; for much will depend on the preference for rhyme, or blank verse, or the Spenserian stanza, that different readers will have. But we have compared this version closely and critically with the Greek in many places, and we can therefore commend it for its fidelity, as well as generally for its genial diction, which is a happy medium between affected phraseology and commonplace schoolboy-like translation. Mr. Norgate has, perhaps, wisely chosen the *dramatic* verse. It does not always read quite so smoothly as the epic or Miltonian; but then the *Odyssey* is itself a drama, and so the Greeks regarded it, rather than as a romance or story in verse. Mr. Norgate says in his brief preface, "An English translation of Homer's Poems, such as shall at once be unexceptionable as a translation, and at the same time pleasantly readable

for the English reader, has not as yet made its appearance." *Itane vero?* Can we say so much? or is it necessary to hazard the assertion to justify a new attempt at the same task? We are not sure that the frequent clippings and occasional haltings of Mr. Norgate's versification may not seem an objection to some. We confess they were so to us on only casually opening the book. "I am unsparing," he says, "in the use of elisions for the reader; nor have I any scruples on this point, considering how freely Homer himself elides and clips his words." A better defence would be, that the practice of Shakespeare and other of our earlier poets justifies the license. The analogies of language and metre are wholly different in English and in Greek. Still, there is something of roughness in lines like the following, which are extremely frequent:

"Then a mast therein, with yard-arm thereto fitting,  
He made, and made him also a helm for steering.  
The raft all thoroughly sound he then secured  
With wattled osier-work, to be a defence  
Against the wave; and on it he strewed much stuff." (p. 107.)

Or again (p. 117):

"Thereunder crept Odusseus; and soon heaped him  
With his own hands an ample bed: for a heap  
Plenty enough there was of leaves; as much  
As in the winter season well might shelter  
Or two, or three men, hard howsoe'er the weather.  
Glad was the much-enduring prince Odusseus  
At the sight thereof, and down in the midst he laid him."

The incomparable passage in *Odys.* vi. 149-185 (p. 124), where Ulysses, starved and nearly naked, implores the assistance of the young Nausicaa, is well rendered; but we meet rather abundantly with this word-clipping:

"I implore thee, O lady! And art thou then some goddess,  
Or art thou a mortal woman? If some goddess,  
Of those that dwell in the vasty heaven, I indeed,  
I deem thee like, most nearly like in figure,  
In height and comely form unto Artemis,  
The daughter of great Zeus: but if of mortals  
Any one art thou, of such as dwell on earth,  
Then sure in thee thrice happy are thy father  
And lady mother."

Mr. Norgate, indeed, seems to court rather than shun this redundancy of syllables. For what could have been easier than to write the first line thus:

"I implore thee, lady! Art thou then some goddess?"

The third line ought to run thus:

"Of those that dwell in heaven, I indeed," &c.

But, if a very close version of *τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν* be desirable, it might run thus:

"Of those that hold wide heaven, I indeed," &c.

So in the fifth verse, "to Artemis" is as good or better than "unto Artemis;" and in the seventh, "some one" than "any one." In fact, "any one" is here scarcely good English.

The extreme difficulty of translating the *Odyssey*, where so much of homely life occurs, and so many traits of character utterly different from our ways of thinking and acting, is well known to all who have tried it. Language always adapts itself to national habits; and it frequently happens that ideas, beautiful from their simplicity in Greek, appear very commonplace when put into English. This, however, is inevitable, and he is the best translator who avoids words of too common stamp, while preserving the spirit of the original. The following passage (p. 509) will illustrate our meaning:

"Then hied they into the homestead: but Odusseus,  
For making proof, drew near to the fruitful garden:  
Into the roomy orchard down he went;  
But found not Dolius there, nor any one  
Of the serfs, nor of his sons: but gone were they  
To gather stones for walls, for fence to the garden;  
And he, the old man, went showing them the way.  
But in the well-wrought garden found he his father,  
Him only, digging round about a plant:  
And clad he was in a dirty coat, unseemly,  
Botched; and about his legs he had tied botched buskins,  
For escaping scratches: gloves too upon his hands,  
Because of briars: above, upon his head,  
A goat-skin cap he wore,—nursing his grief.  
Now soon as e'er the patient prince Odusseus  
Noted him thus, worn by old age, and hugging  
A mighty grief at heart,—he stopped forthwith  
'Neath a tall pear-tree, and straight let fall a tear."

This could not be much better rendered; and it is extremely close to the original. The second line, however, is not very intelligible; the Greek is,

ἄσσαν ἔεν πολυκάρπου ἀλωῆς πειρηγίζων,

which we should prefer to render,

"The fruitful garden neared, his sire to try."

In v. 10, "a dirty coat" would be more accurately rendered "a dirty frock" or "smock" (χιτῶνα). The phrase "nursing his grief" (πένθος ἀέξων) is, quite literally, 'making his mourning more,' or greater. The allusion is to the muffling of the head in grief, according to the Eastern fashion; for the Greeks ordinarily did not wear any thing on the head.

A few slight inaccuracies of rendering appear here and there, but they are really slight, so far as we have observed. In p. 183,

"there was like to meet us

*Some rude man,"*

we think the sense is, 'the huge man,' i.e. the giant Polyphemos,



whom they had just before seen asleep under the trees. The very next verse,

“All ignorant of manners and of justice,”

is rather a poor rendering of οὔτε δίκας εὔ ειδότα οὔτε θέμιστας, where θέμιστες (a common epic word) mean ‘rights,’ and δίκας are ‘legal definitions.’

In the curious description of the golden brooch and silken tunic in book xix. (p. 409), we differ from Mr. Norgate as to the rendering of the Greek. The words (v. 221), ἀργαλέον τόσον χρόνον ἀμφίς ἴοντα εἰπέμεν mean, we think, ‘It is hard to speak about one who has been so long separated.’ Mr. Norgate renders it,

“After such time gone by, ’twere hard, O woman,  
For me to say.”

Thus making ἀμφίς ἴοντα agree with χρόνον. And the words ἀσπαίροντα λάων (v. 229) and ὁ μὲν λάε νεβρόν ἀπάγχων should not be translated after the false and now exploded interpretation of λάων given by the grammarians, viz. ‘gazing at,’ but ‘seizing,’ ‘holding.’ The word is from the root λαβ, but has lost the digamma. We have it in λαμβάνω, ἀπολαύω, and ἀμφιλαφής.

11. Professor Weil’s *Septem* appears to us to be one of the most important, and in many respects original, editions of Æschylus that have ever appeared in Germany. Three other plays have already been published by the same editor, viz. the Agamemnon, the Choëphori, and the Eumenides. We confine ourselves at present to a brief notice of the *Septem*.

Pursuing a medium course between the extravagant alterations of the received text which Hermann had adopted, and the conservative principle of “let well alone,” which editors of the “safe” school pursue, our critic has given us a revised text, with very judicious, and by no means tedious, critical and explanatory notes at the foot of each page. He has been most careful in recording all the variations of the ancient Medicean Ms., discriminating the original readings, as far as they can be made out, from the many corrections which have been introduced by later hands. This alone is a matter of great importance. Many verses which have been “botched” by emendators of that Ms. six or seven hundred years ago, were written differently by the first scribe in the ninth or tenth century. To take one instance by way of illustration, out of the prologue, v. 13, where the common reading is ὦραν τ’ ἔχονθ’ ἕκαστον, ὥστε συμπρεπές, Professor Weil shows us that the original hand of the Medicean probably gave the verse thus: ὦραν ἔχων ἕκαστος ὥς τις ἐμπρεπής, i. e. ‘according as each one is conspicuous for the age he possesses.’ And this he gives in his text, and we think it is the true reading. The Medicean now has ὦραν τ’ ἔχονθ’ ἕκαστος ὥστι συμπρεπές, but the τ’ after the ὦραν is an addition, and the termination of ἔχονθ’ has been erased.

We agree with Herr Weil, that this play has come down to us with some mutilations and some interpolations. He often discerns

both these blemishes very shrewdly, and treats them very ingeniously; but at the same time he is apt, perhaps, to be too suspicious. Thus, in v. 19, where the earth is spoken of as *κουροτρόφος*, 'the nurse of youth,' and as 'taking on herself all the trouble of their bringing up,' *ἅπαντα πανδοκῶσα παιδείας ὕτλον*, he quarrels with this rather odd use of *πανδοκεῖν* (which is properly a neuter verb, 'to be an inn-keeper'), and reads

ἅπαντα πανδοκῶσα      \*      \*      \*  
\*      \*      \*      \*      παιδείας ὕτλον,

proposing to fill up the *lacuna* with this kind of sense, "receiving all things to herself, she gives birth to them again, and herself undertakes, as the mother, the trouble of their education." For this he compares, what is certainly a very parallel passage, Choëph. 120. But there is an objection which we hold to be fatal to his theory: the verb *ἐθρέψατο* in v. 20 would thus be too far removed from its object in v. 17. Nor do we quite acquiesce in his change of v. 21, *πιστοῦς, ὅπως γένοισθε πρὸς χρέος τόδε*, to *πιστός τις ὡς γένοιτο πρὸς χρέος τόδε*, though we admit the difficulties of the ordinary reading, in which *πιστοὶ* must be supplied after *γένεισθε*. He is probably right in saying that *σχεθεῖν* in v. 76 is used in a neuter sense. We think, however, the true reading is,

*ζυγοῖσι δουλείοισι μήποτ' ἐνσχεθεῖν,*

*i.e.* 'that this free city may never *stick in* the yoke of slavery.' The scholiast explains, *μὴ ὑπεξελθεῖν ζυγὸν δουλείας*. Thus *ἐνέχεσθαι*, if not *ἐνέχειν*, is often used; and the active verb in a neuter sense is quite defensible by analogy.

One emendation strikes us as admirable, though the editor does not give it as his own. In v. 26 we read of the blind Teiresias, that he was

οἰωνῶν βοτῆρ,  
ἐν ᾧ σὶ νομῶν καὶ φρεσὶν, πυρὸς δίχα,  
χρηστηρίους ὄρνιθας,

*i.e.* 'that he observed in his ears and mind, without fire, the voice of oracular birds.' This 'without fire' is interpreted to mean, *οὐκ ἐμπύροις χρώμενος*, 'without having recourse to the omens derived from blazing sacrifices.' Herr Weil reads, for *πυρὸς δίχα*, *φάους δίχα*, 'without eyes,' *i.e.* 'though blind;' supposing the word *πυρὸς* to have crept in by way of a gloss or comment on *φάους*, which some had wrongly interpreted to mean 'fire.' We now see the point of the remark of the scholiast, *οὐχ ὁρῶν ὁ Τειρεσίας*, and *οὐκ αὐτὸς ὦν αὐτόπτης τῶν ὀρνέων*.

In v. 94 the editor has happily restored a deficient dochmiac by inserting a word (*πάτρια*) from the scholiast, who explains *τῶν πατρῶων ξοάνων*. Thus we now have the hand of Æschylus in

πότερα δῆτ' ἐγὼ πάτρια ποτιπέσω  
βρέτη δαιμόνων;

Less successful, because without any adequate reason, is the change of v. 262,

τοιαῦτ' ἐπέυχου μὴ φιλοστόνως θεοῖς,

into

τοιαῖσδ' ἐπ' εὐχαῖς μὴ φιλοστόνως θρόει.

But Herr Weil had altered the preceding verse so as to end with the word *θεοῖς*. Here, therefore, he is driven to admit an alteration to prevent the recurrence of the same ending in two consecutive verses. This is not a principle of sound criticism.

In v. 440, *ἐσχημάτισται δ' ἄσπις οὐ σμικρὸν τρόπον*, he reads *σεσημάτισται*. We have doubts about this change: *σχηματίζεσθαι* is a tragic word (Eur. Med. 1161); *σηματίζεσθαι* sounds like a coinage of a later Attic age. Still, we have *σηματίζονται πέδον* in Hesychius,—obviously a fragment from tragedy; and in the present passage the Medicean Ms. presents an ambiguous reading, *εἰσημάτισται*.

In the speech of the messenger (467 to 486; 486 to 500 Dind.), and also in the next ensuing, Herr Weil considers that many lines have dropped out. We agree with him in thinking the passages are not now read as Æschylus wrote them; but his reasons for supposing so many *lacunæ* do not carry conviction. The verse (562 Dind.),

θεῶν θελόντων δ' ἂν ἀληθεύσαιμ' ἐγὼ,

which is variously emended by the critics, and which he writes (by no means in Æschylean rhythm),

θεῶν θελόντων τόδ' ἂν ἀληθεύσαιμ' ἔπος,

we regard as undoubtedly spurious, and the clumsy attempt of a later age to patch up a mutilated passage.

In v. 564, *δῖς γ' ἀντὶ λύμης* for *δῖς ἐν τελευτῇ*, and in v. 609, *ποδῶκες εἰς χεῖρωμα δ' οὐ βραδύνεται*, for *ποδῶκες ὄμμα, χεῖρα δ' οὐ βραδύνεται*, we regard as wholly unjustifiable alterations, being of opinion that the common text affords a sufficiently plain and satisfactory sense.

In v. 687, we regard the correction *ἔξεισι δόμων Ἑρινὺς*, 'the curse will leave the family,' as a happy correction of the perplexing *οὐκ εἴσι δόμων Ἑρινύς*. The corruption arose (as Herr Weil might have pointed out) from the common corruption of *ἔξεισι* into *εἴσεισι*, and the subsequent insertion of *οὐκ*, which again necessitated the metrical change of *εἴσεισι* into *εἴσι*. The scholia must have been written while *οὐκ εἴσεισι* was in the text; which words are distinctly recognised in the gloss *οὐ γὰρ ἡ Ἑρινὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐκείνου εἴσεισιν*. Here again we may feel morally certain that the genuine words of the poet are restored.

A considerable portion of this fine play (from v. 870 to 1056) is taken up by a kind of broken dialogue, extremely uninteresting to read, and critically very difficult to arrange. Herr Weil has been very successful in his treatment of it generally; but we will not go



further into details, merely remarking that in Greek plays such passages as these were intended solely for *acting*, with the accompaniments of processions, violent gestures of grief, beating of the breast, and passionate invocation of the gods. The remark exactly applies to the conclusion of the "Persians." They were never meant to be merely *read*, but to be heard, and still more, to be *seen*.

In an excellent preface, our editor has shown the exact relations which the "Seven Chieftains" bore to the other plays of the trilogy. The two preceding tragedies were the "Laius" and the "Œdipus." The theme turned wholly on a doctrine very much believed in by the Greeks, and very suited to the stern and gloomy mind of Æschylus, viz. the tracing out of the workings of a family curse, derived from ancestral guilt, and its varied and disastrous effects in successive generations. The well-known tale of Œdipus was one of the familiar legends among the ancient Hellenes; and it had been treated of in the now lost Cyclic poems. According to Herr Weil, Æschylus put the details of the story into a somewhat different form from the Cyclic writers, and so adapted it for tragic representation in the form which both Sophocles and Euripides afterwards so closely followed in not a few of the still existing dramas.

12. Since the publication, in 1835, of the first volume of Dr. Brandis's great work on the history of Greek philosophy, a considerable number of important works have appeared in illustration of that philosophy, whether considered as a whole or in its separate parts. The point of view from which questions of fact or philosophical speculation have been looked at has naturally, in many cases, been quite different from that of Dr. Brandis, and his views have often been combated with great erudition and logical force. The part devoted to the philosophy of Aristotle is so elaborately minute as to require a study hardly less serious than the original work of the philosopher himself. This is no real objection to the book as a truly scientific exposition of Aristotle; but it is certainly a difficulty in the practical use of what was originally intended as a handbook. The author's new work is intended to meet the practical wants of students, particularly those whose immediate interests lie in philology or theology. But those who love Greek philosophy for its own sake, and who are acquainted with the admirable articles contributed by Dr. Brandis to Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, know how well he is able to combine the utmost accuracy, completeness, and clearness, with great brevity in the delineation of a philosophical system; and they will be delighted, for instance, to find the results of the three large volumes on Aristotle and his successors given in less than two hundred pages. Throughout this book the author has carefully kept in view the different objections which had been raised against his former work. He has paid particular attention to those of Zeller; but, on the whole, his views have undergone little change. He adheres to his method of

classifying the philosophers of the first period; to his mode of describing the systems of Plato and Aristotle in conformity with what he considers the real mind of those philosophers, rather than with divisions founded on modern modes of thought; and also to his old view of the highest principles of the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophies. Even those who on these points differ most completely from him (and we confess our own leanings to be on the side of Zeller) will not hesitate to express their deep sense of the deference which is due to the deliberate judgment of one whose unremitting labours for more than half a century on the Greek philosophy are entitled to the liveliest gratitude of all lovers of sound, solid, and accurate learning.

13. Dr. Ueberweg's sketch of the history of Greek philosophy is one of those useful little works in which the German language is so rich. The only manual of the kind known in England is the abbreviation of Tennemann, a book long since obsolete, except so far as regards the bibliographical information contained in it. There is an American translation of Schweigler's *Outlines of the History of Philosophy*, a work of far higher character. The best of these books, however, is perhaps Marbach's; the different systems being there described in the very words of the original authorities, or at least in an accurate analysis. It has the disadvantage of being written with too strong a Hegelian bias, and is in many places below the mark required by the present state of critical science. An irreproachable book on the model of Marbach's manuals is still a desideratum. Dr. Ueberweg can hardly be said to have fully supplied the want. His book as compared with Marbach's certainly looks superficial, though no doubt in many points it gives a more correct view of the surface. It must not, however, be forgotten that works of the kind cannot be intended to supersede larger histories, special dissertations, or original authorities. Dr. Ueberweg's bibliographical lists are very complete, and contribute greatly to the value of his work. This value would have been considerably increased if he had more frequently drawn a marked distinction between works of first-rate importance and others which are mere rubbish.

14. The History of Platonism by Dr. Henry von Stein of Göttingen is to consist of seven books. The first is now before us, and describes the system of Plato as found in his Dialogues. It is preceded by an introduction on the philosophical systems anterior to that of Plato. The second book will show the relation of Plato to Greek and Roman antiquity in general; the third will contain a comparison of Platonism with the teaching of the holy Scriptures. The conclusion of this book will then be brought to bear upon the questions of the supposed Platonism of the Fathers of the Church, and of the philosophical position of Plato during the Middle Ages. These questions are to be discussed in the fourth and fifth books. The sixth will treat of the study of Plato since the revival of letters down to the

time of Schleiermacher; and the last will give an account of this study from Schleiermacher down to the present day.

The present volume, though containing only the first book with the introduction, is apparently half the entire work. We cannot help thinking that the author would have acted wisely in omitting it altogether. The subjects of the last six books are quite sufficient for a work of great interest, and do not necessarily expose an author to the dangerous rivalry of men whose labours it is not easy to excel. Every German writer who professes to describe the system of Plato almost openly undertakes to do so better than Brandis and Zeller have done. We cannot consider Dr. von Stein as having attained this success. He has, however, displayed a great deal of learning, ability, and careful thought; his judgment, if not always actually sound, is generally averse to dilettanteism in others; and we see no reason why the second volume of his work may not prove to be of great value.

15. The wisdom of the ancients obtains but little authority in the political thought of our time. Our best writers and statesmen have hardly thought it worth their while to profit by the experience and speculation of antiquity. In former times, when theological and juridical controversy was the ruling occupation of literature, and before the great revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth century had given the theory of government its great attractiveness to the minds of educated men, classical recollections and authorities overwhelmed those who wrote on politics. Lipsius and even Grotius could hardly move beneath the weight of their quotations; and there are Dutch and German books of that day in which the ideas of the author are actually concealed by uncritical and undigested extracts from the ancients. At present, most men are brought to the study of politics by the events of their own time, or by those which most nearly and directly influenced it; and they are tempted to confine their studies to that which immediately prompted them. Some men of real political insight and experience, such as Niebuhr and Mr. Grote, have borrowed ideas from the actual history of ancient states. But the political thought and observation of the ancient writers is commonly rejected. Even industrious Germany has produced no commentary on the *Politics*. Great political thinkers, like Guizot and Tocqueville, have benefited but superficially by this source of wisdom. Macaulay, who was not acquainted with Aristotle, thought that the political judgments of Thucydides were puerile, that Xenophon had no knowledge of government, and that Polybius had no merit but that of a careful narrator of facts. There are probably few men living who have formed their political ideas in that unrivalled school, or who even know that Plato is one of the wisest of all political writers, and has traced with a masterly hand the principles of the constitutional system.

Mr. Maine first taught English readers that the solution of political problems is to be obtained by historical analysis and compa-



ri-son. To Mr. Freeman belongs the praise of having first opened out that mine of political wisdom; and his history of Federal Government promises, by the first volume, to be one of the most able and profound histories in the language. He has undertaken to write the history of the four great confederacies, that of Achaia, and those of Switzerland, the Netherlands, and North America. The first volume, containing the Introduction and the history of the Achaian League, possesses the rare merit of giving the real history of the League, while using it perpetually in illustration of the idea of federalism. The materials are circumscribed, and the facts tolerably free from doubt. In the later European portion of his work, great difficulties of historical investigation will beset the writer; and we shall be agreeably surprised if he succeeds as well with the Swiss and the Dutch as with the period in which he is guided, both in facts and in speculation, by so profound a politician as Polybius. We should be disposed to object that he has defined his subject too narrowly by taking only the instances in which federations have endured for some time. The federal idea is continually arising in certain conjunctures of national life, and either fails or disappears after doing transitory duty in the passage from one form of social existence to another. The principle is illustrated as much by its failures as by the rare instances in which it has obtained a qualified success. Federation is indeed one of the chief modes in which states take their rise. For they are generally formed either by the union of several nearly equal communities, or by the subjection of one to another. In the beginning of many states we find a sort of municipal league which disappears by degrees, or survives only in distinction of tribes or classes in the nation that grows out of their union. These instances are innumerable, and the laws of their existence seems to be uniform; whilst in states founded on conquest—states which, in the nomenclature of the Middle Ages, are termed feudal—the regular process is towards the diminution of the supreme power, by the successive establishment of popular privileges. In federal states the central power gradually encroaches on the original independence, and accomplishes that which was the absorbing aspiration of the life of Hamilton, the combination of federation into unity.

Unless Mr. Freeman enlarges his design, its narrowness will be in his way in the next volume, when he approaches the subject of the Swiss confederation. For during the later centuries of medieval history, that tendency towards federal leagues which led to the independence of Switzerland manifests itself in many other instances. The chief agents in this movement were the towns, which necessarily sought to emancipate themselves from the yoke of feudalism, to which their nature was abhorrent. The neighbouring feudal lord, familiar with the rule of a country population, knew no cunning by which the very different interests of a town could be governed; and the imperial government existed in reality no farther than where the emperor himself was the immediate lord. Be-

tween the absence of authority on the one hand, and the proximity of a vexatious power on the other, the towns sought to combine for their own protection and self-government. The most remarkable of these leagues was that of the Swabian towns, in the fourteenth century, which, after having been admirably treated in the classical history of Wirtemberg, has now been described by Professor Vischer, whose excellent treatises on Greek history, about the time of the Peloponnesian war, are probably known to Mr. Freeman. His choice of instances is not, however, the only cause which makes us fear that the next volume will hardly equal the first in value. The judgments on parts of mediæval history that sometimes occur in his account of the Achaian League do not betray such familiarity with the history of those ages as he unquestionably possesses with that on which he has written. Judging him, however, only by what he has actually done, we must say, that among our best writers of history, between Mr. Grote, Dr. Thirlwall, Mr. Merivale, Dr. Milman, Mr. Finlay, and Mr. Froude, the author of this work deserves a very high place.

16. In a volume of rare excellence, Mr. Merivale has completed his momentous task of exhibiting the history of the Romans under the Empire, from the first Cæsar to the death of Marcus Aurelius. In an "additional preface," and also in some remarks at the end of the concluding chapter, he has explained the causes which induced him to abandon his original design of continuing the history to the age of Constantine. The work, however, as it now stands, must be welcomed as a noble and valuable addition to English literature. Against the style, a certain cumbrousness is all that can be alleged; in the essentials of clearness, conciseness, force, and dignity, it seems to come up to the highest standard of historical composition. To this eulogy must be added the still greater praise of profound learning, rigid accuracy, and an elevated moral purpose, at least in matters not strictly political.

In this seventh volume the reign of eight emperors—the three Flavii, Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian, and the two Antonines—are passed under review. For the Flavian dynasty and the three succeeding emperors, our sources of information are tolerably full; while for the reigns of the Antonines they are notoriously meagre and insufficient. We cannot see the justice of the charge which has been brought against Mr. Merivale of undue sympathy with imperialism. The utter impracticability of the aristocratic theory so dear to Cicero and Tacitus, by which it was imagined that, in the absence of representation, and without even the expedient of federation, the old republican form of government could still have kept together the unwieldy mass of heterogeneous nations which had passed under the power of Rome, is evident from the most cursory examination of the facts. Recognising this impracticability, Mr. Merivale indulges in no rhetorical lamentations over the loss of liberty; yet neither does he attempt to screen the vices of particular emperors. He

assumes that their function of arbitrary rule was legitimate, because inevitable; but he does not spare them so far as they failed to fulfil that function worthily. Never before have the personal characters and the general or individual policy of these masters of the human race been so fully and ably drawn; no one before has enabled us so to live with Trajan in his administrative difficulties, or share and comprehend the profound sadness of Marcus Aurelius. Especially admirable are the criticisms on the literature and the literary men of the whole period. The contrast between the wild enthusiasm of the Cæsarean period and the disenchanted sobered mediocrity of the Flavian; between the fervid Lucan and the frigid Silius; between the rash presumption of Seneca and the sound judgment of Quintilian; the rich spontaneity of Ovid and the cultivated ornate style of Statius,—forms altogether one of the most striking pieces of literary criticism that can be named.

In the history of the empire during the first three centuries of our era, two centres of moral action may be distinguished as the foci whence the great leavening forces of society were developed,—the imperial government, and Christianity realising itself through the Church. And there is no *third* focus; there is, for instance, no independent development of science, such as we see in modern times, working out its own problems, and progressively improving the external relations of man, without necessary dependence either on government or on religion. Why this was so, is a question which every student of history must have asked himself, and to which various answers have been given. Besides other explanations more or less partial, M. Comte's famous theory of the three stages—the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive—through which, by some supposed physical necessity, human society is obliged to pass on its way to enlightenment, may be plausibly applied to this as to other epochs, to account for the absence of the triumphs of positivism. But the Christian answer seems to be, that the progress of science, so far as it relates to the external world, presupposes the thorough reception of the idea of the unity of nature, and again, in what belongs to the moral world, of the idea of the unity of man; and that these ideas, in order to be firmly grasped, required the previous indoctrination of the human mind in a yet higher idea,—that of the unity of God. This indoctrination was to be, and was in point of fact, effected by the spread of Christianity. Apart, then, from the diffusion of Christianity, the history of the Empire resolves itself pretty much into a series of biographies of the emperors. When an emperor was weak, the empire became a chaos; and the inorganic is no subject for the historian. When an emperor was strong, the empire rested in peaceful servitude; and one cannot write the history of slaves. Mr. Merivale has well seized this biographical aspect of the annals of the times, and has drawn clear and faithful portraits of the men who, but for the Christians, were the only free agents, the only persons that could take a moral initiative in the empire, namely, the emperors. Yet even in the case of these,



it is their personal character and behaviour which supply materials to the historian, far more than any efforts which they made to apply general principles to the task of government. Thus in the laborious and conscientious administration of Trajan, of which we learn so much from his letters to Pliny, Mr. Merivale has remarked upon the singular narrowness of view which decides each case upon its own merits, by the light of common sense, and seems incapable of appealing to any general maxims of law, or principles of morals. M. Aurelius did indeed possess such principles, derived from the philosophy of Epictetus, though probably tintured, as Mr. Merivale admits, by the growing influence of Christian teaching. But Stoicism, though, up to a certain point, it commands our admiration, is manifestly unsuited to the wants of mankind at large; and the philosopher of the "*Commentaries*," though he might be wise for himself, could not make his wisdom palatable or intelligible to the mass of his subjects. The reduction of the laws of the empire to a uniform and consistent code, involving the constant reference to general principles, was the work, not of Heathen, but of Christian emperors. For the great gift of the civil law of Rome, modern Europe has not to thank Trajan or Antonine, but Theodosius and Justinian. The production of codes professedly grounded upon bases independent of Christianity has certainly been possible since Christianity has taught men to admit, at least in theory, the doctrine of their universal brotherhood. But when such codes embody anti-Christian principles, they are sure to be ultimately corrected by the truer moral sense of the Christian society, as in the instance of the provisions of the Code Napoléon respecting the Sunday, which are now practically, and soon probably will be legally, a dead letter over a great part of the countries where the code is in force.

Into the obscurer history of the struggling development of that other freedom; into the study of the growth of the Christian Church, through martyrdom and persecution winning its gradual way to establishment, always conscious of itself, knowing what it meant, what it wanted, what it believed, teaching and practising unity in all shapes,—the unity of truth, the unity of its own organisation, the supreme unity of the divine Trinity,—Mr. Merivale has dived less deeply than could have been wished. It is true that the materials are scanty for the first two centuries, yet not so scanty but that the expansion of this new germ, destined to transform the world, might have been suitably exhibited in connection and contrast with the imposing pageant of imperial rule.

Arrived at the year which saw the death of Marcus Aurelius, amidst the gradually deepening gloom which had begun to close around the empire, Mr. Merivale suddenly abandons his task, and forbears to enter the lists with "*his great predecessor Gibbon*," whose regular narrative commences at this point. Grateful to the mind which has given us so much instruction, to the hand which has drawn so many masterly pictures, we regret the determination; yet perhaps, on the whole, he has judged wisely. The difficulty of carrying

on his work in a strain of unaltered calmness and impartiality, when the Church should come in as an important and gradually predominating agency in political and social life, might well have appeared insurmountable even to the disciplined powers of our author. Gibbon, though often unfair, is always self-consistent; his philosophy led him to take a low view of ordinary human nature, and especially to disbelieve in evangelical or monastic virtues; but his views are definite, and the reader does not look for an appreciation which he knows beforehand he will not find. The position of Gieseler and other rationalist historians is similar to that of Gibbon. As they start with the assumption that the supernatural element which appears to crop out in Church history exists only in imagination, they know exactly how to deal with their materials—how much to assign to fraud, and how much to superstition—what part to allot to enthusiasm or to ambition, and what to the convenient principle of legendary accretion. Holding themselves aloof from modern Christianity in all its forms, they can afford to have precise and clear views in dealing with Christianity in the past; they put every thing in its right place except the divine fire at the centre, about which they know and care nothing. Again, a Catholic historian like Fleury or Bossuet is still more truly at home in such a field; for him the present of the Church explains her past, and her history in the third century is the same in all its main features with her history in the nineteenth. He finds the same struggle going on, the same enemies, the same dangers within and without, the same authority, and the same ideals. But it is difficult to understand how a sincere Protestant could treat satisfactorily a period in which the growth of the Church was one of the most prominent movements. Either he would slide into the critical habit of the rationalists, and explain away, or treat as mythical, whatever in that movement appears to have a supernatural impress; or he would adventure upon the desperate undertaking of separating the progress of what he might deem to be religious truth from the intertwining growth of what his position obliged him to regard as error. In either case a mistiness of treatment, a hesitation of touch, would ensue, which would mar much of the effect of his work. The development of the primitive Church is the movement of one organic whole. As soon as study has made clear its main features and relations, the Protestant student finds himself compelled either to bless it or to curse it. If the former, he is far on the road to becoming a Catholic; if the latter, he is in the way of ceasing to be a Christian. For a knowledge that is more than superficial reveals the terrible resemblance of the primitive Church to an institution of our own day. *Apparent diræ facies.* "If," says a great thinker, after passing under review all the passages from contemporary writers which enable us to form a conception of the manner in which the world around it regarded the Church of the first centuries, "there is a form of Christianity now in the world which is accused of gross superstition, of borrowing its rites and practices from the heathen, and of ascribing to forms and ceremonies an occult virtue;—a religion which

is considered to burden and enslave the mind by its requisitions, to address itself to the weak-minded and ignorant, to be supported by sophistry and imposture, and to contradict reason and exalt mere irrational faith;—a religion which impresses on the serious mind very distressing views of the guilt and consequences of sin, sets upon the minute acts of the day, one by one, their definite value for praise or blame, and thus casts a grave shadow over the future;—a religion which holds up to admiration the surrender of wealth, and disables serious persons from enjoying it if they would;—a religion, the doctrines of which, be they good or bad, are to the generality of men unknown; which is considered to bear on its very surface signs of folly and falsehood so distinct that a glance suffices to judge of it, and careful examination is preposterous; . . . . a religion which men hate as proselytising, anti-social, revolutionary, as dividing families, separating chief friends, corrupting the maxims of government, making a mock at law, dissolving the empire, the enemy of human nature, and a conspirator against its rights and privileges; . . . . . a religion the very name of which they cast out as evil, and use simply as a bad epithet, and which from the impulse of self-preservation they would persecute if they could;—if there be such a religion now in the world, it is not unlike Christianity as that same world viewed it, when first it came forth from its divine Author.”<sup>1</sup>

17. Herr Moritz Schmidt has published a most accurate and carefully-edited work, founded indeed on Alberti's great folio edition of Hesychius, but brought up to the learning of the present age by the addition of a commentary which records the emendations and criticisms of all the best scholars since his time. It is difficult to conceive a greater boon than this to classical literature. Hesychius has long been almost an inaccessible author for private students; but the formidable nature of the task of editing him from a single and very corrupt Ms. had hitherto deterred even the Germans from attempting it, since the appearance, about a century ago, of Alberti's ponderous and now rarely to be obtained volumes. The present work is complete in four quartos, with the exception of the promised Prolegomena; in the absence of which we can, of course, say nothing more about the design and resources of the editor than appears in the pages of his work.

Those who are in the habit of using the ancient Greek lexicographers in preference to the modern must have observed one very important distinction. They do not, indeed, give etymologies, nor attempt any philosophical classification of meanings primary and secondary; nor do they trace words from roots, or teach us their affinities in other languages: all which are important and interesting departments in modern lexicography, and are very efficiently carried out in such books as Liddell and Scott's and in Pape's Greek Lexicons. But they preserve to us with great fidelity the *traditional* explanations of the Greek words used by the classical writers, whether in

<sup>1</sup> Newman's Essay on Development, p. 240.



lost or still-extant works. A word is given in the alphabetical order, —a verb, it may be, in some mood, tense, and person, or a noun similarly inflected,—and then a list of all the meanings in which that word is to be found is appended, without any further comment whatever. For example : ἀλώμεθα, πλανώμεθα. Ἄμαλόν, ἀπαλόν, ἀσθενῆ. Ἄμαρεῖν, ἀκολουθεῖν, πείθεσθαι, ἀμαρτάνειν. And as there is no classification whatever of the meanings, it will sometimes happen that the explanations appear so vague, and even contradictory, as to be of little practical use. Now there never was a greater mistake than this. As a matter of fact, the precision of the old lexicographers is such that their real classical value to scholars is infinitely above that of modern lexicons. And the proof of what we say lies in this fact, that a really ripe Greek scholar, while he seldom cares to consult a modern lexicon, makes the ancient lexicographers his familiar companions. Their works are really wonderful repertoires of ancient learning, collected as they undoubtedly were with immense labour from all the ancient commentaries and scholia which had been handed down with the Classics almost from the earliest time. Most of these probably were of the Alexandrian school of critics, dating from the time of the Ptolemies downwards ; but authentic interpretations of Homer, the tragic authors, Plato, and many others, existed in all probability long before their time.

The principal ancient Greek lexicons, or rather perhaps glossaries or vocabularies, are (beside that of Hesychius, which is the most important of them all), the “*Etymologicum Magnum*,” by unknown compilers ; the lexicon of Suidas ; that of the Patriarch Photius ; that of Zonaras of Byzantium ; the Homeric lexicon of Apollonius ; that of Platonic words by Timæus ; and some fragmentary glossaries published by Bekker, and commonly known as “*Bekker’s Anecdota*.” All these lexicons have very much in common. Sometimes, perhaps, the later borrowed from the earlier ; but more generally we must conclude that they were all taken from much the same sources, viz. the scholiasts and gloss-writers on the classical authors ; for in many cases the explanations in the lexicons are in the very words of existing scholia.

Hesychius lived at Alexandria towards the close of the fourth century of the Christian era, and consequently more than two centuries before the destruction of the great Alexandrian library (in 651). He was not, probably, himself a Christian, though a very large number of the words in his lexicon are taken from the Septuagint. These may have been interpolated in later times. One peculiar value of his great work is the preservation and explanation of a vast number of half-Greek, half-barbaric, or dialectic words, which are not known to us from any other source. Many of these appear to be from the partially latinised dialects of Magna Græcia ; and many are specified as Macedonian, Sicilian, Laconian, Tarentine, &c.

Not the least remarkable feature in the literary history of the lexicon of Hesychius, as we now have it, is the extraordinary corruptions of the single Ms. in which it has been preserved. These are

so great, that not a single page exists in which there are not some monstrous errors or mis-spellings. Very often, indeed, both the words and the explanations are absolutely unintelligible; and we need hardly say that the accumulated mass of conjectural emendations made by various critics on Hesychius is something enormous. It has been the object of the present editor to collect these, as well as to give the references to all passages in existing writers to which the glosses of Hesychius are believed to refer. Though these references are manifestly very imperfect, still they form a part of the present work which is of considerable value. Homer appears to be the most copiously illustrated by Hesychius; but Plato, the tragic and comic writers, Pindar, Thucydides, Herodotus,—in fact, every Greek writer that we know of, it may probably be said, contributed to swell his immense vocabulary of Greek words. Of its extent some idea may be formed by stating that the number of words under A alone amounts to 9000, those under E to 7772, those under Π to 4524, and so on in proportion; the whole work from A to Ω being fortunately entire.

Though not all the explanations given by Hesychius can be called absolutely correct, and indeed, although he evidently misunderstood and misexplained some passages in still extant authors, yet his collections of glosses are most valuable, because they represent to us the exact meanings held by antiquity, and enable us, with our much more enlarged philological knowledge, to sift the true from the false by reasoning on the contexts from which such senses were taken, and by bringing them to the primary meanings of the word-roots themselves. The use which has been made of these traditional explanations of old Greek words is familiar to every student of Buttmann's *Lexilogus*.

It is probably no exaggeration to say, that Hesychius has preserved some thousands of Greek words which are wholly unknown to us from any other source. A large number of these must be referred to the decline of the language, and perhaps not a few have been engrafted on the original lexicon by much later transcribers. These strange words have proved extremely perplexing to Greek scholars; and it seems hopeless to account for many of them, while others are pretty plainly dialectic forms, often a *patois* of Latin. For instance, *νεοπτραί*, *νιῶν θυγατέρες* and *νεσθώπραι*, *νιῶν καὶ θυγατέρων* are suspected to be corruptions of the Latin *neptis*, 'a granddaughter.' But what are we to say about such glosses as *παθιώταρ συγγενοῦς*, *τελευταίου* and *παῶται συγγενεῖς, οἰκεῖοι, Λάκωνες*? In the latter at least, though probably in a corrupt reading, we have an avowedly Spartan word. So *μῶλυγερ τὰ ἄνοζα ξύλα* but according to Festus, this was a Sicilian word for 'fool.' We have similar local terms in *λαύστρανον*, 'a wolf;' *γότα*, 'a pig;' *λαφθία*, 'a shield;' *ῥεγισταί*, 'dyers;' *ἡσιχερ*, 'abundant;' *βίρροζ*, 'thick.' Even at the present day, when so much progress has been made in the science of language, the lexicon of Hesychius may fairly be called an inexhaustible mine of yet unexplored words.

The work is prefaced by an undoubtedly genuine letter in Greek, to the friend and companion of the compiler, Eulogius. He tells us that many others of the ancients had composed alphabetical Greek lexicons, but that no one had as yet written a *general* one (those preceding him having collected only Homeric, or only Tragic and Comic words), except one Diogenianus, who had compiled a book of this sort called Περιεργοπένητες, or "The industrious poor men." This was a kind of general repertory of words and proverbs, designed to assist poorer students in their learning, and to supersede in some measure the necessity for a private tutor. Hesychius says that he has spared no pains in enlarging and improving this work of his predecessors, and that he has copied out the whole with his own hand according to the most approved orthography (μετὰ πάσης ὀρθότητος καὶ ἀκριβεστάτης γραφῆς).

We look forward with the greatest interest to the appearance of the Editor's Prolegomena, in which he will without doubt give us ample information (which we much desiderate) about the single existing Ms. of Hesychius, and his own collation or examination of it after Schow's. The first edition was printed by Aldus, since whose time up to the present very few have been published. On the whole, we really know of no monument of German Greek learning, marvellous as many of them are, more admirable or more extensively useful—at least to the higher class of scholars—than the present edition of Hesychius.

18. Only three or four manuscripts of the Onomasticon of Eusebius have as yet been discovered, and of these the Bodleian is said to be a mere copy of the very faulty Parisian codex. Vallarsi's edition owes its improved text to the readings of a manuscript belonging to the Vatican. This manuscript has been collated anew for the neat and handy edition just published by Dr. Larson and Dr. Parthey, who have also had access to a manuscript at Leyden, which in general agrees with the Vatican, but sometimes has preferable readings. The editors have added to the value of the book by every where giving the Hebrew names of places at the foot of each article; and they have greatly increased the facility of reference by printing the articles in a strict alphabetical order.

19. The history of the development of Christian doctrine during the ante-Nicene period, lately published by Professor Schwane, of Münster, is probably the most complete work of the kind which has been written from a Catholic point of view. It reflects the highest credit on the author, and on the academical body to which he belongs. If we venture to quarrel with some parts of so excellent a book, it is because we think it of the greatest importance that the subject of it should be treated with the highest degree of scientific accuracy of which it is susceptible.

Dr. Schwane's method in general is to give a doctrine according to the sacred Scriptures, and then to trace the different forms which



it successively assumed in the second and third centuries, taking the ecclesiastical writers in their chronological order. If the doctrines of the Trinity or the Incarnation be taken for examples, it will be found that the dogmatic statements gradually become more and more full, explicit, and precise; or, in other words, that a process of development has taken place. This process can be shown to have taken place with reference to *all* doctrines, to those sanctioned by the confessions of the reformed churches no less than those defined by the Council of Trent. Dr. Schwane's book gives the clearest evidence of this for a great many doctrines; and it is to be regretted that his plan is restricted to the three first centuries, since all doctrines were not by any means developed with the same rapidity. The most learned Protestant theologians (out of England) are unanimous in considering the doctrine of the Atonement as not fully developed till the time of St. Anselm. Now the fault we find in Dr. Schwane's work is that, while he clearly sees the process of development in the times posterior to the apostolic age, he does not sufficiently see it in the apostolic age itself. He speaks of the doctrine of Holy Scripture as if there were never two logically successive phases of doctrine to be found there. Yet the method which he applies to Patristic literature will, if applied to the different parts of Scripture, produce similar results, and, if correct in the former case, must be equally so in the latter. If the dogmatic propositions of St. John's Gospel, one of the latest if not the very latest of the New Testament Scriptures, be compared with those of St. Paul's writings, it is impossible not to admit something equivalent at least to development; and in some of the epistles attributed to St. Paul *all* the doctrines seem to be more developed than in other epistles. All writings of St. Paul, again, contain doctrine in a more advanced stage of development than other books which might be named. It is no exaggeration to say that the New Testament exhibits at least as many successive stages of development in religious doctrine as are to be found in the second and third centuries together. We state a fact which is proved like any other fact, which is admitted by learned Protestants as well as Catholics, and which cannot be modified by any of the existing views of the nature and extent of inspiration. It is equally consistent with them all, and to overlook it in a history of Christian doctrine is a serious mistake.

In his enumeration of authorities which may be quoted in evidence of Christian doctrine, Professor Schwane has, like many other writers on the same subject, omitted one very important source of information—Jewish tradition. At an early period, all interchange of ideas between the Jewish and Christian communities completely ceased. The Jews looked upon the Christians with feelings of fanatical hatred; and had it not been for the Old Testament Scriptures retained by the Church, the heathen converts to Christianity would have known as little about the real nature of Judaism as they did of the mysteries of Mithra. Neither party can be suspected of borrowing doctrines from the other. When, therefore,

Jews and Christians are found to hold certain doctrines in common, in the third or fourth centuries after Christ, it is quite certain, either that these doctrines were actually in existence before the Church separated from the Synagogue, or that they were simultaneously developed out of the dogmatic elements common to both religions; and it is impossible to conceive a more infallible test of a true development. Great light, then, can be thrown by ancient Jewish literature on the history of Christian doctrine. The book of Enoch is in every way a more ancient authority for the intercession of the saints than the acts of St. Ignatius; and Professor Schwane might have replied to an objection which he cites from Melancthon, at page 250, by proofs that neither Jews nor primitive Christians believed the active communion between the living and the dead to be destroyed by death. Jews and Samaritans to this day invoke the saints.

There is another point on which it seems to us that Professor Schwane's book might be improved. It is impossible in a history of Christian doctrine to abstain from some account of the heresies, which often were the immediate occasion of determining the exact doctrine of the Church. But the history of heresies is in itself so very extensive, and sometimes so much more difficult a subject than is commonly supposed, that it is extremely undesirable to mix it up with the history of Church doctrine more than is absolutely necessary. We believe, therefore, that such sections as that on Simon Magus and the Nicolaitans might with advantage be entirely omitted, or at least reduced to very narrow dimensions. Such descriptions properly belong to ecclesiastical history, not to the history of the development of Christian doctrine.

20. The work of the Cavaliere de' Rossi on the Christian inscriptions of Rome is almost as creditable to the government which furnished the means as to the author who wrote it. It is the first attempt to reduce to system the whole series of Christian epitaphs, to form a science of epigraphy, and, by arguing from the known to the unknown, to furnish criteria for determining the probable dates of inscriptions which bear no note of time. Signor de' Rossi has been obliged not only to erect the fabric of his own science, but to strengthen and correct the substructure of other sciences on which his building had to be founded. Hence his work abounds with dissertations on, and corrections of, the eras, such as the Dionysian, the Consular fasti, the solar and lunar cycles, and with small excursions into history, as when at p. lxxxvi. of his *Prolegomena* he shows the origin of the ancient British use with regard to Easter. The publication of the book seems to indicate a scientific revival at Rome, which has recently received fresh strength by the elevation of Dom Pitra, the learned Religious of Solesmes, to the purple. The new Cardinal, who, as editor of the *Spicilegium Solesmense*, had established his claim to be reckoned the legitimate successor of Mabillon, and who, as the representative at Rome of Gallican ecclesiastical science, is able to testify how universally the conclusions of Mabillon's

famous letter *de cultu sanctorum ignotorum* are received on this side the Alps, must be rejoiced at the remarkable confirmation which that letter receives from the facts brought to light and reduced to system by De' Rossi. He has himself laboured in the same field, by his publication of De' Rossi's dissertation on the Christian monogram of Constantine in the *Spicilegium*; and the conclusion to which that publication pointed has been elevated to the certainty of a demonstrated fact, partly by De' Rossi's later discoveries, partly by the investigations of physical science.

The discoveries of Cavaliere de' Rossi put the vexed question of the vessels of blood found in the Catacombs on a new basis. In 1668 the congregation of relics declared, with reason, that vases of blood deposited in the graves were signs of the martyrdom of those whose blood was contained in them. The congregation has not authorised the corollary which has been very generally drawn from this proposition, that similar vessels, though containing nothing at all, must be accepted as tokens and substitutes for the vessels of blood, and therefore proofs of the bodies which they accompany being those of martyrs. Not that this corollary has been universally admitted. Bosius held that the vases contained holy water; Aringhi thought that they were the vessels in which Holy Communion had been administered to the dying, and that the red stains so common in them were to be attributed to the lees of wine. Mabillon expressed his doubts — "*si modo constet ejusmodi vasa sanguine tincta esse, non ad continendos suffitus aut odoramenta, aliaque id genus apposita fuisse.*" It is now known quite well what these red stains are. A long report of a careful chemical analysis of about sixty different specimens of these catacomb glasses supposed to be stained with blood is before us at the present moment. In every single case the dark reddish film, formed sometimes on the outside, sometimes on the inside of the vessel, and sometimes between the scales of the decomposed glass, was found to consist entirely of iron, in such abundance that it could not possibly be the result of the deposit of blood. The film on all the specimens examined was due neither to blood nor to wine, nor to any other organic or inorganic substance ever deposited in the vessels; but it consisted solely of the iron originally contained in the substance of the glass either as a pigment or an impurity. This iron has generally been forced from the internal parts of the mass by the molecular movements (common to all compounds of colloids and crystalloids) which in the course of ages have changed the structure of the glass; and it has been finally deposited on the scales of the decomposed glass in the form of red and black oxide of iron, or a mixture of both. Thus the film supposed to be a deposit of blood or wine is proved to be only a film of iron rust, which has not settled upon the glass, but has effloresced from its substance.

Though this discovery does not affect the decree of the congregation, that vases really filled with blood, and deposited in the tombs, were signs of the martyrdom of those whose blood they contained, it shows that those officials who executed the decree, and supposed



all reddish stains to be in fact vestiges of blood, were not only less circumspect than Bosius, Aringhi, and Mabillon, but were also in flagrant opposition to the truth brought to light by scientific tests. To these arguments, already crushing, Cavaliere de' Rossi has added another demonstration, which proves that these ampullæ cannot be accepted as signs of the martyrdom of those who lie in the graves to which they are attached. It has been long known that most of these graves are posterior to the period of the last persecution under Diocletian. This fact was sufficiently proved in an article in the *Rambler* for July 1860 signed with the initials J. S. N. But the proof is elevated to the most scientific certainty by De' Rossi's volume, which makes it palpably evident that Bosius, Aringhi, and Mabillon were right in doubting whether these vases were signs of martyrdom.

The Cavaliere de' Rossi's book gives in order every known Christian inscription of Rome which bears any note of its date. Of the 1200 inscriptions thus arranged by him, there are only three which both are anterior to the time of Constantine, and were accompanied by the stained vase. The first is numbered 11 (p. 18), and is referred to the year 269. "Consule Claudio et Paterno, nonis Novembribus, die Veneris, luna xxiii. Leuces filiae Severæ carissimæ posuit, et spiritui sancto tuo. Mortua annorum lv. et mensium xi., dierum x." Lupius testifies that there was a vase found with it. The second is No. 15 (p. 22), referred to the year 290. It was copied from the catacomb of St. Hippolytus, by Settele, who "vasculum cruentum appinxit." The third (No. 23, p. 27) is of the year 298.—Σιμπλικία ἡ καὶ Καλώννμος ἔζησεν ἔτη ια' ἡμέρας καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν πρὸ γ' καλ. Νοβεμβρίων Φαύσῳ καὶ Γάλλῳ ὑπάτοις. It is described as "tabella affixa loculo, cui adhærebat vasculum cruentum."

After the age of Constantine the dated inscriptions with these vases become much more frequent. No. 109, p. 68, is "Gaudentius die iii. kal. Aug. Pergio et Nigriano Coss." (i.e. A.D. 350) "effossa e cœm. S. Hippolyti cum vasculo cruento." No. 133, page 78:  $\text{P}$  "Quinta de nonis juniis. Datiano et Cereale" (i.e. A.D. 358) "e cœm. urbis, ad tumulum *matyris*," says Marini; in other words, at a tomb where there was one of these vases. For, since the time of Benedict XIV., so certain have the Roman antiquarians been that whoever was buried with this symbol was a martyr, that, instead of writing, as their predecessors did, "effossa cum vasculo cruento," or the like, they simply registered the tomb as that of a "martyr." But to proceed. No. 153, p. 86, is the inscription of one Petrius, a boy of twelve years old, "effossa cum vase sanguineo." It has also the  $\text{P}$ . Its date is 362. The next is No. 160, p. 89:

"Qui gemitu tristi lacrymis te deflet in oras  
Dulci conjugio quæritur se luce relictum. . . ."

It is the inscription of a husband to his wife Marcia, aged nineteen years and ten months, "cum vasculo sanguinis." Its date is A.D.

363. The next, No. 166, p. 91, commemorates the deposition of Maximinus in the year 363. It figures in a pamphlet on "l' invenzione di undici corpi di SS. Martiri," published in 1746. The next is No. 176, p. 96,—an inscription with palm-branch and crisimon, to Constantia, a girl of twelve years and eight months. Settele drew it, and "vasculum cruentum appinxit." Its date is 364. No. 243, p. 118, is to Libera; it was accompanied "cum martyrii signis;" its date is 374. No. 254, p. 121, is a fragment from which the name is broken off, but it was accompanied "cum vasculo vitreo cruentato;" its date is 376. No. 304, p. 137, runs thus: "Infantiæ ætas, virginitatis integritas, morum gravitas, fidei et reverentiæ disciplina; hic sita Rufina jacet, quæ vixit annis xxi." It has the crisimon, and was found, says Marini, "ad loculum martyris." Its date is 381. No. 378, p. 166, has the crisimon and the dove and palm-branch, "cum vase sanguineo." It is to Fortissima, who died in 389. No. 383, p. 168, runs "Maximasie viva, conjugii suo Hilario fecit locum benemerenti. In pacem depositus xv. kal. Aug.," in the year 390; it was found "ad loculum in quo positum erat vasculum cruentum." No. 453, p. 198, is "benemerenti in pace Satyro," found "ad tumulum martyris;" its date is 397. No. 487, p. 209, is "Agapeni benemerenti," found "cum vasculo cruento," of the year 400. No. 519, p. 221, is the inscription of the tomb of a boy, "vasculo insigne," of the year 403. No. 638, p. 273, is an inscription to a child eight years of age, probably of the year 423; it has a glass vessel figured on the stone, and one is said to have been found at its side. No. 702, p. 306, is a fragment found in the catacomb of St. Cyriaca, "supra loculum vitreo vasculo insignem." It is probably of the year 438; possibly 180 years earlier.

This list will make it clear, that if we take *ampullæ* vases for signs of martyrdom, we shall have to explain how it is that men and even children were martyred at Rome in times when the empire was Christian, and when no history gives a hint of persecution. The same conclusion may be drawn from the instances where the crisimon or monogram accompanies the vase. Regarding the antiquity of this sign, indeed, Cavaliere de' Rossi does not speak with the same assurance in his great work as he had previously spoken in his dissertation in the *Spicilegium Solesmense* (tom. iii. p. 552), of which Dom Pitra (p. 543) says, "Nemini certe nimius fuerim, quum dixero confidenter, a tribus abhinc sæculis nihil quidquam de monumentis christianis fuisse præclarius conscriptum." De' Rossi here says (p. 552) "Quidquid enim plurimi iique doctissimi viri de hac re (sc. monogrammate  $\text{P}$ ) scripserint, ego certe nullum adhuc repperire potui christianum monumentum, quod vel mediocri mihi se fide probaverit, quodque monogramma  $\text{P}$  ante Constantinum incisum a Christianis pictumve fuisse indubie demonstraverit." But in his recent volume, p. 28, he gives one and one only fragment of an inscription containing this monogram, which, in his opinion, is perhaps more ancient than Constantine (312).

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D

*Fausto et GAL. CONSS.*

The name Faustus is only a conjecture. Hence the author can only sum up his dissertation on this epigraph in the following hesitating words (p. 29): "Quod ergo tantopere quærebam de Constantini ante Constantini ætatem inscripto christianis monumentis monogrammate testimonium, nactus illud quidem sum *fortasse probabile*, non tamen certum, et manifesta omni ex parte luce conspicuum." This reason for supplying *Fausto et Gal.*, which gives the year 298, instead of *Basso et Gal.*, which would give the year 317, or *Symm. et Gal.*, which would give 330, is because in the two last cases Gallicanus was first consul, and in these inscriptions the order is never changed. But when he came to write his Prolegomena (p. 20), he had already found that in the provinces at least this interchange was not unknown in early times, though he never saw an instance of it in Rome before the middle of the fourth century. And in the table at the end of the volume (p. 592), when he notes that the consuls Lupicinus and Jovinus, A.D. 367, are sometimes written in one order, sometimes in the other, and refers to what he had said "de alternatis consulum nominibus" at p. 29, where his unique instance is canvassed, what can he mean but to retract what he had said there about the use of the crisimon in the year 298? There is not, then, a single proved instance of the use of this monogram on Christian monuments before 312. And yet it occurs on multitudes of monuments where *ampullæ* were found (see Mai, C. Vett. Mon. tom. v. pp. 405, 418, 419, 425, &c.). These monuments, then, are later than the times of persecution; that is to say, they are not the monuments of martyrs. Indeed, Mai (tom. v. p. 439, n. 10) gives a monument erected by a husband to his wife Victoria, *who died in childbirth*, where the vase was found. According to the common theory, she would be considered a martyr. Those inscriptions which have the crisimon, and are yet avowedly set up in memory of martyrs, were either set up years after the death of the sufferers, or the crisimon was afterwards added to the inscription; or they belong to the following formula: "Sancto Martyri Laurentio Julia exivit iii. kal. Oct. dep. kal. Sept."

Other arguments there are in abundance. For instance, one-fifth of the (dateless) inscriptions accompanied by the *ampulla*, belong to children under seven years of age. Now no one who knows the tenderness of the Roman law for infants, will believe that one-fifth of the martyrs were mere children. Again, many of these children are said to have died "in their parents' arms" (Mai, v. p. 387), "in peace" (ib. pp. 365, 389, 410). Further, monuments with *ampullæ* become much more frequent after the time of Constantine than before it; that is to say, their frequency is in inverse ratio to the prevalence of persecution. Add to this, that in the days when the catacombs were thoroughly known, all the martyrs that could be found in them were translated to other places by Popes



Paul I., Paschal I., and their successors; what likelihood is there that they would have overlooked the thousands of martyrs who, if the glass vase is a sign of martyrdom, are still left there?

But more serious still, if all those were martyrs at whose graves *ampullæ* are found, the number of martyrs will be found to exceed not only that given in the Roman martyrology, but even that assigned by the wildest legends. The Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* give a total of 6698 anonymous Roman martyrs for the first six months of the calendar, besides five batches of an indeterminate number. But of these 6698, one batch of 5000 (25 May) is given on the authority of the acts of St. Urban, pope, which are rejected by Tillemont as spurious. Similarly, the 10,200 martyrs given by the Bollandists for July 9 come from the spurious acts of St. Marcellinus. These high figures seem always legendary. Besides this, the anonymous batches of martyrs are usually the totals of a whole persecution, or of the saints buried in one cemetery, whose individual commemorations, therefore, occur on other days of the calendar. Moreover, the martyrology of St. Jerome (so called), which is the authority for most of these martyrs, is compiled from the calendars of different churches, in which the same man often had commemorations on different days (see *Acta SS.* tom. viii. Oct. p. 276, on the different festivals of St. Januarius). With these drawbacks, it would be very liberal to allow the number of 2000 authentic martyrs for the half-calendar (January-June), or 4000 for the whole year. But, for argument's sake, let us take a larger number, and grant that 10,000 martyrs in all suffered at Rome. Still this number must have been almost exhausted by the spoliations and distributions and translations of relics in the ninth century; in which case the bodies distributed in such numbers since the sixteenth century could not be relics of martyrs at all. Boldetti, *Osservazioni*, p. 248, gives a catalogue of bodies of saints extracted from the Catacombs in the year 1672. The number is 428, of which 291 were recognised by the *ampulla*. Now supposing that 1672 was only an average year, —and there is no reason to suppose that it was exceptionally prolific,—there must have been in the last 250 years about 70,000 bodies distributed as relics of martyrs, recognised as such by the glass vessels incrusting with rust of iron.

When the unhappy idea of taking the *ampullæ* for signs of martyrdom first arose, and men were casting about for proofs of their hypothesis, it entered the head of some Roman artist to forge a number of inscriptions, which testified the ruddy glass to contain *SA SATVRNII*, or *NICASII*, or simply *SANG*. He imposed upon the credulous Abbate Crescenzi, and through him upon a few other men of more sense. But the forgery became known at Rome; and the process against the artist, who was prosecuted for his knavery, is still to be seen in the archives of the Vatican.

It is clear, therefore, that whatever historical mistake in the distribution of supposed relics has been made at Rome, it has not been made in bad faith; the publication of Cavaliere de' Rossi's book,

with the sanction and assistance of the Pope himself, could never have been allowed, if there had not been the will to revise by the light of later discoveries the old hypotheses about the numbers of martyrs in the Catacombs, and about the signs by which they are to be recognised.

21. In his preface to the second and last volume of the history of the Abbasid Chalifate in Egypt, Professor Weil modestly says that he has had no intention of producing a work of art, but simply of giving publicity to a number of facts hitherto unknown. Some of these facts throw a new light on the relations between the Mameluke Sultans and the contemporaneous rulers in Asia and Europe; but the future historian, to whom Dr. Weil has left the task of giving an attractive form to the events which his patient and conscientious erudition has discovered, will certainly find it no easy matter to throw a charm over the history of that race of execrable and base-born tyrants, whose misdeeds follow in thick succession through the pages of the present volume. A Mameluke sovereign was in general a slave by birth, and the son of a slave; he rose to the rank of emir, and at last, by treason, to that of sultan. One of his first acts as sovereign was the destruction of those by whose means he had reached the throne. His brief reign was a period of rapine and bloodshed, and came to a sudden and violent end. The Mameluke soldiers were the real masters of the country; to keep these in good humour, by constant largesses, the sultan was obliged to be extortionate towards the emirs and all classes of society. At one time, the emirs had to be flogged before they could be induced to accept high offices of state. In spite of the ruinous extortion which they practised, the sultans remained poor, and died in debt. The troubles at the end of each reign, and the dangers incurred by persons of rank, were so great, that it is recorded as an extraordinary fact that one or two of the sultans were decently buried. We are told of one whose funeral was left to the care of a couple of servants, that there was not a towel to dry his dead body when washed; and to cover it, a female slave gave the woollen cloth which was wrapped round her head. The public treasury was so empty when Kaitbai came to the throne, that he only accepted the government on condition that he should be excused from the ordinary gratifications given to the troops and emirs. The following account may be taken as a specimen of the way in which the exhausted exchequer was replenished. "Yeschbek Ibn Mahdi Azzahiri was named first chancellor, in place of Cheirbeg, and Cheirbeg was brought in chains to Alexandria, after his whole property had been taken from him. All the magazines of Ahmed Ibn Alaini, the late president of the council, in which large provisions of goods and victuals were stored up, were emptied. The sultan was not yet satisfied, Ahmed must still pay 150,000 dinars; and as he declared himself unable to pay this sum, he was scourged in presence of the sultan, who finding, however, that the executioner went too mildly to work, administered twenty

stripes himself, with such force that the blood spurted out in such quantities that all present were stained with it. The unhappy man at last confessed that he had yet some money concealed; and when he had furnished about 200,000 dinars, he was not only restored to freedom, but was moreover presented with a robe of honour." Tumanbeg, the last of these sultans, is perhaps the only one of whom Dr. Weil is able to say any thing good. He was ignominiously hanged at the public place of execution for ordinary malefactors, by the Turkish conqueror Selim.

22. The first part, generally called the "Prolegomena," of the great work of Ibn Khaldun, a celebrated Arabic writer contemporary with the great Timur, whose friendship he enjoyed for a certain time, is a most curious and interesting dissertation on the nature, origin, and essential elements of human civilisation. The author, after a short description of the earth, discusses the effects which are produced upon the human species by climate, air, and food. From the question of civilisation in general he passes to the civilisation of nomadic populations and that of tribes. He then enters into the details of the most advanced forms of civilised life, the chalfate, royalty, government, the administration of justice, the exchequer, religion, war, and commerce. He describes the abuses and defects of political rule, and proposes what he considers the appropriate remedies. He then proceeds to describe the different professions, liberal and servile, in which men are engaged; and he concludes with a long section on science and its different departments. The Arabic text of this remarkable dissertation has been published by the late M. Quatremère in the 16th, 17th, and 18th volumes of the *Notices et Extraits*; and M. de Slane has in the 19th volume of this publication given an excellent translation of about half the Prolegomena. This translation is preceded by an introduction containing the autobiography of Ibn Khaldun, supplemented by a great deal of information derived from other sources, together with a critical account of the writings of the author. The remainder of the translation will, we trust, shortly appear.

23. We wish Ibn-el-Athir, an author by no means inferior to Ibn Khaldun, had the same good fortune of being made known by translation to the European public. His chronicle is perhaps, as it is called, the most perfect of its kind. He was the contemporary and friend of Saladin, in whose wars he took an active part. His minute accuracy and love of truth is perceptible in his writings, which display the most extensive acquaintance with the authentic memoirs and correspondence of the persons of whom he speaks. There is no historian of the Crusades who deserves better to be known; but it is only now for the first time, through the beautiful edition which is being published by Professor Tornberg, that even professed Orientalists in general have access to his great work.



24. M. Berjeau's facsimile of the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* claims to be an exact copy of a rare but celebrated specimen of very early—in all probability the earliest—wood-engravings, combined with letter-press executed with moveable types. Respecting the author of this remarkable book, which exists in manuscript as well as in the printed copies, nothing certain is known. Some have attributed it to one Conrad de Albghem, who flourished about the year 1370, and was therefore contemporary with Chaucer. Others have supposed Johannes Andreas of Bologna to be the author. He died in 1348. But M. Berjeau gives good reason for believing that it was not composed later than 1324.

Be this as it may, several printed editions of the work exist, as well as several Ms. copies. The two earliest are in Latin, and are described by M. Berjeau as being executed (1) in wood-engraving, with twenty pages of which the text is also engraved in wood; (2) the same with the text entirely in moveable types. The combination of the two processes, as M. Berjeau observes, offers a most interesting example of the intermediate step by which the printing of wood-engravings and types were afterwards attained. These earliest editions have no dates; but it is believed they were executed about the year 1442, when Laurence Coster of Harlem first discovered the method of printing with moveable wooden and metallic types. There are many resemblances, and yet some important differences, between the famous *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum*. Some have referred the wood-engravings of both to the same artist; but M. Berjeau dissents from this, and gives us (page 29), in parallel columns, a description of the same subjects differently treated in both. These questions, and generally the much-disputed one of the discovery and development of the art of printing about the middle of the fifteenth century, are discussed at great length, and with much learning and research, in M. Berjeau's preface of 72 quarto pages. We have not space to follow him here, but will endeavour to give our readers some notion of the very curious work itself.

It is simply a pictorial Scripture History, composed exactly on the principle that the stained-glass windows, altar-triptychs, and illuminated office-books of the period pretty uniformly exhibit; that is to say, a picture of a certain subject from the Old or the New Testament is given, with a more or less brief account in black letter underneath it of the personages or scenes intended. The engravings are executed in very fair style; indeed, both the drawing and the cutting are wonderful for the age: but the type is not very legible, and is made less so by the many contractions and many barbarisms of the Latinity. The paper is a coarse kind of whitey-brown texture; the ink generally of a light colour, though some of the typography is of a deep black. Each page has a double subject, under a low four-centred Gothic arch resting on a column of what we should call "perpendicular" or "third-pointed" details. As regards the drawing, we hold it to be, though rude, very artistic. There is a decided character and an expression in the figures that

are almost worthy of Albert Dürer. Nothing is feeble, though much is quaint. The draperies are simple and effective, and there is no crowding of figures, but a judicious grouping of from two to five personages in each, with backgrounds of trees, hills, or houses, as in the paintings of the early masters.

To describe in detail upwards of fifty of these double subjects would obviously occupy too much space. A few only we will select, as specimens of the whole.

Plate 7 commences the series of engravings; those preceding being taken up with the "Proemium," or Latin introduction, in a sort of rhyming verse. The first subject is entitled "*Casus Luciferi*," the fall of Lucifer. Our Lord is represented (with the cross nimbus) in the clouds, with the four archangels on either side, who with swords and spears are hurling down the bad angels into the enormously wide open mouth of a monster below—the usual medieval representation of hell. Twenty-six Latin verses are read beneath this subject, each page being in double columns. The first lines are:

"Incipit speculum humane salvacionis  
In quo patet casus hominis et modus reparacionis  
In hoc speculo potest homo considerare  
Quam ob causam creator omnium decrevit hominem creare."

The other subject on the same page is "*Deus creavit hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem suam*." Here Adam is represented asleep, in a very natural and well-drawn position; while out of his side the Creator (again with the cross nimbus, and arrayed in a long tunic) is drawing forth the woman. Figure 3 is the marriage or bringing together of Adam and Eve, whom the Creator, represented as before, holds by the hands as if presenting the woman to the man. The figure of Eve is modestly and beautifully drawn. The inscription is, "*In omni ligno paradisi comedetis*." Fig. 4 is the temptation of Eve by the serpent, who is drawn as a griffin with a human head. The verses below are an exhortation to avoid the snares of women, and they set forth what would have been the happiness of man if he had never yielded to temptation. In fig. 5 both Adam and Eve are introduced. Adam is eating the apple, while Eve is receiving another from the mouth of the serpent, which here also (as usual in early art) has a human head, and is coiled round the stem of the tree. Fig. 6 is the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. The angel with the flaming sword is very much in Albert Dürer's style. The inscription is, "*Angelus expulit eos de paradiso gladio ignito*." In fig. 7 Eve is sitting with a child on her lap spinning, and Adam is digging with a spade. The ground he has broken is very well represented. Fig. 8 is Noah's Ark, in good perspective. The water is indifferently drawn. In fig. 9, "*hic annunciatuŕ ortus Mariæ*," an angel is appearing in the sky to a standing figure holding a basket; a shepherd and several sheep in the background. In the next, the story told in Herodotus (i. 108) of the dream of Astyages about his daughter is introduced: "*Rex Astyages*

mirabile vidit sompnum." The king is represented asleep in bed, and from the bosom of his daughter, who is standing at his feet, proceeds a vine with leaves and grapes. Fig. 12 is Balaam and the ass; a quaint but clever drawing. Fig. 13 is "*Nativitas gloriose Virginis Marie.*" This has less merit; and so has the next, in the same page, representing the root of Jesse. We should say this cut is from a somewhat inferior hand. Fig. 18 is very singular. The title is, "*Mensa aurea in sabulo oblata est in templo solis.*" Two fishermen, one with a net over his shoulder, the other holding a table, or rather a bench, is offering it to a small statue of the sun-god raised on an altar. The verses beneath institute a comparison between Jephthah's daughter and the Blessed Virgin.

Fig. 21 is the betrothal of Mary and Joseph. As usual, the high-priest with a mitre is uniting their hands. The other picture in the same page (on the principle of type and antitype) is the betrothal of Sarah to Tobias. Fig. 23 is inscribed, "*hec turris dicta baris significat mariam.*" Probably this was meant for "*turris eboris,*" "tower of ivory." The picture is a battlemented tower of two stages, on the top of which is a warrior with a cross-bow, and a warder blowing a horn. Fig. 25 is the Annunciation, which is treated exactly in the usual conventional way. The same page contains the antitype of the Lord appearing to Moses in the burning bush. Fig. 29 is the Nativity, which again follows the conventional treatment, with the dream of Pharaoh's baker in the same page. This is very well executed. The baker is seated in the stocks holding a cup, while a spreading vine overshadows him. Fig. 32 is, we believe, a somewhat uncommon subject: "*Sibilla vidit virginem cum puero.*" The verses below state that:

"*Sibilla rome circulum aureum juxta solem contemplabatur  
In circulo illo virgo pulcherrima residebat  
Que puerum speciosissimum in gremio ferebat  
Quod illa cesari octaviano narravit  
Et regem potentiozem ipso natum esse intimavit.*"

Cæsar is represented as kneeling on the ground with a crown on, and a sceptre lying in front of him. The sibyl is pointing out to him an apparition of the Virgin and Child in the sky.

We have only to add that the facsimiles in this beautiful and interesting volume appear to be executed with the minutest fidelity. Mr. Stewart has spared neither pains nor expense in producing a work which probably has no rival of its kind.

• 25. St. Bernard's position in the Christian Church presents many striking analogies to that of Samuel, whom Dr. Stanley calls "the last representative of the ancient mediæval Church of Judaism." Both were dedicated from their earliest infancy to the service of God, and prepared, not by any sudden conversion, but by a youth marvellously cogitative, and a continuous growth in holiness, for their future influence; for though St. Bernard often spoke of his entering



the monastery of Cîteaux as a "conversion," it was not a conversion from sin, scarcely from worldliness. Both lived in a transition period, and were reared under a theocracy soon to pass away; for what the rise of the Hebrew monarchy was to the theocratic rule which had preceded it, the growing power of civil government and national sentiment was to the autoeracy of the medieval Popes, which had culminated under Hildebrand, and of which St. Bernard already marked and almost prophesied the approaching decline, though it did not actually commence till a century later. Both exercised a deep and wide influence over their generation, not official but moral. Samuel was neither priest nor king, but he was through life the universal referee of ruler and ruled alike in every grave emergency; he established the monarchy, and anointed the two first sovereigns; he was the great intercessor for his people; he shaped their policy, controlled their armies, and reconciled their dissensions. St. Bernard was neither bishop nor pope, but for upwards of a quarter of a century he was the real ruler of Christendom; he guided the councils of five successive Popes, of whom one was practically his nominee, and another had been his disciple at Clairvaux; the kings of France and England yield him homage; two councils are content to register his decisions; by his sole influence he healed a formidable schism, suppressed several powerful heresies, and organised an unpopular crusade. From Samuel date the "schools of the prophets;" and "the beginnings of scholasticism were contemporary with" Bernard, who was also himself, if not the founder of a new order, in one sense the founder of a new power in medieval monachism, from the new energy and character which he bequeathed to it. And lastly, not to multiply points of comparison, he recalls the memory of the great Hebrew prophet in his noble independence and fearlessness of temper, careless of popular favour, professional interests, or personal danger. He rebukes kings, prelates, and Popes with an outspoken freedom that sounds almost incredible to our ears; he comes forward alone with righteous indignation to rescue the persecuted Jews of Mentz from the miscreant, monk though he be, who is hounding-on their murderers with the whole city to back him; he does not scruple to tell one Pope that he has "blemished the honour of the Church," and another that the voice of the whole Church lays the blame of its abuses on the court of Rome; while he presents to a third the confession of his belief with the statement that, whatever be his Holiness's opinion, he is "determined to alter nothing whatever." The life of such a man is of European significance, and has an interest no less for the historian and the philosopher than for the pious Christian. Much has been done of late years to vindicate the "dark ages" from a shallow contempt. What we now require is to gain a clearer insight into their inner life; and for this purpose biography is of invaluable service, especially when, as in St. Bernard's case, we have an immense collection of sermons and letters. Mr. Morison has done wisely to make nearly half his volume consist of extracts from them.

There are two ways of writing a saint's life which make it, as a biography, worthless. There is the method of the hagiographer, who makes the saint a mere peg on which to hang a long catalogue of virtues and miracles; faults are omitted or turned into merits; his individuality is merged in his sanctity; and whatever lessons we may gain in piety, of the man himself we know as little at the end as we did at the beginning; we are edified perhaps, but not instructed. A Protestant biographer was not likely to incur this charge. But it is to Mr. Morison's credit that he has, on the whole, escaped the opposite danger of writing in that tone of supercilious patronage which is very common in dealing with eminent characters of a past age, and peculiarly offensive. With every intention to be just, neither Guizot nor Neander has adequately appreciated St. Bernard's position, and Dr. Milman is deficient in that hearty sympathy for him which is the first and most indispensable requisite in the biographer of such a man. Mr. Morison approaches him neither as a hagiologist nor as a critic, and is not afraid to say of the medieval Church, "It is as demonstrable as any thing historical can be, that the aspiring and noble characters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries found the Church not a hindrance but a help; that the good and true generally were welcomed and protected in it; that in ages of cruelty, violence, and injustice, men turned to their 'Mother,' as they were glad to call her, in loving hope, mostly fulfilled, of justice, mercy, and forgiveness." He displays, however, sometimes a controversial littleness singularly out of place in such a work; and his evident ignorance and disdain of Catholic theology lead him to underrate the merit of St. Bernard's sermons, and not unfrequently to confound medieval fancies or superstitions with the doctrine of the Church. Nor is he quite proof against the tempting sophistry which would make his hero the precursor of Martin Luther, though it is happily kept in the background. The style is clear, in fact almost eloquent, and generally free from such eccentricities as the dedication to Mr. Carlyle might have led us to expect.

St. Bernard's life, like that of all medieval saints, is enveloped in an atmosphere of miracles. These his biographer records, but does not criticise; accepting them, not as intrinsically true, but as important facts in the history of the human mind. "Miracles, ghostly apparitions, divine and demoniacal interference with sublunary affairs, were matters which a man of the twelfth century would less readily doubt of than of his own existence. To disbelieve such phenomena would have been considered good *primâ facie* evidence of unsoundness of mind. The critical powers then were never for a moment exercised on an alleged case of miracle. If the matter could, by any interpretation, be brought into some kind of connection with heaven or hell, with moral good or evil, it was assumed to be *natural*, not *unnatural*, that miracles should occur. The modern definition of a miracle as a violation of the laws of nature would have by no means commanded Bernard's assent. He would have said, "What are your laws of nature? I know them not. Miracles is the law of

God." This is true, but not the whole truth. Between Hume's assumption, on the one hand, of the *à priori* impossibility of miracles, and a willingness, on the other hand, to test each alleged case of miraculous interference, whether occurring in Scripture or elsewhere, by its own evidence, there is no intelligible standing-ground. To accept without examination all the miracles of the Bible, and reject without examination all the miracles of the Church, is not less irrational than opposed to the letter and spirit of the New Testament. A Catholic historian could have thrown on these stories the light of criticism, and would have been enabled, by the examination of evidence, to distinguish those which are so well attested as really to illustrate the Saint's life. But we fully agree with Mr. Morison that all the miracles ever ascribed to St. Bernard are little compared to the moral miracle of such a life as his. Of that irresistible power before which popes, kings, bishops, peoples, heresiarchs quailed we have already spoken. The marvel is that it should have been wielded by a simple monk, with no jurisdiction except over his own abbey; who had superiors among his contemporaries in subtlety if not in grasp of intellect; who, though for thirty years the idol of his age and the almost absolute ruler of the Church, was scarcely conscious of his greatness, and certainly did not desire it; whose passionate complaints at being so often waked from the quiet of the humble monastery he had entered as a youth, with the sole aim of dedicating his life to prayer, solitude, and toil, into the turmoil of a world he thought to have renounced for ever, it is impossible not to believe sincere. Only in a state of society like that of the Middle Ages, rude and barbarous in some respects, but deeply penetrated with moral and religious conviction, is such ascendancy of a single mind conceivable, and only then perhaps could the man arise to exert it. The most remarkable thing about St. Bernard is the union of almost ceaseless energy with profound humility and perfect internal peace. He was never more himself than when engaged in action, yet he never left, or wished to leave, the gates of his monastery without some imperious call of duty or obedience. His Letters, ranging over every subject, from the gravest questions of ecclesiastical policy, or the highest raptures of devotion, to complaints about stealing pigs, are the measure of the width and the individuality of his sympathies. Nothing is too important for him to be consulted about, nothing too insignificant for him to attend to, if only the temporal or spiritual welfare of another be involved. His very faults are the exaggeration of his virtues, and belong rather to his age than to himself. The harshness which made him turn his married sister from the abbey-gates, and insist on his elder brother leaving wife and children to enter the religious life, was an excess of the same stern, almost puritan, severity which he exercised chiefly towards himself, and which, in its more legitimate expression, moulded the great monastic reform of the 12th century. The vehemence he exhibited about the disputed election to the see of Langres, and which certainly betrayed him into grave injustice, though Pope, Cardinals, and Bishops were



constrained to yield to his will, sprang from the same spirit of burning zeal which never feared to rebuke spiritual wickedness in high places; which, by a few words, could annul a simoniacal contract, subdue a schismatical or adulterous prince, and pour the whole chivalry of Europe on the shores of Palestine.

Amid the endless varieties of an eventful life, two events seem to stand out with exceptional prominence,—his conflict with Abelard, and his preaching the second crusade. Mr. Morison has given an able and graphic sketch of the career of his famous antagonist. Their meeting was not that of two rival theologians; it was the meeting of the man of action and the man of speculation—the earnest believer and subtle disputant. It is obvious that St. Bernard did not regard his opponent so much in the light of an heresiarch as of a sophist, whose teaching, whether or not it was technically orthodox, was undermining the practical belief of his age. And he was right. Abelard chose to be a preacher and a propagandist, and the inevitable effect of his preaching was to perplex the faith of his hearers. Such teaching in the 12th century was more likely to be put down by authority than by argument; it was put down by the influence of Bernard and the sentence of the Council of Sens. For us, it is impossible to look back on Abelard's chequered career without a mingled feeling of pity and respect. The letters sent to the Pope by Peter the Venerable, in whose abbey of Cluny the wearied man, monk, philosopher, and heretic, found his latest earthly home, and who effected his reconciliation with St. Bernard, is the one green spot in the bitterness of the long controversy. That controversy, though he was often involved in it, was most uncongenial to Bernard's energetic loving spirit. He was more in his element at Vezelay, the spot famous just twenty years later as the scene of Becket's excommunication of the adherents of Henry II. Here, "pale and attenuated to a degree that seemed almost supernatural," he appeared at the bidding of Eugenius III. to preach the second most disastrous crusade; and when the light from that thin calm face fell upon them, when the voice flew from those thin lips, and words of love, aspiration, and sublime self-sacrifice reached their ears, they were no longer masters of themselves or their feelings. It is strange that Mr. Morison should have overlooked the fact that St. Bernard was at first very unwilling to encourage the design of King Lewis. But it is not in external conflicts or public triumphs that Bernard's real life is revealed to us. Perhaps there is nothing more characteristic of the man and of his age than the funeral sermons preached over his brother Gerard, which Mr. Morison has done well to transfer entire to his pages. It affords convincing evidence that at the age of forty-seven neither ascetic rigour nor the multiplicity of incessant engagements had in any degree chilled the warmth of his heart, or blunted the keen edge of natural affection. His letters to his dying friend, the great Abbot Suger, written at sixty-two, the year before his own death, breathe the same spirit of intense yearning affection. It is clear that to kill human feeling was no part of Bernard's ascetic ideal.

26. The reign of Frederick II. is in many respects the most interesting period of the Middle Ages ; for it presents for the first time the spirit of the modern world, brought into the presence of medieval society by no external influences, like the literature of Greece, but by the natural evolution of elements involved in the contest between the Church and the absolute State. It was at the very climax and summit of medieval history that this antagonism with a new and strange world first began. In order to represent a society in its summer bloom, it is necessary to know more than the documents of that age supply, and to study the course by which, through subordinate stages, it has arrived at the moment of its perfection. All the contending currents that traverse the life of mankind during several centuries, converge in the mighty eddy which is represented by the most gifted of the Cæsars, and by three of the greatest of the popes. Mr. Kington's work displays much careful study, and a good knowledge of the immediate authorities on his subject. But his range is too limited to enable him to treat the times he deals with like a man who is at home in them, and his ideas of criticism are singularly puerile. He is therefore incompetent to deal with his subject in an original manner, or with the sure touch that begets confidence in the reader. These are the common deficiencies of one who embarks for the first time on the boundless sea of history; but they are also all but universally characteristic of our historians, who are accustomed to plunge into composition without any of that severe preliminary training which the professors of other sciences know to be indispensable, and without which a history is useless. Commonly they place themselves under the guidance of a few popular books and prejudices, and are led by these in their selection of extracts from the original authorities, to which they attach only a secondary importance. This indifference and vagueness is betrayed by Mr. Kington in many places, as when he says, "any letter or fact for which I do not give a reference will be found in the *Historia Diplomatica*" (of Huillard-Bréholles).

That excellent work no doubt shortens marvellously the labours of those who write on the Sicilian Emperor ; but Mr. Kington exposes his own incompetence to appreciate its merits when he pays its author the laughable compliment of saying that his "accuracy surpasses even that of Von Raumer"! The famous *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen* may be praised for its elegance, for the abundance of information it contains, for the sympathy of the author with his subject, or for many other good qualities, but not for accuracy. With all its merits, it is more notoriously superficial and inaccurate than any book ever written by a scholar so erudite and indefatigable as its author. Mr. Kington's choice of a standard of critical accuracy is a lamentable exposure of his own. And this loose criticism is inevitably followed by inadequate information, "Germany," he says, "was for ten years embroiled in bloody wars which the new Pope saw without displeasure; he well knew that the weakness of the Empire was the opportunity of the Church." Where has Mr. Kington discovered

that this Pontiff was aware of the error, in which his predecessors had persisted, of supporting to the utmost the supremacy of the Empire over the world, and that he rejoiced at wars which demoralised the people and ruined the Church? Is this one of those facts to be verified in the *Historia Diplomatica*? It would have deserved, even so, a passing reference to some particular page. Men who make a charge so heinous are generally anxious to support it by some evidence, because they know that such statements loosely made recoil on the head of the imprudent assailant. Speaking of the crusade against the Albigenses, the author discovers in the depths of his consciousness the following generalities: "France was the agent employed by Innocent in that cruel business which exhibits the Western Church in her most glaring opposition to the teaching of her founder. She had indeed preserved her purity in the Ten Persecutions; but when she came forth from the Catacombs to the possession of the Basilicas, a change for the worse was soon remarked. Her doctrines and rites were no longer what they had been in apostolic times. The lives of many of the monks were passed in sloth and vice." Such trumpery settles the claim of a work to be treated as a contribution to scientific knowledge. A man who pretends to write on the thirteenth century, and laments the extinction of the Albigenses, proclaims his own ignorance, unless we are to attribute the passage to mere want of moral courage, or to a perplexity not uncommon at the present day in the minds of those who study the realities of history, and compare them with the current ideas of their own time.

It is but just, however, to say that Mr. Kington's worst errors are in the introductory part of his book, where, without any show of research, he abridges his matter from a few superficial books. Later on, he emancipates himself in some degree from the traditional prejudices and superstitions of his modern guides, and improves in proportion as he relies on the true sources of information. It is impossible not to be curious to know whether he was acquainted with Schlirrmacher's learned and accurate work on Frederick. We do not remember that he any where refers to it, and yet in several places we are vividly reminded of Schlirrmacher's peculiar colouring. Perhaps this may proceed from a certain affinity in the character of the two writers. But if Mr. Kington did use the work of his better-informed contemporary, he ought to have acknowledged it. If he did not, he cannot escape the charge of having overlooked far the most complete work that has yet been written on his subject. He possesses abilities which would be valuable to literature if he would learn, by a little of that severe discipline which is needed to form a historical mind, to distinguish not merely between the more and the less probable, but between truth and opinion, fact and hypothesis, knowledge and prejudice, and, in short, between the declamations which flatter and amuse an idle public, and the severe research which belongs to the advancement of learning.



27. German Switzerland has been a nursery of great historians. The famous history of the Switzers by Johannes Müller was the first work that introduced historical composition as an art into German literature, and the most famous biography of a medieval Pope was written by Hurter of Schaffhausen. The constitutional history of each canton, and the provincial and municipal patriotism of the people, have furnished nearly every considerable town with a local history. But this very patriotism cherished legends and fables as much as truth; and traditions too unimportant to be carefully verified retained a vitality they would have lost in a larger scene. No really critical revision of the story of Switzerland had been attempted when, in 1835, the first result of ten years' research was given to the world in a little volume of documents, with notes, by Herr Kopp. Their author still lives obscurely, a professor in the schools of Lucerne, and his fame, unaided by the attractions of a romantic subject, or the merits of an eloquent style, has not extended beyond those to whom the details of medieval history are a subject of arduous study. Yet during the interval of near thirty years from his first publication to that with which he has now completed—a cycle of works extending over fifty important years of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—Professor Kopp has revolutionised the history of his country as completely as Niebuhr did that of Rome, and—more fortunate than Niebuhr—has raised a complete and unassailable superstructure on a basis totally new. His four volumes, illustrated by a series of important dissertations and collections of documents on Swiss and Austrian transactions, embrace the whole period from the elevation of a Swiss nobleman to the imperial throne down to the struggle between Austria and Bavaria for the empire. The arrangement is unfortunately confused. The book has a double title, and therefore an imperfect unity. It is at once a history of the Confederation, and a history of the Restoration of the Empire by Rudolph of Habsburg, and its decline under the princes of other houses. The author consequently embraces the general political and ecclesiastical history of that age, and groups it around the fate of the dwellers on the mountains and the lakes between the Jura and the Rhine. The incredible minuteness of his knowledge never deserts him in the remotest places, and he is equally master of documents and chronicles. But the safety of his judgment, and his mental grasp, fail him when he quits those scenes which alone are familiar and congenial to him. His mind is not cast in the mould of great historians; and the grandeur of universal history commands neither his intelligence nor his sympathy. If it is true, as we have reason to believe, that he declined a very conspicuous appointment at the University of Vienna, on the ground that the subject in which he was at home was too circumscribed, he showed a knowledge of his powers of which we are sometimes tempted to regret the abeyance in following him over events the spirit of which is strange to him. Attachment to the house of Habsburg and to the Holy See is the one thing that guides him when he is off his own ground.

But within the natural limits of his country and his subject, his information is so exact and exhaustive, his judgment so impartial and unerring, that it is not too much to say that his work is the best that any nation possesses on the origin of its political independence. Few histories so instructive are so painfully tiresome to read. The arrangement is not good, and there is no display of reflection or ornament. The period is that of Boniface VIII.; and Professor Kopp has every paper at his fingers' ends that emanated from that famous Pope. But he forfeits the keenness of his critical vision when he goes beyond the Alps. Thus he says (ii. 138) that at the Jubilee old men betook themselves to Rome who had made the pilgrimage in the year 1200. Nobody can believe for an instant that any man but the Wandering Jew could undertake the same journey twice, with an interval of a century between. The tale was told at the time when the belief prevailed among the people that the Jubilee was not a new institution; but it bore all the signs of a legend, and was more marvellous even than Herr Kopp says. An old man was found who said that his father had brought him to St. Peter's in the year 1200, when he was seven years old, and exhorted him to remember the old custom when the year 1300 came round. Again: he tells us (ii. 140) that Boniface VIII. was specially careful of the liberties of the orders. Yet any Franciscan or Dominican writer of the time could inform him that the orders had met with no more determined enemy since they were established. In general, all that indicates the colouring and movement of opinion is overlooked by this cautious and matter-of-fact writer. Being a man of no imagination, but profound learning, he has the merit of having in former writings demolished the legend of Tell; and the most conspicuous thing about the present volume is, that it relates the events of the period of Tell without mentioning his name in the text, and speaks of Gesler only to show that he never existed. The great achievement of the author is to have shown that self-government really subsisted in the Four Cantons long before the period of the meeting at Grütli.

28. The life of Savonarola by Villari is far the best of the many that have appeared during the last thirty years, and surpasses in completeness even that by Marchese, though it is written with less historic tact than the work of the illustrious Dominican. It has settled many disputed questions with sound criticism, and has added considerably to the mass of documents already known regarding the period of which it treats. A certain laxity in the mode of quotation is perhaps its principal defect. The English translation by Mr. Horner has been made under the eyes of the author, and embodies some of his corrections, while omitting many documents. To the honour of Mr. Horner it must be said, that he does not appear to have been led to undertake the labour by that marvellous delusion which made one of the most specifically and even intolerantly Catholic heroes of medieval times a favourite with Protestants. He has reproduced, apparently with fidelity and without cavil, Pro-

fessor Villari's thorough vindication of the orthodoxy of Savonarola at the end of the second volume ; and we read in the translation of the author's excellent introduction, which contains a critical review of the previous biographies: "He has been proved to have been essentially Catholic, and in that light we have portrayed him" (i. p. xxxiv). The Florentines who sympathised with the Reformation were men of a very different school from that of San Marco. Guicciardini says in the twenty-eighth of his political aphorisms: "Il grado che ho avuto con più pontefici m' ha necessitato à amare per il particolare mio la grandezza loro, e se non fussi questo rispetto, avrei amato Martino Lutero quanto me medesimo, non per liberarmi dalle leggi indotte dalla religione cristiana nel modo che è interpretata e intesa comunemente, ma per vedere ridurre questa caterva di scelerati a' termini debiti, cioè a restare o senza vizii o senza autorità." The statement that Luther published a work of Savonarola in the year 1573 is probably a mere misprint.

To Catholics who endeavour to learn the spirit of their Church from her history, there is a profound interest in the career and the fate of Savonarola, whom Marchese calls the most illustrious of the moderns. It has been sometimes an effective argument in the hands of the enemies of the Church, that she exaggerates so excessively the principle of authority as to make the will of a wicked Pope binding on the consciences, or at least on the acts, of the faithful; and that even Alexander VI. exercised a power which it was in all cases necessary for them to obey. And there will always be those among the Catholics themselves who will eagerly plead guilty to the charge, and assist in imposing this falsehood on consciences, and affixing this dishonour on the Church. Without some such case as that of Galileo, it might be difficult to define the practical limits of infallibility; the authority of the Church might be mixed up with a confused claim to decide truths which are not those of religion; and Catholics might err grievously in attributing properties to her which she does not possess, and the claim of which would afford an unfailing opportunity of triumph to adversaries. So, too, the fate of Savonarola is an instance of the justice done by the Church without respect of persons. By St. Philip he was revered as a saint, and in the order his intercession was invoked. His office has been lately printed, and circulated in a small number of copies. Professor Villari has passed this over in his book; but he has written a letter to Mr. Horner, which is given in the translation, in which he speaks with scoffing contempt of those who believe in the sanctity of Savonarola. It is strange that he should be so anxious to deny the highest praise he could afford to one whom he so much honours.

29. Unlike many of the Calendars of State Papers, the first volume of the Colonial Series presents few points of general historical interest, and will be of value only for a very minute study of the history of our trade with Eastern Asia. The first document is a letter from King Emmanuel of Portugal to the Pope, describing the exploits of



the great Alfonso de Albuquerque in India, and his scheme for opening a channel for the Nile into the Red Sea on the Abyssinian coast. "He received an embassy from Prester John, who requested him to cross the Red Sea, and unite with himself in war against the infidels. He has sent home to the king a large fragment of the wood of the true cross, and asks to have some clever workmen, in order that he may divert the Nile from the country of the Sultan. . . . It may therefore be expected that God's favour will attend Albuquerque in his attempts upon the Red Sea, when he will shut the door on the commerce of the Saracens. He will effect a union with Prester John, and, raising the standard of the cross, inflict a blow upon Mahometanism." A hundred years later, the commerce of Portugal falls off rapidly under the influence of Spain. "Great good might now be done with English shipping, the coming of which is much wished for, the people being debarred from trade." We wonder that the editor should not have been startled at finding the following circumstance in a letter written in 1613: "The Portugal city of Damaun besieged, and orders given to seize all Portugals and their goods; their church-doors sealed up, and the exercise of their religion forbidden. Xavier the great Jesuit, who was before loved by the king, imprisoned" (p. 316). The Spanish government appears to have seen with indifference the declining prosperity of its detested subjects. "The wisest in Madrid," writes Digby in 1615, "are of opinion that they hazard losing the greatest part of what the Portugals hold in those countries, trade having infinitely decayed, and the kingdom of Portugal grown so extreme poor, that they will be scarcely able to send succours thither; the Spaniards little troubled with these misfortunes, not apt to relieve them" (p. 412). Lemos, the well-known patron of Lope and Cervantes, explained without disguise to Cornwallis the prohibitive colonial policy of Spain. "The access of French, Germans, Hollanders, and English had sown among the people of those parts, but newly seasoned with the Catholic faith, such a mixture and confusion of diversity of sects and opinions as, once tasted, were hardly possible to be rooted out; the case for traffic and navigation was far different from that of other parts of the world; these dominions being by right and possession theirs, by the rule of nations they would appropriate them to themselves and exclude others; they were resolved never to take them for friends, nor allow them for traders that should resort thither" (p. 153). Under the circumstances of the times, this policy was as wise as the English navigation-laws. The guardianship assumed by Spain over the subject nations was incompatible with the opening of the trade. If it had been understood as a temporary precaution, it would not have contributed, as it ultimately did, to the decay and loss of the colonial empire. This volume is full of instances of the jealousy which the European nations showed of each other in the East. All evidence goes to prove that the Dutch were the worst. For instance, we read in 1615 of a "pitiful tragedy played at Macassar by the Hollanders, who murdered the king's most dearly loved nephew, more like can-

nibals than Christians; vow of the king that no Christians should ever trade in his country again, all the Portugals commanded hence; through Cokayne, and the wise management of Ball, the English are allowed to trade. . . . The Dutch will never be entertained there again, and are exceedingly hated both at the Moluccas, Banda, and all these parts; the Bandanese will lose their lives before they will be under the Hollanders" (p. 419). How this dislike of each other, which appears to justify the acts of the Spaniards, but in reality proceeded from them, checked the progress of Christianity in the East, may be gathered from many parts of this correspondence. The most important information relates to the Japan missions, and the persecution of 1613. Mr. Sainsbury cites in his preface several facts to show with what care the East India Company provided for religious worship in the East, though he is mistaken in supposing that they were very desirous not to increase the confusion of sects of which the Spaniards complained; for Mr. Leske is sent to Surat, "where he may oppose the Jesuits, who are busy there" (p. xlix.).

30. Mr. Mayor's edition of *The Scholemaster* is a reprint *verbatim* of a very curious and little-known work on education (chiefly classical), first printed in 1570; "by John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate." It was republished in 1571, but Mr. Mayor has only used the later edition for occasionally correcting the first. The editor, who is a most accomplished scholar both in classical learning and antiquarian lore, has added at the end of the volume a considerable number of notes, a glossary of the more quaint words, and a complete index. As a living picture of the times, and as indicating, in a kind of desultory and gossiping way, the feelings of the different parties in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, this volume is exceedingly instructive and interesting. Ascham was tutor to the Queen, whom he had contrived to indoctrinate with just enough of classical learning to make her a pedant. He seems to be a staunch adherent to the reformed doctrines; but perhaps his language is to a certain degree influenced by his position at court, for there are instances when he seems inclined to speak more fairly of the Catholic side than one might have expected.

Ascham was a fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; and he gives a pleasing anecdote of the then Master, Dr. Nicholas Medcalfe. This worthy divine, himself a Catholic and a great benefactor to the College, both in respect of its learning and its revenues, seems to have been not only tolerant but charitable: "There was none so poore," says Ascham (p. 160), "if he had either wil to goodnes, or wit to learning, that could lacke being there, or should depart from thence for any need. I am witnes my selfe, that mony [money] many tymes was brought into yong mens studies by strangers whom they knew not. In which doing, this worthy *Nicolaus* folowed the steppes of good olde *S. Nicolaus*, that learned Bishop. He was a Papist in deede, but would to God, amongst all us Protestants I might once see but one, that would winne like praise in doing like good for the advance-

ment of learning and vertue. And yet, though he were a Papist, if any yong man, given to new learning (as they termed it), went beyond his fellowes in witte, labor, and towardnes, even the same neyther lacked open praise to encorage him, nor private exhibition to mainteyne hym, as worthy Syr I. *Cheke*, if he were alive, would beare good witnes, and so can many mo." Again, he tells us: "And being a boy, new Bachelor of arte, I chanced amonges my companions to speake against the Pope: which matter was than in every man's mouth.—This hapned the same tyme, when I stoode to be fellow there: my taulke came to *D. Medcalfes* eare: I was called before the seniores: and after grevous rebuke and some punishment, open warning was geven to all the felowes, none to be so hardie to geve me his voice at that election. And yet for all those open threatens, the good father himselve privilie procured, that I should even than be chosen felow. But the election being done, he made countenance of great discontentation thereat. This good mans goodnes and fatherlie discretion used towardes me that one day, shall never out of my remembrance all the dayes of my life."

Ascham was afterwards Greek Professor and Public Orator in the University of Cambridge, where he seems to have remained in Queen Mary's reign. He was a very excellent and extensively read classical scholar; and the feeling is irresistible, on reading his *Scholemaster*, that very few scholars of the present day could compete with him in the range, the accuracy, or the minuteness of his Greek and Latin scholarship.

One remarkable feature in his programme of education is his strong recommendation of gentle treatment; and he shrewdly observes that, as a general rule, those most distinguished in after life are not those who are "sharp" at school. "In verie deede," he says (p. 29), "fond scholemasters, by feare, do beate into them the hatred of learning, and wise riders, by jentle allurements, do breed up in them the love of riding. They finde feare and bondage in scholes; they feele libertie and freedome in stables: which causeth them, utterlie to abhorre the one, and most gladlie to haunt the other." Again (p. 30): "For, beate a child, if he daunce not well, and cherish him, though he learn not well: ye shall have him, unwilling to go to daunce, and glad to go to his booke. Knocke him alwaies when he draweth his shaft ill, and favor him againe, though he faut at his booke, ye shall have hym verie loth to be in the field, and verie willing to be in the schole."

There is a well-known anecdote about the unfortunate young Lady Jane Grey and her Platonic studies. Ascham's account is this: "Before I went into Germanie, I came to Brodegate in Lecetershire, to take my leave of that noble ladie *Jane Grey*, to whom I was exceding moch beholdinge. Hir parentes, the Duke and the Duches, with all the houshold, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, were huntinge in the Parke: I founde her, in her Chamber, readinge *Phaedon Platonis* in Greeke, and that with as moch delite, as som gentleman wold read a merie tale in *Bocace*. After salutation, and



dewtie done, with som other taulke, I asked hir whie she wold leese soch pastime in the Parke? Smiling she answered me; I wisse, all their sporte in the Parke is but a shadoe to that pleasure that I find in *Plato*: alas good folke, they never felt, what trewe pleasure ment. And howe came you, Madame, quoth I, to this deepe knowledge of pleasure, and what did chieflie allure you unto it: seinge, not many women, but verie fewe men have attained thereunto? I will tell you, quoth she, and tell you a truth, which perchance ye will mervell at. One of the greatest benefites, that ever God gave me, is, that he sent me so sharpe and severe Parentes, and so jentle a scholemaster. For when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speake, kepe silence, sit, stand, or go, eate, drinke, be merie, or sad, be sowyng, plaiyng, dauncing, or doing any thing els, I must do it, as it were, in soch weight, mesure, and number, even so perfitelie as God made the world, or else I am so sharplie taunted, so cruellie threatened, yea presentlie some tymes, with pinches, nippes, and bobbes, and other waies, which I will not name, for the honor I beare them, so without measure misordered, that I thinke my selfe in hell, till tyme cum, that I must go to *M. Elmer*, who teacheth me so jentlie, so pleasantlie, with soch faire allurementes to learning, that I thinke all the tyme nothing, whiles I am with him" (p. 33).

Ascham's estimate of Queen Elizabeth's book-learning (though one can hardly trust it) goes even beyond that of Lady Jane Grey. "I beleve," he says (p. 63), "that beside her perfit readines in Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, she readeth here now at Wind-sore more Greeke every day than some Prebendarie of this Chirch doth read Latin in a whole weeke." He evidently was not joking, even if (which is far more likely) he was flattering. He adds, "And that which is most praise worthie of all, within the walles of her privie chamber she hath obteyned that excellencie of learnyng, to understand, speake, and write, both wittely with head, and faire with hand, as scarce one or two rare wittes in both the Universities have in meny yeares reached unto."

The banishment of the Catholic clergy, and the persecution of nonconforming Catholics under Edward VI., had left a comparatively unlearned body of priests to hold the dignities and emoluments under Mary. Ascham is sufficiently severe on "those hevie tymes and that grevous change that chanced, an. 1553, whan mo perfite scholers were dispersed from thence [Cambridge] in one moneth, than many yeares can reare up againe. For, whan *Aper de Sylva* [a nickname for the Pope] had passed the seas and fastned his foote againe in England, not onely the two faire groves of learning in England were eyther cut up by the roote, or troden downe to the ground and wholelie went to wracke, but the yong spring there, and everie where else, was pitifully nipt and overtroden by very beastes. And therefore did som of them at Cambrige (whom I will not name openlie) cause hedge priestes fette out of the contrie, to be made fellowes in the Universitie; saying in their

talke privilie, and declaring by their deedes openlie, that he was felow good enough for their tyme, if he could were a gowne and a tipet cumlie, and have hys crowne shorne faire and roundlie, and could turne his Portesse and pie [breviary and directory] readilie." This passage shows how easily even a great scholar and a learned man can fall into the ribaldry of the day, when once he makes himself a partisan, especially in a religious dispute.

It appears that a large number of English gentlemen of the old Catholic families, being debarred from Catholic education at home, were in the habit of seeking it in Italy. It is really curious to note Ascham's wrath at this practice. He calls them *Italianati*, and accuses them of every profligacy and immorality learnt in Italy. "If some yet do not well understand, what is an English man Italianated, I will plainlie tell him. He that by living and traveling in *Italie* bringeth home into England, out of *Italie* the Religion, the learning, the policie, the experience, the maners of *Italie*. That is to say, for Religion, Papistrie or worse: for learnyng, lesse commonly than they caried out with them: for pollicie, a factious hart, a discoursing head, a mynde to medle in all mens matters: for experience, plentie of new mischieves never knowne in England before: for manners, varietie of vanities and chaunge of filthy lyving" (p. 79). In this style, but with a vagueness which shows that he had nothing definite to say, our schoolmaster rambles on, page after page. He concludes thus (p. 87): "I was once in *Italie* my selfe: but I thanke God, my abode there was but ix dayes: And yet I sawe in that litle tyme, in one Citie, more libertie to sinne, than ever I hard tell of in our noble Citie of London in ix yere. I sawe, it was there as free to sinne, not onlie without all punishment, but also without any man's marking, as it is free in the Citie of London to chose without all blame, whether a man lust to weare Shoo or pantocle [slipper]."

The truth is, that though the morality of Rome was assuredly not of the highest during the first part of the sixteenth century, during the lifetime of Aretino, it was by no means improved by a large influx of semi-Protestantised English, who laughed at the old religion, and did not practise the new. Ascham himself quotes a proverb current in Rome, which pretty clearly shows the sort of stuff many of these English residents were made of: *Englese Italianato e un diavolo incarnato*. There can be no doubt that Ascham took a strong party view of the religious questions that agitated society in his time; and it is not unlikely that to his influence was due much of the bitter spirit which Elizabeth exhibited against her Catholic subjects. The editor of this work has shown great erudition in the historical notes with which he has enriched the present volume.

31. M. Baschet has spent five years among the well-arranged archives of Venice, and has collected materials for a large number of important works. The first volume on the sixteenth century is very

disappointing. It contains a general account of the value of those well-known archives which have furnished so many useful publications in the last twenty years, and is filled with extracts translated into French, mostly from works already published. We are more curious to see the volumes which the author promises on Sixtus V., on the secret acts of the Council of Ten, and on the conversations of ambassadors with Richelieu; all of which are likely to throw great light on the difficult art of reigning, as practised by its most consummate masters. For M. Baschet will not confine himself to those comprehensive *Relations* which the envoys delivered on their return to Venice. Readers of Mr. Rawdon Brown's translation of the despatches of Giustinian know how much more instruction is to be derived from such ordinary correspondence than from the innumerable papers of the other kind published by Alberi, Tommaseo, and others. Perhaps the most valuable of all the works founded on these documents is the *Storia Arcana*, which has been compiled in a series of volumes by the Venetian librarian, on the states of Italy in the sixteenth century. If that collection is approached in interest and novelty by M. Baschet's future volumes, he may be pardoned the trivial book-making with which he has begun. Many *Relazioni* have been printed from time to time in commemoration of a marriage, when it has been intended to illustrate the glories of one of the families. A complete catalogue of these would be worth more to the student than the six hundred pages before us.

At p. 555 the author alludes to a letter from Coligny to the Prince of Orange, which was in the possession of M. Crétineau-Joly. It was seized by Queen Catherine, and betrayed to the court the design of the Huguenots to massacre the Catholics. But M. Baschet remarks, that at the date at which it is supposed to have been written, June 15th, 1572, the admiral was in favour at court, and was arranging with the king a Spanish war. The words, "nous serons prêts pour septembre," might therefore allude to this. But the letter is not yet published; and the gentleman in whose hands it lay was not believed to be aware of the value of genuine and ungarbled documents. In his work, *L'Eglise et la Révolution* he published extracts in French from the Italian memoirs of Consalvi, which he claimed to possess. It is obvious that the publication of the text itself would have been far more interesting than all M. Crétineau-Joly could possibly make of it; and there is reason for surprise that the existence of any authentic manuscript of the kind should be a matter of serious doubt to those who are most solicitous for the good fame of the court which the cardinal served so ably.

32. The mystery of Don Carlos is at length pretty well settled by the researches of M. Charles de Moüy, whose impartiality and sagacity justify us in forming high expectations of the service he may render to literature when practice has made him more expert in the use of his pen, and in the arrangement of his materials. The result is an unsought but complete vindication of the conduct of Philip, and



it illustrates the coldness and caution of his character. The indications of deficiency in the mind of his son very early in life caused him serious alarm; and there is a curious instance of the necessity of penetrating beneath the surface in an enquiry of this kind. On the 30th of October 1558, the chief almoner, Osorio, writes to the king: "The prince improves in all respects more than I can say." On the same day the preceptor, Onorato Juan, whom Mr. Motley oddly calls the Honourable John, writes as follows: "I regret to say that he does not improve as much as I should wish. The cause to which I attribute this backwardness will be made known to your majesty some day, when you see his highness. . . . I am deeply grieved that his progress should not be in proportion with that of his earlier years. But I will not cast more gloom on your majesty to-day, inasmuch as this and many other things cannot be remedied until you see to them yourself" (p. 21). At the time when this mysterious letter was written the prince was in his thirteenth year. M. de Moüy demolishes with superfluous fulness the conjecture of Prescott and De Castro, that Don Carlos had an inclination towards Protestantism, and shows that his faith was never shaken or even suspected. He also throws aside, with decisive brevity, some statements of M. Mérimée (p. 4), and of Mr. Motley, who "often accepts anecdotes respecting Don Carlos, for which there is no evidence" (p. 124). The real explanation of what occurred is, that the mental and physical organisation of the prince was defective, and that the consequences were fatal when he reached the age of manhood. M. de Moüy's statements and conjectures are supported by a secret paper written by Philip on the 12th of September 1564, which has just been published (Döllinger, *Dokumente zur Geschichte Karl's V., Philipp's II., und ihrer Zeit*, p. 565).

When it became certain that Don Carlos was unfit to reign, his father was compelled to take precautions against a disputed succession, and the chance that the claims of Don Carlos might be made a pretext for discord and civil war; and it is shown that no rigour was used which it was possible to avoid. The infante died in prison, after having implored the forgiveness and the blessing of his father. "On the morning of the 21st of July the prince had asked for his confessor. The approach of death, the solemn gravity of those who watch by the bed of the dying, and his extreme physical weakness, had calmed the unhappy Don Carlos, and his soul already tasted that final serenity which softens the bitterness of the last hour. . . . During the night before the vigil of St. James, the infante suddenly interrupted the prayers which they were saying round his bed, and asked the hour. They told him it was not yet midnight. He was silent, and went on praying with the crucifix in his hand, and for some moments nothing was heard in the room but the voice of the priest reading the words of prayer. The physician had retired; there was no one near the agonising prince but the gentlemen in his service and Father Diego de Chaves. Don Carlos again raised himself up a few minutes later, and again asked what was the hour. The day which was to be the last of his melancholy life had begun; it was

past midnight. The infante, on receiving this reply, murmured, 'It is time.' Like his grandfather Charles V. who, ten years before, at the last moment, had pronounced the same words, Don Carlos felt that he was dying. He commanded a lighted candle to be placed in his hand, and turning to his confessor, with a voice broken by the emotion and the agony of dying, 'Help me, my father,' he said; and added, whilst he beat his breast, some words which grew more and more confused.—Greatness and glory had been promised him from his cradle; and then his reason wanders, his body grows weak, he becomes an object of terror to some, of shame to others, and the highest human dignity, all that wonderful assemblage of power and of pride, which would for so many others have been a pedestal, only served to make of him, poor miserable, pale, and trembling prince, one of those historical figures before which posterity hesitates between pity and disdain" (pp. 296, 298, 307).

33. The first volume of Döllinger's collection of materials for the history of the six last centuries consists entirely of documents from Spanish archives on the period of Charles V. and Philip II., copied more than fifteen years ago, by Dr. Heine. Some notices and fragments were published at the time; and Heine printed one most interesting volume containing the letters of Loaisa, Archbishop of Seville, and formerly confessor of Charles V. He was preparing another volume, when he was killed at Berlin, in 1848. The manuscripts now published were transferred by his brother to their editor. Each document is preceded by a short abstract of its contents, by Dr. Friedrich, a writer very favourably known by his works on the ecclesiastical history of the fifteenth century. These headings are excessively brief, and do not always give a very distinct idea of the contents of the documents. We should also be disposed to complain of the peculiar way of spelling names. Thus, the Spanish Cardinal Pacheco is always called Pacecco, in the contents; and Plombin is used for Piombino, of which it is the Spanish form. Again, it is hardly fair that all readers should be expected to recognise unaided the name of a great Austrian house in the words *Die Tristan*. The brother of Dr. Heine appears to have made it a condition, that the whole of the papers copied should be given; and for this reason, probably, some documents are included which are not new. The *Oratio habita ab oratore Gallo*, at Passau, in the year 1552 (p. 196), was already published by Sleidanus; and it is quoted in such common books as Menzel's *Modern History of the Germans* (ii. 230), and Buchholtz's *History of Ferdinand I.* (vii. 93).

Nevertheless the collection is of the most signal importance for the whole period of the Council of Trent, and the negotiations of which it was the object between the emperor and the papal court, and more particularly for the history of the Roman policy of Philip II. Sixty documents relate to the affairs of the council, and no less than fifteen to the conclave of Pius IV. The Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, reports that when the council was sitting at Bologna, Paul

III. said that two errors had been already committed, one in opening the council, the other in removing it; and that he feared he should be obliged to commit a third by moving it back to Trent (p. 79). There is an odd story, that he was induced on one occasion to remain at Rome by the advice of all the physicians and astrologers (p. 91). When the fathers met again, in 1561, we find Pius IV. imploring Philip to send the Spanish bishops betimes, in order to counteract the influence of the French, many of whom he considered heretics, and more particularly Cardinal Guise. *Me dijo*, writes the envoy, in cipher, *para que lo escribiese a V. M. que el Cardenal de Lorrena estaba dañado y era herege, o de los protestantes, por hablar con mas honesto vocablo* (p. 349). It was expected that the French party would try to rescind some of the previous decrees, and especially those on justification (p. 361). The alarm caused by the progress of Protestantism in France was so great, that in 1563 the Pope began to strengthen all his important fortresses, and supply them with munitions of war. But while he thought he could defend his Italian dominions with the aid of his allies, Avignon was completely helpless and exposed. Lest, therefore, it should fall into the hands of the enemy, he offered it to Philip (*el quiere ponerlo en sus manos y poder*), and proposed that he should embark a force of infantry at Genoa, which, under pretence of going to Corsica, should make sail for Marseilles, and garrison the threatened towns (p. 515). When the decrees of Reformation were promulgated, the Pope was frightened at the expedition with which his nephew proceeded to execute them. This nephew, a youth of twenty-six, already the ruling mind of the Church, was St. Charles Borromeo. Requesens, who tells the story, puts it in cipher. The Pope, he says, was angry at the Cardinal for having reformed his household in conformity with the decree, calling this demonstration, by an allusion to his severe predecessor, *teatineries*; and he sent word to the Jesuits that he would punish them if they went into the Cardinal's house (p. 561). Requesens adds, that the Cardinal, though a most virtuous man, was unfit for the conduct of great affairs, and fearful of contradicting the Pope.

The judgment of the Spanish agents does not often fail them so deplorably, and the characters of several famous Cardinals are sketched with great justice. When the end of the pontificate of Paul III. was approaching, Mendoza informs Charles of the disposition of those who may succeed him. Sadolet he thought wanting in ability and experience, and not likely to have many friends; but he was good and peaceable, and, although occupying a French see, not French in his opinions. Cortes would be a good man; but he was a Benedictine, and that order monopolised the pontificate for near four hundred years. Pole had great claims, as an enemy of France, a firm reformer, and an able man; but his suspected orthodoxy would be against him (*le hace daño lo que se ha dicho de la justificacion*); and his bitterness against England, which he displayed as a Cardinal, would be dangerous in a Pope. It was the



beginning of the reign of Edward VI. Mendoza concludes with the remarkable words: "It is so arduous a matter that I will not take upon myself to favour or oppose any candidate, especially as all sovereignty is of divine right, and that of the Church most of all; and therefore the election of the men who are to enjoy it, is beyond the reach of our judgment" (p. 94). In the very full narrative of the conclave of 1559, the election of Cardinal Medicis is attributed by the ambassador Vargas entirely to Cardinal Carafa. The election was appointed for the following day, when Carafa perceived that further opposition was preparing. He roused the Cardinals from their beds, and made them settle the matter at once (p. 324). The issue was considered favourable to the Spanish interests, and the new Pope told Vargas that he was born a subject of Charles V., and had been promoted by his influence, and that he would never neglect the advantage of Spain. Carafa received four thousand scudi from the viceroy of Naples—*como de amigo grande suyo* (p. 333); but scarcely a year after he was condemned to death for his conduct when his uncle was Pope. There is a horrible account of his execution, but it adds little to what was known before. The executioner came to him in the night, and told him his fate. He was not allowed to put on the dress of a cardinal, but was set on a chair in his dressing-gown, and the executioner put a cord round his neck and twisted it round a stick till the cord broke. They had no other; and the wretched man prayed to be despatched quickly. They tore one of the sheets of his bed, and tortured him with it for an hour before he died. No man was less regretted; but his fate struck terror into the other Cardinals, and they prepared for flight. One of them asked the ambassador secretly whether he would be safe in Spain. Pius IV. became as unpopular as his predecessor; and Vargas says that he dared not show himself; that the people threatened to treat him as they had treated the statue of Paul IV.; and that he was called an impious tyrant, and antichrist himself (p. 447). When he died, Requesens immediately designated his successor. "Cardinal Alessandrino is a theologian, and a very good man, of most exemplary life, and full of zeal in the cause of religion. In my opinion, he is the Cardinal who, under present circumstances, would be most fit to be Pope. But I do not think he will be elected, because he is considered rigorous, and the Cardinals like an indulgent Pope" (p. 579).

Until the appearance of Dr. Döllinger's volume it was not known that Philip II. was actually excommunicated, in the year 1557. Recent historians who had access to papers from the Spanish archives, such as Lafuente and Prescott, remained in ignorance of the fact. M. Charles Samm learnt, indeed, from the despatches of Navagiero, of which he found a copy in the Imperial Library of Vienna, that Paul IV. at one time intended to publish a decree, and even wished that he had interpreters to translate it into Turkish and Arabic, in order that the enemies of Philip among the Paynim might learn his disgrace (*Une Question Italienne au seizième Siècle*, p. 217). But he

supposes that the Pope ended by generally excommunicating those who seized the property of the Holy See, without mentioning names (Ibid. p. 220). The text of the Bull, though without the date, is here printed. First of all, there is a letter from Philip in England to the Corregidor of Carthagená, ordering the seizure of all papers from Rome, as the Pope had resolved to deprive him of his dominions. The Bull itself condemns him as a traitor and schismatic, and a man of doubtful orthodoxy. "Declaramus dictum Philippum ab Austria periurii et schismatis reatum ac rebellionis et lese majestatis crimen, necnon privationis et amissionis feudi regni hujusmodi ac excommunicationis majoris et anathematis, omnesque et singulas alias, tam ecclesiasticas, quam temporales sententias, censuras et penas prædictas notorie et multipliciter incurrisse et de heresi non levibus argumentis se suspectum reddidisse" (p. 225). Philip consulted the Spanish theologians, and entrenched himself behind the opinion of Melchior Canus, who carefully distinguished the two characters of the Pope, and denied that his spiritual authority protected him in his capacity as a temporal sovereign. Under the following pontificate the king recovered his position at Rome. In 1560 Pius IV. secretly assured him that he designed to obtain for him the imperial crown, to which Maximilian was unworthy to succeed, and that he proposed for that purpose to deprive the Protestant electors of their vote (p. 339). Maximilian was, however, elected, in spite of his questionable orthodoxy; and the condition of the Church in Germany during his reign is described in a report of the year 1571. Throughout the empire the bishops do not preach or say mass, or fulfil any ecclesiastical duty, and very few of the clergy observe the law of celibacy. The chapters compel the bishop on his election to swear that he will not reform them; men and women inhabit the monasteries together; and the prelates excuse themselves by saying that their lives are no worse than those of the German Cardinals (p. 655). This description by a Spanish monk confirms the report of the state of the Austrian clergy in 1563 which was published by Spittler (*Göttingisches historisches Magazin*, i. 420), in which the Jesuits alone appear without reproach, but which historians seem hitherto to have been unwilling to trust.

Melchior Canus was afterwards mixed up in the enquiry against Carranza, the celebrated Archbishop of Toledo. The papers relating to this affair illustrate in a remarkable way Philip's extreme jealousy of any interference of Rome in the proceedings of the Spanish Inquisition. Pacheco relates how he warned the Pope not to touch that delicate institution; and Pius IV. promised that he would not meddle with it (p. 254). The Cardinal urges Philip not to tolerate any thing of the kind; but to resent it for the sake of religion and of the state: *V.M. no solamente es obligado a las cosas de la religion, pero a la conservacion de sus reynos* (p. 329). The political functions of the Holy Office evidently predominated considerably over the religious in the minds of the Spanish prelates. At one moment a terrible fear came over the king, lest the Council of Trent should

attempt to restrict his authority over the Inquisition. Some even of his own subjects, he was informed, were less zealous than they ought to be in a matter in which the glory of God and the power of the king of Spain were alike concerned: *Donde concurren el servicio de nuestro Señor y bien de nuestros reynos* (p. 472).

34. The recent works of Herr Hurter are a serious disappointment to those who have been accustomed to regard him as a master of the historical art, and a model of impartiality. For many years his attention has been concentrated on the life of the best of the Habsburgs, Ferdinand II., and in a great number of diffuse and unattractive volumes he has come down to the first period of the Thirty Years' war, and is approaching the most important part of an important reign. In the preparation of this great history, the imperial and provincial archives of Austria have been opened to the historian. The fruit of his researches has been immense, and he has brought to light a mass of papers which are, at least, of much local importance. But the general history of the time has gained little by it, and the received facts have been only modified as much as was required to suit the tone of an official work. For the author is *Reichshistoriograph*, and the object of his labours is to vindicate the house and policy of Austria in the crisis of her fortunes. He has therefore interrupted his great work to publish several minor volumes, on such subjects as the personal character of Ferdinand, and the hostile policy of France. In the year 1855 a volume appeared which was more interesting than the rest, on the history of Wallenstein. To the disgust of every reader, it stopped short several years before the end of his life, because the writer, conducting his researches chronologically, had not yet collected any thing on the later period.

In a volume lately published, on the last four years of Wallenstein's life, Herr Hurter makes up for this omission; and his vast knowledge of the public archives gives a singular interest to his treatment of the subject. The controversy respecting Wallenstein's schemes has been kept alive by the interest of those who wished to speak ill of the court of Vienna, and in some cases apparently by a love of paradox. But the chief motive in his defence has been the hope entertained by his representatives to have his sentence reversed, and to recover some portion of his unbounded wealth. On their behalf his papers were sorted and published by Friedrich Förster of Berlin, and were accompanied by an ingenious vindication from the charge of treason. But the papers of the other leading men who surrounded him—those of Gallas, for instance—which are still preserved in Bohemia, and doubtless clear up every mystery concerning him, have never yet been consulted. In the present state of the materials, Herr Hurter's work represents the existing knowledge in its most complete shape.

In the first place, our author gives the highest praise to the state-paper by which the court of Vienna informed the world of the guilt and doom of Wallenstein, and which is generally held to be so far



from proving the one, that it has rather increased the detestation of mankind for those who determined the other. He has had before him all the documents on which it was founded, praises its justice, and declares that he has the means of proving every statement it contains. Of this we have no doubt; but if no more than that is proved, the charge of treason would be hardly established. It is certain, however, that many leading men give independent testimony of Wallenstein's designs on the Bohemian crown. Whilst Gustavus was still living he asked for 15,000 men, and offered with their aid to take possession of Bohemia and Moravia. Afterwards, the continual warnings which Bavaria and Spain were addressing to the emperor hastened the execution of his plans. The Spanish envoy threatened to withdraw the Spanish supplies if the Duke of Friedland was left at the head of the army. Ferdinand could only be induced to send a confidential messenger, whose duty it was to endeavour to prevail on Wallenstein voluntarily to resign his command. His irresolution is much more extraordinary than the decision which eventually led to the catastrophe. Wallenstein's ideas of government made him formidable to the Austrian absolutism in other ways than as a soldier. In 1633 he announced that all those who had been banished from Bohemia—and they were chiefly Protestants—should be admitted into his duchy. Herr Hurter's remark on this significant measure is, that it may be justified on financial grounds, "but exhibits unmistakably a spirit of resistance to the often-expressed will of the sovereign" (p. 400). This is a pitiful criticism on an act which meant so much. Ferdinand was governing in the spirit of those days, as one having power over the consciences of his subjects; and the ingenious severity of his measures, justified ultimately on grounds of self-defence, had driven thousands of families from his dominions, and filled many who remained with disaffection. The very policy, therefore, which the perils of his situation obliged him to pursue was a source of new and hardly inferior dangers. If Protestantism had been tolerated in Austria whilst the Catholic religion was exterminated in all the Protestant states of Germany, Catholicism would have almost disappeared, as it threatened to do at the end of the sixteenth century in Styria; and the throne of the Habsburgs, no longer sustained by Spain, would not have withstood its enemies. But if Wallenstein had been able to proclaim freedom of conscience in Bohemia, he would have made it the haven of all who were oppressed for religion, by Catholic powers on one side, or by Protestants on the other. This is one of the most remarkable of the occasions on which the principle of religious liberty, against which the whole of the Thirty Years' war was waged by all parties, approached its realisation. Illegitimate princes hold their crowns by another tenure than opinion, and are not careful therefore to secure unity in that which most powerfully influences the sources of opinion. But Wallenstein promised more. He intended to restore to Bohemia all the ancient privileges which she had forfeited in becoming a dependency of the Austrian house (p. 403). This circumstance, and a conver

sation on the road to Eger, in which Wallenstein informed Colonel Butler of his plans, are made known for the first time in this work. Butler then became the principal agent in his destruction; and Herr Hurter sees so little to condemn in the act, that he says the Emperor promised the first vacant regiment to Lieutenant-Colonel Teufel, who was one of the first who had offered "to slay the tyrant" (p. 432). He even admires the fidelity of the eight conspirators, any one of whom might have made his fortune by betraying the rest to Wallenstein.

35. Mr. Bonhomme is one of those useful Frenchmen who apply a very limited portion of literary power to the elucidation of proportionately minute details of history. He seems to have no guide but curiosity and the chances of a collector. One volume of his revelations, as he calls them, referred to the wicked and witty poet Piron. The discovery of various papers, many of which have been published by La Beaumelle, has now induced him to publish a volume on Madame de Maintenon. He takes so little interest in the reputation of his heroine, that he cites a letter of Ninon de l'Enclos for the purpose of throwing suspicion on her character; and he is so far from writing for a purpose, that he takes the trouble to discuss her participation in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, without giving any information on the subject whatever. The majority of the papers he publishes are private letters of very little consequence, written by persons remotely connected with the family of Madame de Maintenon. Some interest attaches to one by the Marquis de Villette, the son of Bolingbroke's second wife. At a supper-party, where they had been drinking freely, some words had passed between this youth and one of the guests, which they had forgotten in the morning, but which officious friends represented to them and others as a quarrel. The unconscious enemies met and were reconciled; but their families took up the matter, and compelled them to fight. Both were wounded. Villette fled from the country, took service under Eugene, and was killed at Belgrade. After receiving his mortal wound, he wrote to his mother, in a hand all but illegible from pain, a letter informing her of the wound, and endeavouring to assure her that it was not serious.

The best thing in this book consists of the contents of a little volume which Madame de Maintenon kept always with her, and into which she had copied some of the choice counsels of her spiritual directors, who were among the best of the clergy of France, Godet des Marais, La Chétardie, and Bourdaloue. They are all alike addressed to a person remarkable for self-restraint, patience, charity, and that grave, joyless, and unexcitable temper which, in the eyes of many readers, renders the character of Madame de Maintenon so unamiable. Some of the maxims of La Chétardie are worthy to survive his forgotten works: "We must give consolation without seeking to share it; and we must share the sorrows of others without causing them any.—The grief that oppresses the heart is more useful than

the joy that swells it.—It is doubly profitable and doubly honourable to be overwhelmed with bad news, and to be charged with the office of consoling others.—He that laments not in exile will not rejoice in his country.—Patience is an essence that evaporates by speech.—The saints are more anxious to preserve charity than to propagate their opinions.”

36. The writings of MM. de Goncourt on the eighteenth century generally contain much that is frivolous and low, and their descriptions have so much diffuseness and so little life, that they are rather dull reading. Their recent work on the life of French women in the society of Paris has the additional fault of being without any unity, and without the interest of sketches of character. Yet there is sometimes a happy hit. The eighteenth century, the authors tell us, is *le siècle français par excellence*—a judgment which is not inspired by an exaggerated patriotism. They do not describe it in favourable colours, and yet they seem to love its loose and lawless life. “We wish to exhibit the manners of an age that had no laws but its manners.” That it was a state of society extremely unnatural, at the same time that it was free and easy, appears most distinctly in the lives of women. It was full of restraint, but not in the moral order. Whilst husbands encouraged the libertinage of their wives, children were taught to kiss their mother under her chin, for fear of disturbing her rouge.

The army and the church offered so many resources for younger sons that the wealth of an influential house increased with the number of boys to be provided for. The birth of a daughter was consequently a disappointment, and she was kept during her childhood at a distance from her parents; first, with a nurse in the country (a practice which furnishes the scenery of so many French comedies), then with a governess, and then in a convent. Our authors undertake the defence of the convents, but only on the ground that they were as little like convents as possible. The news of the court penetrated through the walls; all that was going on was discussed, and there was much visiting and gossip. MM. de Goncourt stoutly deny that enforced vocations were of frequent occurrence, and they admire the moral fitness of convents as a refuge for persons not remarkable for beauty; according to the pitiless maxim of those days, “une femme laide est un être qui n’a point de rang dans la nature, ni de place dans le monde.” The discipline of these houses was an imitation of Madame de Maintenon’s rules for Saint-Cyr; and the authors draw a comparison between the general conduct of the pupils before and after marriage, which is highly favourable to the immediate influence of the conventual education. One great characteristic of modern society was totally wanting, and must have made a Paris salon of those days very different from what is facetiously called the present state of parties. Ladies did not take their daughters out. The sweet demoralisation of that interval during which young people take their affairs into their own hands was unknown, and the flirting propensities of



feminine nature could not be gratified before marriage. The truth is, the atmosphere of society was such as it was hard to breathe without being tainted; and it was in the interest both of parents and husbands that the period of probation should be shortened. There is a remarkable contrast in this respect between the upper and the middle class. The *bourgeoise* loved her daughter better than the noble lady, and educated her at home. She was a better mother and a better wife than the woman of rank. But she had not the same virtues which MM. de Goncourt represent as the usual result of a conventual education. The memoirs of Casanova would have illustrated this remark; but the authors, who use Crébillon's novels as evidence, have neglected the information to be derived from that more authentic and not more scandalous source. Yet a very erudite historian has taken the trouble to examine all the statements of Casanova that relate to known persons, and his veracity has stood the test of a searching criticism.

It is curious to find that wedding-cards were introduced at Paris in 1734. Copies of the first ever sent are preserved in the Imperial Library. About the same time that change came over the French language, against which Sir Philip Francis used often to rail in England—the use of exaggerated epithets and exclamations. In the restrained and sober French of the reign of Lewis XIV. this was unknown. Even private letters, those of Pascal for instance, are entirely free from it. Madame de Sévigné, however, is not so faultless in this respect; and her letters, which appeared about the time in question, may have lowered somewhat the standard of the golden age. Our authors do not attempt any explanation of it. But it must be remembered that the same innovation had occurred in England not long before. The conversations in Swift, and even in the fastidious Congreve, are deeply marked with this altered tone, in comparison with the language which was spoken by Dryden or Temple. Writers of the school of Rousseau and Bernardin de St. Pierre carried this fault into literature, and it was exaggerated further still by Chateaubriand and Lamartine, until in the *Misérables* it reached a pitch of extravagance which disfigures the style of the most eloquent of Frenchmen. But there is a very strong reaction against this excess in the works of Cousin and Tocqueville, and in the more recent writings of Guizot.

There is not much about politics in the book of MM. de Goncourt. A great lady met Turgot's invasion of the aristocratic privileges with a clever remark: "Whatever my respect for the king may be, I never felt that I owed him what I am. I know that the nobility has sometimes made the sovereign, but I defy you to show that the king made us noble." This was the spirit of the *émigrés*;—just, if we consider the origin of the European nobility and the development of monarchy, but ludicrous under Lewis XV., and destined to be the ruin of his descendants. The Countess de Maugiron writes to her husband a letter typical of matrimonial relations at that time: "Je vous écris parceque je n'ai rien à faire. Je finis parceque je n'ai

rien à vous dire. Sassenage, très-fâchée d'être Maugiron." But the most suggestive facts are the death-scenes. Some insisted on dying before company, and desired that a noisy game should be played by their deathbed to drown their last gasp. In the *Journal de Collé* a lady's maid says to her dying mistress: "Madame la Duchesse, le bon Dieu est là, permettez-vous qu'on le fasse entrer? il souhaiterait avoir l'honneur de vous administrer." Our authors give several anecdotes of this kind, and conclude with the elaborate point: "C'est le siècle où l'agonie, dépassant l'insouciance, atteindra à l'épigramme."

37. If we wished to give a favourable idea of Mr. Macknight's *Life of Bolingbroke*, we should select from it some passages on King William III. in preference to the discussion on the character of the hero himself, whose place in the political and literary history of England his biographer has not attempted to define. The following remarks, in mitigation of Macaulay's panegyric on William, are sound and sensible: "From his early manhood he had been closely connected with English affairs, and yet he never appears to have taken the slightest pains to really understand or humour the English character . . . . He seems never to have rightly comprehended the immense importance to the whole combined world of that great revolution which had placed the English crown upon his head. After the landing of the Prince of Orange at Torbay, the work of the Dutch republic was done. Notwithstanding all the wars of William, Holland, in the eighteenth century, gradually sunk into comparative insignificance, from which there was no prospect of her ever again emerging to play the part of a state of the first rank . . . . So great was his dislike to this lady" (the Princess Anne) "that could the Parliament have been induced to consent to it, and proper guarantees have been given by the French for the security and independence of Holland, he would have troubled himself very little at the prospect of the ultimate succession of her brother. Had such a result been brought about, the great lesson which the revolution had taught to nations and sovereigns, and the mighty principle of popular government it had asserted, must have been gradually effaced. But the supineness, if not absolute indifference, which William showed on this vital matter indicates clearly how little the cause of the revolution, as a cause, and the interests of England, where they seemed not to affect the interests of Holland, entered into his consideration" (p. 29). In reality, no prejudice is more absurd than to suppose that there was a spirit incompatible with freedom in the House of Stuart. That spirit was not less powerful in the early sovereigns of the House of Hanover; and the principles which it was found possible to vindicate against George III. would not have been at the mercy of men like the Chevalier or the Pretender. They would have learned to submit to the inevitable force of opinions and circumstances as easily as princes who were at the same time governing their dominions abroad with absolute authority. It is as absurd to regard the adversaries of the Act of Settlement as traitors, or to

say with Mr. Macknight that England had outgrown the Stuarts (p. 422), as it is unjust to estimate the intellect of Charles Edward by the illiterate style of his correspondence, or to judge his force of character by his alleged readiness to apostatise. Perhaps, if Marlborough and Bolingbroke had succeeded in their scheme, England might have escaped the two worst features of the Hanoverian reigns—the long domination of the great families established under kings who were foreigners, and the renovation of the penal laws and of the oligarchy in Ireland—evils against which a later generation waged a long conflict on behalf of the constitution, and gained the half-won victories of Emancipation and Reform.

Mr. Macknight completely overlooks the distinction which marks Bolingbroke among English statesmen, and imparts to his career a significance more characteristic than the moralising peroration of his biographer. The author of the peace of Utrecht is memorable in history for the greater achievement of having elevated Toryism for a moment to the dignity of a political theory. No other man has ever attempted this; and the loss of those great orations in which Secretary St. John flung the mantle of philosophy over the October Club, and cajoled the stout defenders of the interests of their class into the exciting belief that they could understand and sustain a principle, deserved to be lamented by Mr. Pitt, who led the Tories without dreaming of inspiring their minds with an idea. For it was in the nature and definition of Toryism that it lived on class interests or on religious opinions, and borrowed the elements of its vitality from a different order of ideas. At times it subsisted by the deliberate suppression of political thought; made the denial of principle pass for a principle, and the repudiation of obligations for a duty; and carried, under pretence of expediency, measures which it declared to be wrong. It raised some extraneous object above the consideration of public right, the very existence of which it was ready to question, if it appeared in antagonism with any cherished interest of some portion of society. The cry that the Church was in danger, or the landlord threatened, did duty instead of a political idea, and acted far more powerfully than any thing based on reasoning could have acted on uneducated minds. Therefore the most illustrious chiefs of the party either were not reared in its arms, or deserted it in the maturity of their powers; and they are all reckoned by their party either converts or apostates. A rational system could be created for it only by one who did not share its superstitions. Bolingbroke, a man free from very definite family traditions, of a philosophical turn of mind that impelled him to look for principles, and with a love of enterprise that was not curbed by the heavy responsibilities of wealth, at the same time a profligate and an unbeliever, was predestined to be the theorist of Toryism.

Mr. Macknight discerns an inconsistency between his doctrines as the leader of the House of Commons in the days of Swift and the *Examiner*, and as the plotting adversary of Walpole in the days of Pulteney and the *Craftsman*; and he even alleges a divergency be-



tween his practice and his opinions. No doubt, in Bolingbroke's mind, the idea of honesty or truth was not present; but there is injustice in these accusations. His indifference to moral problems and perplexities enabled him to discern what was politically beneficial, independently of those grounds on which contending moralists would have differed, or on which the exclusiveness of a particular creed would have made them reluctant to admit a general rule. Thus he supported the bill against occasional conformity, when he was the most notorious and unblushing rake in the metropolis. In later life, when he was a confirmed infidel, too bitter if not too sincere for hypocrisy, he argued that an established church was an essential institution of good policy. It is a very crude explanation which his biographer gives, that this was a tribute which he considered due to his former Toryism. What he said was in a measure perfectly true, and it was a truth which most men zealously believing in any religion would have shrunk from stating without qualification. Nor was there any fundamental difference between the doctrines of St. John intoxicated with success, and those professed by Bolingbroke when sobered by adversity. In his prosperous days his views on the essential questions of the seat and transmission of authority were those of the Whigs. As his biographer says: "St. John might abandon the politics of the Puritans and of his family; but, do what he would, he never could become a cavalier. Faith was altogether wanting; and what he wanted in faith he strove to make up by blind and intemperate party zeal" (p. 63). He accommodated his really liberal ideas to the party with which he acted, by extravagant errors in political economy, such as his hatred for capitalists and for the Bank of England, and the policy of a violent partisan, such as the swamping of the House of Lords in 1711. But he never sympathised with Sacheverell or Atterbury. The difference that appears in his later works refers to the attributes of party. At that time the Tories were the weakest, and were unable to drive Walpole from office. Bolingbroke regarded Walpole as his personal enemy, and the cause of his own exclusion from power. Consequently he strove to obliterate party distinctions, in order to form a coalition against the Whig minister. To this combination he applied the term patriotism, which holds so large a place in his later works. "I know," he wrote, "all parties too well to esteem any." Mr. Macknight is hardly just to his great literary merits, and views him too much as a politician. He informs us, however, that the text of several of his posthumous works is very incorrect, and that in a new edition great alterations ought to be introduced from the manuscripts at the British Museum (p. 515).

Our author is much puzzled concerning the family of the second Lady Bolingbroke. In one place (p. 548), he says he "is justified in concluding" that she may have had one daughter by her first husband, the Marquis de Villette; whilst in another passage (p. 621) he seems to have no doubt that she had two daughters. If he had been more familiar with the French literature of that period,

and with the history of the "beautiful Circassian" who sometimes appears in his pages, he would not have left this question in obscurity. The Marquis de Villette left a daughter by his first wife, the well-known Madame de Caylus. In his old age he married Mademoiselle de Marsilly, a protégée of Madame de Maintenon, by whom he had a son and two daughters. The youngest of these, whom our author confounds with her half-sister, Madame de Caylus (p. 547), married M. Montmorin Saint-Hérem in 1724. The other became Abbess of Notre-Dame at Sens. To this abbey Lady Bolingbroke more than once retired in her old age; and we know not how this fact is to be reconciled with the report that she embraced Protestantism on her second marriage.

38. Warburton is chiefly remarkable as one of that dynasty of literary rulers which began with Ben Jonson, and came to a natural end when the English world of letters became split up into too many provinces for any one man to be capable of dictating to all, and the reign of reviews and newspapers began. Of the four who bore rule almost throughout the last century, Pope was the legitimate king, Warburton the usurper, Johnson the president of the aristocratic house, and Parr the demagogue and pretender, in whose days the kingdom was divided, and English literature set upon a new basis. Pope, who had raised himself to Dryden's throne by his own merits, maintained himself there partly by intrigue, partly by the rigour and severity of his government. Warburton, who, in spite of his arrogance, must have been perfectly aware of the nullity of his pretensions to the succession, determined to win it, and actually did succeed to the scourge, if not to the crown, of Pope. An attorney developed into a clergyman, Warburton was, before all things, a devourer of books, with a voracious appetite, small digestion, and retentive memory,—a desultory amasser of learned and unlearned lumber. Without a notion of the real organic growth of ideas, and of the development of history, he made his fancy the tyrant, first of his own intellect, and then of the minds of his followers. An inveterate theorist, his vanity congealed his most vaporous hypotheses into facts, and sought to impose them as a law upon mankind. The most paradoxical of sophists, he undertook to demonstrate the divinity of the mission of Moses, by proving that the religion which he founded had no reference to the next world, and that the merit of the revelation made through him was its concealment of that doctrine of a future life which was known to all other religions. For the supposed absence from the Jewish system of the doctrine which is the common corner-stone of religion and morality, society and the state, demonstrated to his mind that such a system could not have existed naturally, and must therefore have been miraculously, that is divinely, supported. The most self-contradictory of reasoners, he sought to prove the supernatural character of the occurrences which interrupted the rebuilding of the Jewish Temple under Julian, by showing that they were strictly

natural. The most unpolitical of politicians, he supported the "alliance of Church and State," by reducing the Church to a mere tool of government, and by making it the duty of the State to establish any religion that might be professed by the majority of its subjects. His scholarship was inaccurate, his historical knowledge confused, his prose style bombastic, unequal, and inelegant; his ear for poetry faulty to excess; and yet he set himself up, and was widely acknowledged, to be the great critic of the day. Arrogant and absurd, petulant and insolent, no one ever wielded the critic's club with greater violence or less reason; and yet his sway was not much more disturbed by his reluctant subjects than Pope's had been.

Without hope of succeeding by the ordinary means to the elective empire of letters, Warburton determined to succeed by adoption. Having, by a little judicious flattery of Concanen and Theobald, made good his entrance into the literary world, he introduced himself by the same arts to Pope, to whom he rendered the very essential service of showing him how to explain away and disavow the fatalist tendencies which Bolingbroke's influence had communicated to the *Essay on Man*. He soon became necessary to Pope. In their united labours he was always content to sing the second part, and to do so with a discreet *sotto voce*, which supported, but did not interfere with, the principal voice. They had common friends and common enemies. Pope proclaimed his genius, and in his will made him his literary heir.

Warburton had studied, and not in vain, Pope's system of government. The poet had rewards to distribute, and punishments to inflict, some of them very severe. The *Dunciad* was the Botany Bay of the realm of letters. Whoever was transported to its text, or condemned to figure in its notes, became *ipso facto* a literary felon, a branded convict, an outcast. As editor of the *Dunciad*, Warburton had, in Pope's lifetime, been promoted to be chief-justice of the critic's bench (1742). After Pope's death, as proprietor of the *Dunciad* (1744), he became both legislator and judge. He succeeded to Pope's power of impaling any offender on a note in a new edition. Thus he punished Hanmer and Dr. Burton in 1744, and Edwards—who, however, took a bitter revenge—and Cooper in 1751. The successive editions of his own *Divine Legation* were used to the same effect; and Jortin in 1751, as well as Lowth in 1762, talked of the "Colossus" whipping his opponents at the cart's tail in a note to this book, "the ordinary place of his literary executions," or pilorying them in the *Dunciad*, "another engine which, as legal proprietor, he very ingeniously and judiciously applied to the same purpose."

Warburton took too good a measure of himself to suppose that he resembled Pope. He rather aspired to be like Bentley, whom he disparaged through envy, and not through contempt. He affected the same playfulness in talk, and the same severity in writing, as the great critic. Neither did he neglect in after-life the practice of those arts by which he had at first gained Pope's confidence. As



he had won his way up to Pope by flattering Concanen, and had maintained himself there by flattering Pope, so did he afterwards seek to propitiate the nobles of the empire which he had inherited. He was civil to Lowth, to Jortin, to Conyers Middleton, to Hoadley. He wrote a preface to Richardson's *Clarissa*. He gave Zachary Grey some slight assistance for his *Hudibras*, which was acknowledged in terms more befitting the eminence of the potentate who gave it, than the worth of the gift. In 1744 he wrote a preface to Mrs. Cockburn's reply to Rutherford's *Essay on Virtue*, though he did not agree with her principles, which were those of Samuel Clarke. He was civil alike to all who exhibited the animus of submission to the censorship he set up.

If Scott was the great magician of 1820, we may call Warburton the Sidrophel of 1744. Like Sidrophel he had his Whackum, or under-conjuror, to fetch and carry intelligence, to "serve his master in quality of poetaster," and to "beat his brains to advance his master's fame and gains." This was Hurd, who evidently intended to succeed Warburton, as Warburton had succeeded Pope. But Warburton's dominions had diminished before he died, and Hurd came into a worthless inheritance. When Warburton's power was greatest, the literature of England was chiefly religious, because religion was the thing chiefly attacked and defended. It was the period of free-thinkers and apologists. Literature, therefore, was very much in clerical hands. This gave great advantages to a clerical pretender to the throne. Laymen, historians, or politicians might stand aloof; Bolingbroke might address to him his "Epistle to the most impudent man living;" Horace Walpole might sneer and crack his jokes; Akenside might renounce him; Gibbon might despise the dictator and his "slaves;" Hume might smile at "the illiberal petulance, arrogance, and scurrility of the Warburtonian school;" but the clergy, the great literary body of the day, were obliged either to submit, or fight, or be punished. Warburton's dominion was endangered not only by the rise of non-clerical literatures, such as that of Johnson and his school, outside his province, but by the rivalries and rebellions of his own subjects; and he bequeathed to Hurd, in 1779, an ever-narrowing power, which was eaten into by the rise of Wesley (who, however, had behaved very humbly when grossly attacked by Warburton, in 1763) and the Evangelicals on one side, and by the really learned school of Butler, Secker, Lowth, and their followers, on the other. Hurd's death took place in 1808; and his posthumous edition of Warburton's correspondence (1809) only served to show the spite of Sidrophel and Whackum against all the chief literary men of their age. It makes Young "the finest writer of nonsense," and Rutherford "the meanest pedant," of the time; Spence "an extreme poor creature," Smollett a "vagabond Scot," Johnson an insolent and malignant fool, Jortin a dirty fellow as vain as he is dirty, Jackson a wretch, Taylor a man with less understanding than a dunce, Priestley a wretched fellow, and Voltaire a scoundrel; the bench of bishops is a wooden bench, the

court an earthly pandemonium, the government "lumpish," the church a humble slave of the lumpish minister, Scotch metaphysics "moonshine," and Cambridge the kingdom of dullness.

Warburton had other slaves besides Hurd. The rewards which he was able to bestow naturally made some writers anxious to serve him, and the bishop was not unwilling to employ others to do his more unpleasant tasks. Towne was the "learned person" whom he employed "to undergo the drudgery of turning over the dirty heap" of answers to his books; "for," says he, "I would not have the reader conceive so miserably of me as to think I was ever disposed to look into them myself." Nevertheless, he manifested the most acute displeasure at the slightest word in them which seemed to reflect on him or his opinions, and showed it in a way that gradually alienated all his friends except Hurd and Towne.

It was a general complaint of the members of the republic of letters, said Lowth, in 1675, that they could not go peaceably on their business along the public road without being liable to meet a sturdy bravo; and that Warburton, in quality of demonstrator-general of the divine legation of Moses, claimed power as lord paramount over all the realms of science, and declared that whoever failed of abject submission to him, or offered only moderate praise, was guilty of "malignant parsimony," "disrespect," and "indignity," for which crimes he inflicted public correction on the offender. Lowth had been taunted with being an Oxford man, and therefore probably disaffected. He retorted, that Warburton had been an attorney, and therefore, according to Clarendon, in danger of becoming proud, insolent, and pragmatism; his virtue was shown in not having been biased by his breeding:—"Now, my lord, as you have in your whole behaviour, and in all your writings, remarkably distinguished yourself by your humility, lenity, meekness, forbearance, candour, humanity, civility, decency, good manners, good temper, moderation with regard to the opinions of others, and a modest diffidence of your own, this unpromising circumstance of your education is so far from being a disgrace to you, that it highly redounds to your praise."

In his efforts to fit himself to sit upon Pope's seat, he had, in an unlucky hour, undertaken to edit and revise Shakespeare; this was a task which required learning such as he had not patience to acquire, moral qualities of mind which he did not possess, and a taste and ear to which he could make no pretensions. His work was ridiculous. Yet he exacted from his slaves the same respect for it as he required for the theories of the alliance, the divine legation, or his "doctrine of grace." Edwardes made great fun of his notes and emendations, and got out of them, by induction, a set of Warburtonian "canons of criticism," which were gall and wormwood to the dictator.

His sensitiveness to criticism was a result of that quality of mind which enabled him to rule the republic of letters. More than any man of his day, perhaps, he was merely a literary man. He could

endure to be cheated; he could wait patiently for preferment without intriguing or making interest for it, and take naturally whatever came in his way; but he could not bear one of his literary whims or theories to be lightly esteemed, or a word to be uttered, or a disagreement hinted at, in the matter of his writings. He had no idea of the connection of theory with practice, and therefore never looked that his theories should be worked out. The political philosophy of his "alliance" is not that of a practical legislator, but a theoretical deduction of the mutual conditions of the alliance of Church and State from general principles carefully put together to insure the "amazing agreement" of the conclusion to be drawn out "with our own happy establishment." His friends thought it strange that he made no political figure in Parliament after he became a bishop. He knew himself better. He only attempted to speak on one occasion, and that a literary one,—when Wilkes in his *Essay on Woman* had committed a breach of privilege by putting the bishop's name to some licentious notes, parodied from those to Pope's *Essay on Man*. He did not take any part in the political movements of the day. He had no advice to give his young clergy, but to become more learned, and to avoid fanaticism. He knew the difference between learning and action, and was quite willing that the men of action should have all its emoluments. "Scholars," he said to Lord Chesterfield in 1745, "who know but little of practical life, are apt to fancy that superior distinction in letters, or superior services in their profession, may entitle them to the honours of it. But things are not so carried. High stations, even of the more spiritual kind, require a knowledge of affairs. The pursuit of letters keeps men from the sight of business; and learned impressions make them unapt and awkward in the discharge of it. The mind must be unburdened before it will be able to move there, either with ease or grace."

Warburton set his seal upon a small tract of moral philosophy. The argument of his "divine legation" required him to prove that the state is naturally impossible without religion, and therefore to controvert Bayle, who asserted the possibility of a stable republic of atheists, and to argue that the obligation of conscience presupposed a superior to whom that conscience was answerable, since otherwise there would be no obligation but one which each person might divest himself of at pleasure. Thus he drew out the proof of the being of God from the conscience. He says very good things on this head; but the controversy has been subjected to new conditions by the utilitarian philosophy of Bentham, by the humanitarian pantheism of Auguste Comte, and the humanitarian atheism of Proudhon, all of whom, not to mention Feuerbach, give explanations of obligation which Warburton's arguments do not touch.

Mr. Watson has had no access to unpublished sources of information; but his book is a careful compilation from published materials, and brings together many scattered strands of the literary history of the eighteenth century.



39. Next to Gervinus, the most eminent of the Heidelberg school of historians is Professor Häusser, a disciple of the learned and unreadable Schlosser. With little originality or power, he represents very fairly the average popular views of his Protestant countrymen,—views which are rather violent than extreme, and which imply no great effort of thought and no great bitterness of spirit. He takes his position between the elaborately systematising Gervinus, and Schlosser to whom all history was familiar, and whom it always irritated. The tone of this school is essentially modern, and modern in a very different sense from that of Ranke. For although Ranke's own range as a writer is limited to the three centuries between the close of the fifteenth and the middle of the eighteenth, yet his influence has been more deeply felt in the study of the Middle Ages than in that of modern times. With one splendid exception, no great work on modern history has proceeded from his disciples. They have all carried the critical method of treating authorities which they learnt from him to light up the recesses of medieval history. And there they have done great service; for although generally destitute of that congenial intelligence and sympathy for the Middle Ages which other writers, such as Böhmer, Gfrörer, Wilken, have shown, they have exhibited both the impartiality and the critical accuracy which, until recent times, had only been used by classical scholars and orientalists. The most brilliant historian of the school, Sybel, was, however, more powerfully attracted by later times, and his History of the French Revolution reminds one more of the tendencies of the Heidelberg writers than of the cold scientific spirit of Berlin. The History of Germany from the death of Frederick the Great to the establishment of the German Confederation, by Häusser, closely resembles the work of Sybel in its tone, its judgments, and the sources of its information, but does not equal it as a composition. It is the most complete narrative of the action of the Revolution on Germany; and its general purpose is to vindicate the revival of German influence in Europe by the predominance of Prussia.

We were curious to see whether the archives which Professor Häusser has consulted had revealed to him the secret causes which led to the seizure and execution of the Duke of Enghien. He has, however, left that mysterious question where he found it, and has not even alluded to the rumour to which another distinguished writer has given the authority of his name. Herr von Stramberg, namely, the aged author of the *Antiquary of the Rhine*, lived in those days in the society of the *émigrés* of Coblenz, and closed the eyes of a French nobleman, the Count d'Amas, who died of the shock which he had received on learning the tragedy of Vincennes—a phenomenon of which there were some examples at the death of Charles I. and of Lewis XVI. He affirms that he has had in his hands papers which prove that the prince was the victim of a conspiracy among the French royalists, the centre of which was at Bayreuth, several years before the catastrophe. No names are given, and the motive is not known; but Herr von Stramberg avers that these secret ene-

mies pushed the prince to his fate, by lulling him in a false security while they excited the suspicions of Bonaparte. Herr Häusser looks upon the event as it affected Germany, or rather as it illustrates the condition to which the empire was reduced. No notice was taken either of the outrage at Ettenheim, or of the hasty murder in the castle-ditch. "Men were silent, or at most were angry with those who threatened unpleasantly to disturb their silence" (ii. 497). Russia alone raised an indignant protest; but Talleyrand pointed with a sneer at the silence of Germany, and advised Alexander not to interfere. Baden was compelled to deprecate his anger, and to assure him that it had perfect confidence in the friendly dispositions of the French government. The Diet of the empire avoided the discussion of the unpleasant question, first by postponement, and then by taking its summer vacation earlier than usual.

In his account of the campaign of 1805, Herr Häusser describes a conversation between Napoleon and Mack after the capitulation of Ulm, on the authority of the unfortunate general's own manuscript report. Mack's subsequent defence, written in 1813, which has never been published, but a copy of which is before us, adds some very striking instances of the heedless folly by which his army was lost. He declares that only four weeks before the fall of Ulm, after the 20th of September, the Austrian ministers assured him that the war could not begin for at least four weeks, and that this assurance made him neglect the concentration of his troops. He also calculated, according to the ordinary rules of war, that the neutral territory of Ansbach would not be violated, and that the Grand Army would take the usual time to march from the coasts of the channel to the valley of the Danube. But Napoleon unscrupulously violated the neutral territory; and, contrary to all tradition, he put his soldiers into carts, and transported them with a rapidity which it was impossible to foresee. The Archduke Ferdinand was nominally the commander-in-chief, but the emperor had directed him to follow Mack's advice, although he might in doubtful cases consult other officers. The last provision was concealed from Mack, who consequently felt himself often aggrieved, and accused the archduke of insubordination. At last the archduke expressly gave up all responsibility, and cast it on Mack's shoulders—"a declaration," says the general, "which was not calculated to assist the coolness of my deliberations." When the French appeared on the Danube below Ulm, Mack believed that they intended to attack the second army, which, with the Russians, was on the Inn. But when, instead of pursuing their march towards Austria, they began by a retrograde movement to surround the army at Ulm, he says he was convinced that they were rapidly retiring to France. All the warnings of his officers confirmed him in this belief, because, he says, a wise man is always strengthened in his opinion by contradiction that falls short of demonstration. The only fact that reached him, on which he founded the notion that the French were retreating, was that he was informed on the 13th of October, two days before Ulm was invested, that nine French couriers

had passed through Stuttgart in one day. Eight years after the event, Mack persists in considering this circumstance a very reasonable ground for supposing that Prussia had declared war, that English gold had excited a revolution in the Netherlands, and that an English army had invaded Picardy. If the ministers in Prussia and England had not shamefully neglected their duty, these things must have occurred; and so Mack lays part of the blame of his surrender on Pitt, whom it destroyed.

The capitulation was signed on the 17th, and the foolish commander is very proud that on the 15th he proclaimed the pain of death against any one who should mention the word "surrender." On the same day he was summoned. As he was sitting down to write his refusal, all his general officers forced their way into his room, and endeavoured to convince him that resistance was impossible. When they asked him what answer he meant to give the French officer, he cites with complacency a reply which was worthy of Philipon or Palafox (*Zum Teufel will ich ihn schicken mit seiner impertinenten Aufforderung!*). One of the generals being his senior in rank, Mack offered to give up the command to him; but the other, Riesch, whose defeat at Elchingen the day before procured Ney his ducal title, refused the offer. The dispute lasted an hour. The generals were obviously convinced of his incapacity; and he, not sharing their opinion, suspected them of cowardice and treachery. He still pretended that Napoleon's army would perish or retire, if they held out a week, and offered to begin eating horseflesh that very day. The chief point of interest in the negotiations is that, when he asked for terms, Ney gave Lichtenstein his word of honour that an Austrian division was already taken, on the night of the 15th, although it did not in fact surrender till the 18th. It is also clear, from the account of Mack's dispute with his officers, that the garrison of Ulm was far less in number than is commonly stated. Häusser gives it at 23,000 men. Mack asserts that it must have been near 20,000; but the commanders declared there were under 15,000, not half of whom would fight. It is certain also that the states of the army were not known to the staff. The troops were to lay down their arms on the 25th, but Mack chose that it should be done on the 20th; and for this he was, of course, most strongly censured. He, on the contrary, thinks it the redeeming feature of the whole affair, in which he did not allow his subordinates to baffle his magnanimous purpose. The combined army, which afterwards met its fate at Austerlitz, was just then entering Bavaria, in the belief that Napoleon's forces were stopped by the resistance of Ulm. It was in great danger of being attacked unawares by the whole French army, and completely beaten. But, by an ingenious stroke of policy, Mack prevailed on Napoleon to accept his 20,000 men five days before the stipulated time, in order that he might have time to save the Russians, who, he says, had been particularly recommended to him by the Emperor. And he relates with complacency that when he brought the news of his own discomfiture to Braunau, Kutusow was infinitely obliged to him for



the information; and that, in short, he came back to Austria as a sort of saviour of his country. There is nothing in this extraordinary paper to explain the great reputation of Mack during the first twelve years of the revolutionary wars, and the infatuation which the English government seemed to have conceived for him during his visit to London in 1794. It has been gravely reported that the haste and confusion with which the Austrian government prepared for this campaign were such, that they forgot to make allowance for the difference of the calendar in calculating the arrival of the Russian allies. If this had been true, Mack would not have failed to use the fact in his own exculpation; but there is nothing about it in his Defence.

40. Mr. Senior is busily occupied, in the intervals between the publication of important new works, in collecting whatever is most worthy to survive of his shorter productions during an active literary career of more than forty years. Of the articles he has lately reprinted in one volume from the *Edinburgh Review*, the best is on Lord King; but several of the others are interesting, and, though written without deep research, are creditable to the taste and ability of the author. The estimate of the constitution of 1795, in the sketch of the elder Berryer, is a good piece of political writing: "Its fundamental principles were change and collision. Neither the electoral, the legislative, nor the executive body were to remain unaltered for more than one year. It made experience in public affairs a positive disqualification. A member of the legislature was not reëligible till after two years' interval, nor a member of the directory till after five. The members of the legislature, incapable of any other functions, were necessarily in opposition to the directory. The five directors, with no head and no common interest, whom accident had made colleagues and accident was to separate, necessarily split into factions. All the principles of good government were sacrificed to republican jealousy of those to whom power was to be entrusted" (p. 50). Mr. Senior has no knowledge of Catholic doctrine, or of the real nature of the Church. It is therefore to his credit that, looking at the world externally and impartially, he should be raised above the common prejudice that represents Catholicism as less favourable than some forms of Protestantism to the progress of civilisation. After saying that the Reformation lost its power of expansion when Luther died, and that the limits of the success of Protestantism are nearly as he left them,—a passage in which Calvin ought to be substituted for Luther, and which is delusive unless allowance be made for subsequent changes backward and forward,—Mr. Senior thus proceeds (p. 350): "Nor is this to be ascribed to inferiority of political institutions or of cultivation. The democratic cantons of Switzerland, and the well-governed industrious Flemings, are as strenuous in their adherence to Roman Catholicism as the despotically ruled Danes were in their rejection of it. The most highly civilised portions of the Continent are France, Italy, the Low Countries, and Germany. Not one-fourth of their inhabitants are Protestants."

When citing the opinions of the distinguished advocate who had begun to plead under Lewis XVI., Mr. Senior alludes to the parliaments, which, with a strange misconception of history, he describes as the supporters of pure monarchy (p. 18). In truth, the parliaments did contribute vastly to the concentration of the royal power, by breaking down all rival jurisdictions and by centralising authority. They were a limit, indeed, as well as a prop to the royal power; for nothing can permanently reinforce the influence of the crown which cannot in some cases resist it. But they monopolised that privilege, and, by usurping the place of the old constitutional Estates, swept away every barrier but themselves. Their services to the king were very clearly understood and expressed early in the fifteenth century, by one of the wisest of Frenchmen. In an address delivered before Charles VI. in the year 1413, the Chancellor Gerson spoke as follows: "Sire, c'est la plus principale garde de vostre royaume ce que vous n'avés qu'une cour de justice souveraine, c'est vostre parlement, auquel vous même répondez, et tous aultres sujets le doivent mieulx faire. Par deffaut d'une telle Cour vont à perdition aultres pays, comme Allemanie et Italie, ou le plus fort vaint, et vive qui vainche" (Opera, ed Dupin, iv. 667). At last, when every other element of resistance was gone, the crown, impatient even of the opposition of the magistracy, turned against its chief support. By a *coup-d'état* the authority of the parliaments was overturned, the last extremity of despotism ensued, and the end speedily followed. There is another passage of the same kind, which appears to us infelicitous and unphilosophical, about "the despotism which seems to be the inevitable result of military rule" (p. 58). They are necessarily connected, because a military government unites in itself both the whole physical force and the moral authority. It is the distinction and separation of these that secures a really free submission. It is as necessary that society, when it is at issue with the state on account of its breaches of the law, should have force sufficient to protect its rights, as it is that the state should, under ordinary circumstances, be strong enough to enforce the law against the members of society. The maintenance of the civil and criminal code is the work of the state; the vindication of the public constitutional law is more particularly the duty of the nation. Therefore a state in which the law is powerless to punish a thief, or in which society is unable to restrict the action of the government, are equally opposed to the notion of polity. Anarchy follows in one case, and despotism in the other.

It is odd that an article which appeared in October 1842 should speak of Berryer as still living. He died in June 1841; and Mr. Senior seems to have remained in ignorance of the fact in revising his paper for the present collection, at a time when he would have been more than a hundred years old. The author does not exhibit the prepossessions of a lawyer, and, though writing much on legal subjects, passes over points on which a literary jurist might be expected to touch. In a fair sketch of the character of Holt, one of his most remarkable merits is overlooked—that of having put an

end in this country to trials for witchcraft. A more serious omission is that in speaking at great length of Feuerbach's *Criminal Trials*, Mr. Senior gives no information respecting the character of the great jurist who wrote them, or of the eminent position he fills in the history of jurisprudence. Anselm von Feuerbach was the principal reformer of the criminal law in Germany by his writings, and as the author of the Bavarian code, which was published in 1813, and has since been adopted by many states both in and out of Germany. Compared with the legislation of Frederick the Great, of Napoleon, of Livingstone, and of Macaulay, his code has a great superiority in point of precision and of philosophic system and symmetry, whilst in clearness and elegance of expression he is not surpassed by the eloquent author of the Indian code. It is the peculiar character of his juridical views that gives so singular an interest to his collection of remarkable trials. The prevention of crime is, according to Feuerbach, the end of punishment. The physical force exercised by the police is insufficient for that purpose, and must be supplemented therefore by psychological compulsion. The impulse to a wrong act resides in the expectation of pleasure which it will afford. This must be counteracted by the certainty of an amount of pain which will follow its performance more than equal to the pain of renunciation. It follows that the penalty should increase in proportion, not to the crime, but to the temptation, and that the punishment should be most severe where the real internal guilt is least. Punishment, indeed, could never be excessive, according to this theory of prevention, which allowed no discretion to the judge, but made the penalty certain, by binding the sentence closely to the letter of the law. At the same time Feuerbach accomplished the suppression of torture in Bavaria, in spite of the resistance of the king, who believed that the change would open the door to all manner of crimes. He was also ardently opposed to trial by jury. His philosophy was profoundly irreligious, and his philanthropy was of that sickly kind which revolts at one sort of severity, and protects itself against the results of a superficial leniency by a new species of cruelty which the sanctions of age and religion, or the abuses arising from it, have not yet made hateful to systematic reformers.

41. A brilliant development of youthful intellect is not always the surest pledge of future greatness; but the *Remains of Arthur Henry Hallam* contain abundant evidence that the noble tribute of genius to affection so familiar to all English readers in the verses of *In Memoriam* is something more than the passionate expression of a partial enthusiasm; and that others besides his personal friends have reason to regret the premature close of "a life which all the Muses decked" with gifts of such bright and various promise. Before he was ten years old, as we learn from a brief memoir prefixed to the volume, Arthur Hallam had given unusual indications of talent by



writing several tragedies. At Eton, though a good scholar, he showed a greater devotion to modern than to classical literature. Among the Greek poets, Æschylus and Sophocles, among the Latin, Lucretius, were his favourites; giving early prophecy of that philosophical tendency of thought which in his later years became more perceptibly predominant, and would in all probability, had he lived, have supplied the ultimate resolution of his varied and somewhat erratic tastes. As with most boys of imaginative temperament, Byron was his first love; but he soon transferred his preference to Wordsworth and Shelley, and still more emphatically to Dante and Shakespeare. In merely mechanical memory he was deficient, but "could remember any thing associated with an idea." He only cared to acquire facts so far as they served for illustration of philosophical or political principles. For mathematics he seems to have had an aversion, and he never made any attempt to gain university distinctions at Cambridge. Three letters, two from university friends, one from an old school-fellow, give an interesting account of his character and habits. All agree in bearing witness, abundantly confirmed by his writings, to his "deep enthusiastic affections both religious and human." His studies seem to have been very desultory; he was a brilliant and rapid rather than a patient thinker,—faults which growing years would naturally correct. But he died at twenty-two. Few even of the greatest men have written much before that age which will bear a rigorous scrutiny; and his compositions, to be fairly judged, must be tested not so much by their performance as their promise. Tried by that standard, they challenge a verdict of very high praise. The present volume contains, besides several poetical pieces, four essays (two of which obtained college prizes at Trinity), and part of a review of Tennyson. The influence of Wordsworth is very perceptible in his poems, especially the "Meditative Fragments" in blank verse, and some of the Sonnets. That he was a poet by nature, he has left clear evidence; but there is, for the most part, a pensive and almost metaphysical tone about his poetry, which confirms our opinion that he would have been chiefly remarkable as a philosopher. Even in such touching utterances of affection as the sonnet beginning "When gentle fingers cease to touch the string," or the stanzas on his "Sister's birthday," this tendency betrays itself. We regret that his essay on Eternal Punishment and the Origin of Evil, published elsewhere by Professor Brown, has not been reprinted here. It was not of course to be expected that the thoughts of a youth of twenty would throw any fresh light on a problem which has necessarily baffled the wisest both of Heathen and Christian thinkers, but it would not be easy to find one better calculated to exhibit the play of his peculiar genius. The short essay on Sympathy, and the review of Tennyson, give perhaps most exclusive prominence of any contained in this volume to his analytical habit of mind. Some parts of the former recall vividly the famous disquisition on *ἔρως οὐράνιος* in the Phædrus, to which he has

elsewhere alluded; his vindication of the "absolute disinterestedness" of sympathy, and exposure of the fallacy arising from a confusion, either of language or of thought, which underlies the usual statement of the "selfish theory," are particularly happy. He had already foreseen—what the public tardily acknowledged—his friend's eminence as a poet. The oration on the influence of Italian and English works of imagination is remarkable for the wide knowledge displayed of the history of literature both English and Continental; a knowledge extraordinary in a youth of twenty. The concluding remarks on the German critical school are striking, though the event has not justified his belief that "the Revolution of 1830 has closed up the German era, just as the Revolution of 1789 closed up the French era." There is similar evidence of varied and extensive reading in his remarks, written a year later, on Rossetti's *Disquisizione sullo Spirito Antipapale*, but informed by maturer power of intellect.

One of the most prominent features of these essays, besides the careful elaboration of idea, is the precision and elegant finish of their style, free alike from the slipshod hurry of mere youthful enthusiasm, and from that gaudy and turgid rhetoric which often marks the earlier compositions even of such writers as Macaulay: there is nothing here like the tinsel of the essay on Milton. But it would be a very mistaken inference to suppose that Arthur Hallam had arrived at a precocious maturity of power. There is evidence of growth, even in the little that is left to us, not only in his knowledge, but in his mastery of it. We have already adverted to the analytical habit of his mind, the constant tendency *rerum cognoscere causas*, which brings him of course frequently across the beaten tracks of philosophical or political speculation, but leads him to approach every subject from his own stand-point, and to contribute to its investigation much that is peculiarly his own. It is, indeed, rather in their many incidental suggestions than in their direct scope that the main interest of his essays is to be looked for. There is not, probably, much new to be said about "the philosophical writings of Cicero," but the remark that "the voice of the critical conscience is still and small, like that of the moral; it cannot entirely be stifled where it has been heard, but it may be disobeyed,"—tells us a good deal about the distinction between oratory and rhetoric, or between true and false art of all kinds. So, again, the writer's searching criticism of the respective merits of the Stoic and Epicurean schools is eminently suggestive. He has correctly appreciated the contrasts of Greek and Roman literature resulting from radical divergence of national character. But it is an exaggeration to say that the Romans "had no original literature." Their philosophical writers certainly were never more than servile copyists; but their greatest poets did not simply imitate a foreign ideal; some, like Catullus, did not imitate at all: and political (as distinguished from forensic) oratory was their peculiar sphere. Nor does Mr. Hallam sufficiently indicate the reasons which made stoi-

cism, alone of Greek philosophies, from its special adaptation to the natural bent of their genius and the circumstances of their political condition, able in some sort to become domesticated among the later Romans. And it should further be pointed out, how the pure abstractions of philosophical thought necessarily and deeply suffered, when translated from the language of the Republic into the language of the Tusculans. In Greek the thought is allowed, so to speak, to shape the language, while the tyrannous objectivity of the Latin, rigid and almost cruel, like the nation whose voice it is, coerces rather than simply syllables the thought. But it is no disparagement to so young a writer that he should not have told us every thing. The book will amply repay perusal, both for its own sake, and as an almost singular record of such brilliant promise doomed to so premature an extinction.

42. Under the rather ostentatious title of a Parliamentary History of France, the most eminent French statesman now living has published a work which displays a wonderful confidence in himself. M. Guizot has collected his own parliamentary speeches, not in a selection, and retouched so as to become works of art, but from reports that appeared at the time, with all the interruptions and the rude scenery of the French Chambers. If the orator does not appear always victorious, he commands a praise which is rarely given to republished speeches; for he proves his own presence of mind, he exhibits the obstacles he had to encounter, and the manner in which he overcame them, and he raises up a monument of his debating powers, as well as of the dignified and thoughtful eloquence of his prepared orations. These volumes prove moreover a lofty consciousness of honest purpose, and of consistency in his political doctrine, worthy of a reputation which is perhaps the greatest enjoyed by any living man. In a long introduction, entitled *Three Generations*, M. Guizot shows that, after fifteen years of silence, at the term of his long career, his ideas are the same that they always were, and enables us to judge of the truth of Prince Metternich's odd remark, that M. Guizot was a good fellow (*un bon garçon*) who had gone astray, but who was returning, late in life, to good principles.

This introduction is perhaps the maturest exposition of his ideas that has ever proceeded from the author's pen. Sober and colourless, like all his latest writings, it has all the greatest qualities of his prime. It was never the character of M. Guizot's intellect to be either very original or profound. He has not, like Tocqueville, that art of acute observation which dissects the phenomena of public life, and discovers its laws with the exactness of natural history; and he has not the marvellous gift of Fiévée, in whom the genius of politics had become almost a sense, such as the arts sometimes develop in their greatest masters. It has not been given to him to bring down a practical philosophy from the very principles of ethics, as Plato,



and in our own day Trendelenburg, have done. But in experience, and in the extent of his historical view, he infinitely surpasses all French writers; and he shows every where an unfailing judgment applied to an unequalled knowledge of the art of government.

The *Three Generations* is a protest against the common acquiescence in the loss of freedom, and a critique of those principles of the French Revolution by which such an apathy is defended. Of the conduct of the aristocracy in France, the author says, "The great nobles aspired to be, not the advisers, but at one time the rivals, at another the servants of the king;" whilst in the rest of Europe "the nobility, possessing neither statesmanship nor liberality, remained estranged from both government and people; democracy, having no allies and no support for its liberties, could raise itself only by aid of the royal power; and the royal power, taking advantage of the democratic alliance, was able sometimes to be both popular and absolute" (i. p. 11). The following sentence is profoundly true: "The most powerful ideas are those which, containing together and confusedly a large portion of truth and a large portion of error, flatter at once the good and the bad instincts of men, and open the way at the same time to noble hopes and to evil passions" (p. xviii.). Of the Concordat he says, "whatever the defects and imperfections of the Concordat may have been, that acknowledgment of the necessity and of the natural rights of religious authority is the finest gleam of moral genius and of practical good sense that ever lighted up the life of Napoleon" (p. xxxix.). Sometimes a familiar idea reminds us that the author repeats himself, and some passages of great truth and beauty are by no means either striking or new. But M. Guizot writes for an audience forgetful of the old truths; and the advance of ideas is hardly possible when there is so great a retrogression in life. The old truths will be new enough for the guidance of the French people, until it attains a very different condition from that in which it still slumbers.

43. In some important respects Sir George C. Lewis is the most instructive of our writers. Nearly all his works are filled with information, and with the best thoughts of other men on the subject in hand; and they are invaluable examples of enquiries scientifically conducted, with an honest impartiality, and a practical indifference to the result which will be attained. It is true that, like a traveller down the Rhine, we are more pleased with what we see by the way than with the result which presents itself at the end of the journey; but, although the conclusion is sometimes unequal to the argument, and the writer sometimes even labours to obtain an answer = 0, yet there is no better discipline for the mind vexed by men with views than to follow Sir G. C. Lewis's prudent step down the course that leads to nothing. The *Dialogue on the best Form of Government* is destitute of that fringe of illustrations which betrays the nature and value of the tissue which composes his other

books. Three moderate fanatics respectively defend the exclusive merits of the three time-honoured forms into which it is supposed that all possible governments are divided, and are checked by a wise philosopher, who concludes, at variance, it seems, with the opinion which the author expresses in the preface, that he would "consider the problem of the best form of government as purely ideal, and as unconnected with practice" (p. 117). We much fear that the readers of the book will agree with him, and will find themselves at the end of the volume nearly where they were at starting.

Of course there are many judicious remarks scattered through the pages. The partisan of aristocracy speaks wisely on the rule that the king can do no wrong: "This rule, as our ancestors saw clearly, is the necessary corollary of ministerial responsibility. Responsibility cannot be dissociated from power in a free government. If you hold that the king is responsible, you cannot hold that the ministers are responsible. . . . Instead, therefore, of considering the maxim, that the king can do no wrong, in its political acceptance, as a mark of an absolute monarchy, I regard it as the very keystone of the constitutional or parliamentary system" (p. 21). But the book appears to us altogether faulty in design. The speakers defend each form as ideally the best, and they therefore talk much nonsense and argue unprofitably. In fact, each form has certain comparative advantages and conditional merits, which it would be the most interesting of all political enquiries to trace out and classify; and each principle has great value in solution, as an element in the government, not as a power absolutely controlling it. The *Dialogue* might have begun by laying down the real object of government, as Plato does, and then might have examined the qualities which the different principles possess for its attainment, and shown why in some cases—as when the community consists of distinct races unable to combine, or of classes separated by rival interests—it is necessary that the sovereign power should rest in a body independent of all social influences and motives. It might have pointed out why, in a community without social organisation, authority must reside wherever fortuitous combinations place superior power; and how, where there is a real distinction of independent but not antagonistic interests and classes, each must protect itself on the principle of inequality or of privilege, or, as we should now say, of self-government. If it had done these things, we may be sure that, in the hands of so sound a political thinker, it would have become, what it cannot now to be said to be, a real contribution to our knowledge of the nature of the several forms of government.

44. One of the curiosities of literature in Germany is the sort of dynastic character it sometimes assumes. There more than any where else, in consequence of the state of society, the deficiency of an opening for the middle class in the smaller states, and the ab-

sorbing attraction of science as it presents itself to studious youths at a German University, whole families follow the profession of learning, and there are few eminent men that have not some near relative also distinguished in letters. In some cases we see brothers attaining nearly equal eminence in the same or in different departments, like the Humboldts, the Schlegels, the Grimms, and the Bährs. More often the learned father rears a learned son. Voigt, the biographer of Gregory VII., is surpassed in merit, though not in the renown which time and opportunity confer, by his son, the biographer of Pius II. The son of the famous Hegel ranks among the best historians. Fichte the younger, as he calls himself, though he has lived beyond the age at which his father died, has published a system of philosophy in opposition to his father's. The elder Windischmann wrote a great work on the philosophy of China and India, aided by his son, who became one of the first of Orientalists. Not many weeks ago, the Möllers, father and son, died in the same house at Louvain within a few days of each other. One had been well known as a Christian philosopher, the other as a historian. Görres composed his *Mystik*, it is said, with the aid of the two Döllingers, obtaining his physiology from the one, and his theology from the other. Between the distinguished Hellenist Friedrich Thiersch and his son Henry the contrast of character and opinion is as marked as the similarity of pursuits. The son, like his father, studied philology and wrote a Greek grammar. Like him, too, he plunged into religious controversy, and wrote on Catholicism and Protestantism. But whilst the elder Thiersch was made a Doctor of Divinity for a pamphlet against Döllinger, the son wrote a pamphlet to recommend to Protestant readers the work of the Munich divine on the establishment of Christianity,—a subject on which, till then, his own work was admitted to be the best. Though one of the most eloquent and profound of German theologians, his Irvingism has deprived him of his professorship of theology, and he stands almost alone among the many schools of Protestant Germany. In his newest book he has followed once more in the footsteps of his once famous father. Friedrich Thiersch was one of those Philhellenes who played a part in the Greek Revolution, and prepared the way for the Bavarian dynasty; and, although in fact a grave and rather tiresome professor, he was once romantically stabbed by an Eastern assassin. Henry Thiersch has published a brief sketch of that revolution in which his father bore a part, tracing the later history of Greece down to the agitation in favour of Prince Alfred. In all that has been written by this subtle, profound, and graceful writer the knowledge of modern authorities, the merely literary research, is singularly defective. It is not very surprising that a man who wrote on Bellarmine without knowing of his autobiography should write on the Greek Revolution without reference to Finlay, or that he should quote Mr. Palmer's *Appeal* for information on the Greek Church, in ignorance of his later and larger book. The present



work on the fate of Greece is simply a pamphlet in favour of King Otho, extracted chiefly from the works of Gordon, Tricoupis, and Gervinus. It must be admitted by the author's admirers, and we believe he has many in this country, that his book is disappointing, and that he is not at home in the politics of the day. Indeed, we can hardly repress a suspicion that he takes up these subjects because he is not at his ease in that loftier domain of which, but for the singularity of his position, he would be one of the greatest masters. He is regarded as an outcast among the Protestants, and his admiration for Catholic divinity carries him farther than even the most advanced Protestants, such as Martensen and Leo. The school to which he belongs does not flourish, although one of the leaders of the *Kreuzzeitung* party among the Prussian statesmen belongs to it. Some traces of the rigid conservatism of his friend appear in the present work.

The preface is dated November 28, and the text has not therefore the peculiar interest of novelty. The revolution had not yet displayed all its character, and much that was superficially known could not be understood. No deeper cause is given for the fall of the Bavarian king than the want of a recognised successor. Dr. Thiersch rightly considers that the fortieth paragraph of the Constitution, which requires that the successor should belong to the Greek faith, deprived the brothers of Otho of the succession. The necessity of repeating the ceremony of baptism, on which the Russian Church does not so positively insist, would oblige a Latin Christian to deny the sacrament he had already received, and to condemn the whole of Western Christendom. But the author does not understand that to permit a new-born son of the House of Wittelsbach to be baptised and educated a Greek would, in the eyes of Catholics, involve a measure of guilt little short of apostasy. He assures us (p. 82) that respectable Greeks used to say of King Otho, "He is too good for us : we are not worthy of him ;" and there can be no doubt that the bitter imprecations heaped on the head of this, as of other fallen monarchs, are much more the work of the foreign press than of the people of the country themselves. The candidature of Prince Alfred is represented to have been a politic measure by which leading men took the revolutionary movement out of the hands of the conspirators with whom it had originated. "If it succeeded, the hatred of England (as the protector of Turkey) would be neutralised, and the most formidable adversary converted into a defender. The long-desired union of the Ionian Islands would be obtained at once. The increase of Greece is quite impossible against England, and hopeless without her. If it ever ensues, they imagine, it must be with England. . . . The common sense of the Greeks shows them that England is the only great power under whose protection free institutions prosper; and experience proves that the Ionian Islands, in spite of the harshness of the protecting power towards the national feeling, are the most flourishing and best-governed

tract of Grecian soil" (p. 96). Dr. Thiersch calculates that no king will be obtained; that the Turkish frontier will be violated; that the Western Powers will be compelled to intervene; and that it will then be necessary to obtain a prince who knows the country. That, he says, can be none but Otho himself.

45. So far as we can make out the speculative basis of the judicious political advice given by Herr Carneri in *Three Words to the German Nation*, he presents an instance of the unusual combination of Catholicism with the philosophy of Hegel. Protestantism, he tells us, is too critical to exhaust the notion of positive religion, and rather approaches to the nature of a rationalising religion; hence the conversions of Protestants to Catholicism from a religious craving, whilst no religious Catholics abjure their faith on that account; whereas Protestantism has done good to Catholicism in the same manner that homœopathy has served the established system. No doubt the account of the services rendered to the Church by the Reformation would be an important and difficult chapter of ecclesiastical history; but it would be useless without a far deeper and keener enquiry into the evil effects of the antagonism on the internal condition of the Catholic religion. Herr Carneri is more definite in his declarations respecting metaphysics. "By German philosophy only that of Hegel can be understood, because Hegel founded and completed the last great system; and a system that forms an epoch in history can be displaced by no mere negative criticism, but only by a positive and equally important system. Unfortunately Hegel does not now occupy the place which he deserves. In Austria he is hardly known by name. May it soon be otherwise!" (p. 9.) There is as much truth as error in these words. Doubtless any system must be puerile at the present day which fails to supply the defects of Hegel, as well as to adopt all the far-reaching truths of his comprehensive system; and the dislike of practical statesmen for his philosophy of right, and of learned historians for his philosophy of history, amply avenges itself on them. But it is not true that anarchy has succeeded the downfall of Hegelism, or that the business of philosophers is to submit to systems. The school of Herbart in the north of Germany, led by the illustrious Trendelenburg, and the rising influence of Baader in the south and west, have dispossessed the school of Hegel of its supremacy; while the profound study of ancient and medieval philosophy which distinguishes the last few years, and the extraordinary revival of speculative theology, have made the establishment of one dominant school impossible for the future.

Whatever we may think of Herr Carneri as a philosopher, he is unquestionably a very sensible politician. "Confused imaginings," he says, "are alone capable of setting great masses of men in motion, and causing them to continue in it. In shapeless generalities the most diverse opinions of heated minds find a point of union, which

is invaluable for the leaders of violent revolutions. . . . But as soon as the understanding begins to distinguish, the diversity of individual opinions takes the place of the vague general sentiment, and nothing is therefore more essential for the revolution than to prevent the excitement from subsiding into settled reflection. . . . As absolutism detests enlightenment, so radicalism fears reflection" (p. 3). In fact, a kind of superstition is required in all men who are not free. The self-government of free states requires the constant presence of dispassionate reason; and of this men must be deprived, if they are to be governed by a revolutionary absolutism or an absolute democracy. Of the Austrian aristocracy our author says: "The principle of equal rights for all—which is our own—would not conflict with the preservation of the several orders, such as we require for the development of a real autonomy; for there are no privileges so long as duties increase in equal ratio with rights" (p. 8). He defines the republic as "merely a surrogate, something artificial, designed to supply the place of monarchy, which is the natural form of government, where continued revolutions have deprived the body of its head" (p. 13). Of absolute monarchy he says: "It affords a large amount of freedom, and its justification lies in the degree of civilisation which the people has attained. But the freedom which it gives is purely passive; and as civilisation reaches a certain point, and the affairs of the State are so multiplied as to outgrow the old manner of conducting them, the necessity of active liberty for the people naturally ensues" (p. 14). It may be questioned how far this use of the word 'absolute' is justified by etymology. Herr Carneri does not appear to conceive of a legitimate king *a lege solutus*, for he distinguishes between despotism and absolutism. Some nations are certainly quite unable to govern themselves; and liberty grows, and is not a primitive or natural condition. But although the lawfulness of a government does not depend on the part the people have in it, yet it depends on the part the law has in it; and whilst a government in which the people have no power is to be gradually modified, a state in which the law has not authority is not merely defective but criminal. There is all the difference between the two that there is between a school and a prison. Herr Carneri's pamphlet is not rich in practical counsel, but is full of sound and suggestive thought.

46. The *Second War of Independence*, by the late Secretary of the American Legation at Berlin, is the work of a sanguine and uncompromising Secessionist. With his facts the public is sufficiently familiar; but his reasoning is suggestive. He computes the whole Southern population at about 12,250,000, and that of the Northern States at 19,141,000. Yet, although "there is in certain of the seceded States a portion of the population disaffected towards the South, as in Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and small districts in Tennessee and Virginia, from which contingents for the Northern



army have been taken" (p. 108), his comparison of the other elements of strength is more favourable to his own cause. "A large number of men capable of bearing arms in the North must remain at home for the cultivation of the soil; whilst in the South this labour is performed almost exclusively by the slaves, whereby the entire male population capable of bearing arms can be spared for the army." Another advantage is, that the slave women and children work in the fields, while in the North the women stay at home, and the children go to school. "It will thus be obvious that the amount of agricultural labour done by 4,000,000 of slaves in the South is, *ceteris paribus*, much greater than that performed by a white population of the same numbers in the North. For these reasons, the difference in the number of men that may be spared for the army from both sections respectively is nothing like so great as the disproportion of population would at first sight appear to indicate" (p. 109). The Northern armies are not recruited from the agricultural labourers, who make the best soldiers. "As in time of war the natural tendency of agricultural products is to become dearer, the occupation of agriculture becomes more profitable, and agricultural labour accordingly advances in price. . . . On the other hand, the numerous factories which have been closed on account of the want of a supply of material, and of markets for manufactured articles, have been forced to discharge their operatives. Thus a very large class without employment has been thrown upon the North; and of these the army has, in a great degree, been composed. Inactivity in trade also has turned vast numbers out of employment in the cities. Rather than starve, large numbers from these two classes of the population have been induced to enter the army to obtain a support" (p. 114). "It is simply absurd to reason about the danger of the South starving; more especially now that the export of its productions has ceased, whereas the quantity has increased, the war having had little influence to derange the system of involuntary labour" (p. 119). "The Southern soldiers demand only arms and support, and a large proportion of them refuse to accept any pay whatever from the government; while thousands of wealthy officers and privates have united to defray the whole expense of the organisation and support of entire regiments" (p. 121). "The contributions from the city of New Orleans during the month of October before its capture . . . amounted to 200,000*l.*, and were designed exclusively for the army in Virginia, account being taken of no contribution under the value of 20*l.*" (p. 122). "The South has resolved to raise by direct taxation the means necessary for conducting the war. To this the Southerners readily submit, because the nature of their productions is such that they can support a much higher rate of taxation than the North" (p. 124).

With regard to slavery, Mr. Hudson, who writes for an English public, makes no concession to European feelings. He quotes the reports of the governors of the Northern States on the condition of the

emancipated Negroes. The governor of Pennsylvania deems "the condition of the Negro population in this state to be that of a degraded class, much deteriorated by freedom;" and he is satisfied "that the removal of the wholesome restraint of slavery, and the consequent absence of the stimulus of the coercion to labour of that condition, have materially affected their condition for the worse." In New Jersey "one-fourth of the criminals in the State prison are coloured persons; while they constitute only one twenty-fifth of the population." Mr. Hudson estimates the whole value of the slaves at 500,000,000*l*. "Can the idea be entertained for a moment that the Northern people would impose a tax upon themselves, necessary to raise this amount, out of love for the Negroes? The manner in which the free Negro is treated in the North will furnish the best reply. Should slave-labour be abolished in the South, the landed property that would thereby become valueless or unprofitable may be estimated at quite half of the value of the slaves" (p. 174). The arguments against the possibility of emancipation are forcible, but not new. We may readily subscribe to two statements which occur near the end: "The influence of slave-labour for the advancement of the civilisation and prosperity of the world has been incalculable. . . . All history teaches us that no people have ever been retained in bondage if they were fit for freedom." But we must add that slavery has done as much to injure civilisation and retard progress in some cases as to promote them in others; and that the last remark is true of nations, but not of individuals. Now the slaves, in spite of their numbers, are merely an aggregate of individuals. They have none of the conditions of national unity,—neither common sentiments, identity of blood, nor fellow-feeling. In St. Domingo it was otherwise. In a limited space the communications were easier; the whole could be embraced and influenced by a single mind. The Negro blood was constantly recruited by the importation of slaves, so that the character of the African race was preserved. And yet the two races, the pure and the mixed, hated each other with an intensity which led to fierce wars, cruel despotism, revolution, and changes of which we have not seen the end. Further, the capacity for freedom is relative. One of the conditions is the fitness of the masters to command; and this is not unconnected with political institutions. The establishment of democracy in France overthrew the French dominion in St. Domingo. The absolute democrats in the North could not fitly be owners of slaves. One of the great facts of this drama is, that the possession of slaves drives the South to a wiser system of government.

Perhaps the most remarkable part of this volume is the introduction by Mr. Bolling A. Pope. The greater part of it is taken up with a dissertation on cotton; but it begins with some remarks on the political character of secession, written in a spirit very different from that which we are accustomed to find in American politicians. There is great truth in the view that the revolutionary democracy

of Europe corrupted and degraded the constitutional democracy of the United States. "Under the influence of the lawless and socialistic elements from Europe, and the extreme democratic ideas prevalent in the North, the right of suffrage had lost its dignity, and political power had passed into the hands of those least capable of using it well. . . . . With the fall of the Union were lost to the party of revolution its hopes of powerful aid from that quarter, for removing the remaining restrictions upon the theory of universal equality" (p. xvii.). "For America it was best, since the political system was fast demoralising the people; and the only hope was in the formation of two governments, by which a balance of power might be created on that continent, and with it more conservative political tendencies" (p. xx.). The United States has doubly failed in its mission to redeem democracy from the reproach of lawlessness which is fixed upon it on the continent of Europe. It failed to prevent power from being arbitrary, and to protect the system of federation. The South takes up the problem anew, taught by experience, and aided by the established habits of obedience and command. If it can succeed in relieving modern democracy of its worst defects and of its evil name, it will demolish that which is the most powerful support of absolute government in the opinion of Europe. Touching on the question of English policy, Mr. Pope has one true suggestion: "Free trade is obviously to the interest of the Confederate States; yet there is reason to fear that, should the war continue, the government of the Confederate States will encounter great difficulty in carrying out this policy, since the blockade has compelled the South to manufacture for herself. Large amounts of capital have been forced into this channel; and when the war ceases, this must, without protection, become a total loss" (p. xxiv.).

47. Mr. Farrar's Bampton Lectures on the history of free thought in reference to the Christian Religion mark a noteworthy phase of Oxford thought. They give one more proof of the hopelessness of obtaining any consistent view of Christianity from men who steadily refuse to place themselves either in its centre or outside its circumference, but who try to accommodate themselves to the shifting curves of an eccentric position in the rolling sphere of history.

The author uses the phrase "free thought" for the critical or hostile attitude of the mind towards the external authority of Christianity. This hostility, he says, has shown itself in history in three phases—Protestantism, scepticism, and infidelity. But he does not apply the term "free thought" to Protestantism in a bad sense, because "though it be scepticism in respect of the traditional teaching of the Church, yet it reposes implicitly on an outward authority revealed in the sacred books of Holy Scripture" (p. 13). The Christian religion, therefore, in his mind, is something different from the Church, with her traditional teaching. It is something which, he says, "asserts authority over religious belief



in virtue of being a supernatural communication from God, and claims the right to control human thought in virtue of possessing sacred books, which are at once the record and the instrument of this communication, written by men endowed with supernatural inspiration" (p. 1).

But Christianity, though a power which asserts authority and possesses books, seems to be regarded by Mr. Farrar simply as a religious philosophy which tries religious truth by a standard consisting of three tests. The first of these tests is the reality of the vicarious atonement; the second, the supernatural and miraculous character of the religious revelation in the Book of God; and the third, the direct operation of the Holy Ghost in converting and communing with the human soul. This Mr. Farrar considers to be "the teaching of Scripture, as expressed in the dogmatic teaching of the creeds of the Church" (Pref. p. xv.); and so far as criticism does not attack these three doctrines, it is not to be called "free thought" in any anti-Christian sense.

Against Christianity, he says, there have been four great assaults of infidelity and scepticism. The first was the struggle of heathen philosophy, A.D. 160-360; the second was that of the sceptical tendencies in scholasticism, A.D. 1100-1400; the third was that of the literary renaissance, 1400-1625; and the fourth was that of modern philosophy, in its three forms of English deism, French infidelity, and German rationalism.

It is difficult to see how the attack of Paganism was directed against the Church in the precise aspect of a philosophic sect possessing the Bible, and based on the three fundamental doctrines of the vicarious atonement, the inspiration of Scripture, and the efficacy of grace. Christianity was attacked as a folly, a fanaticism, an unlawful religion, an organised immorality, a secret society, a danger to the established religion, and an enemy to the state, and only in a very minor degree as a teacher of doctrines which could be proved untrue by philosophy, or as the possessor of sacred books which could be shown to be forged. Still less can it be said the free thought of Roscelin and Abelard was directed against the Bible, the atonement, or grace. If attacks on grace are examples of "free thought," then the Pelagian heresy ought to have been included in Mr. Farrar's catalogue, as Abelard's philosophy should have been excluded from it. Again, if to doubt that the Church claims her authority *in virtue* of her possession of the Bible constitutes scepticism, then all Catholics are sceptics in Mr. Farrar's sense, inasmuch as they refuse to accept the Bible as the sufficient rule of faith. Once more, if doubts of the inspiration of Scripture constitute scepticism, how can Mr. Farrar exclude Luther from his list of sceptics, since he, so far from determining his creed by the authority of Scripture, determined the authenticity of the various books of Scripture by the authority of his creed, and rejected those books which did not square with his *solifidean* assumptions?

Thus, in spite of the historical shape of Mr. Farrar's lectures, and of his wise remarks on the historic mode of conducting enquiries into philosophical problems (Pref. p. xvii. pp. 43 and 560)—in spite, too, of the excellence of many of his summaries of portions of history (*e.g.* his history of the controversy between Christians and Jews, p. 544)—his book, as a whole, is eminently anti-historical, because it does not attempt to describe the struggle of free thought against that institution which is called, and is historically recognised as, "the Church" in the various centuries of ecclesiastical history, but only the struggle of free thought against an arbitrary ideal of Christianity, which is not proved to have been realised at all at the period of the first and second assaults; or rather a struggle against an ideal which has to be defined afresh at each moment of history, in order that by these arbitrary definitions the Protestant position of an Oxford lecturer may be kept clear of the imputation of scepticism.

The arbitrary character of Mr. Farrar's theorising is well shown by the list of books to which he refers in his preface. His catalogue of sceptical and infidel writers is very large; so is his list of Protestant historians of scepticism and infidelity. But he knows nothing, except at secondhand, of the Catholics who have treated the subject. The only one whom he seems to have read is Charles Butler; a man of no very great critical authority, and himself in the position of a "freethinker," so far as he was in opposition to the ecclesiastical authority which he acknowledged. Other Catholics, again, who were distinguished for their allegiance to that authority are classed by Mr. Farrar as sceptics. Among these is "the theological school of De Maistre, &c., which attempted to reëstablish the dogmatic authority of the Romish Church." This school he alleges as an example of "free thought," not because it doubted the Bible, or the atonement, or revelation, or grace, but only because it doubted the Baconian philosophy, because it cherished "a sceptical disbelief of the value of inductive science" (Pref. p. li. and p. 423). He enumerates as its leaders De Maistre, Lamennais, Bonald, Bautain, Eckstein, and Maret (p. 631). If he had added MM. de Montalembert, Veuillot, Gratry, and Drouyn de Lhuys, his list would have been perfect. In Germany also he places Hermes and Möhler in like relations, and makes both of them own the paramount influence of Schleiermacher (p. 338).

It is clear from these inconsistencies that the test by which Mr. Farrar decides on "free thought" is not really an acceptance of the doctrines which he enumerates as tests, but something else which enables him to absolve Luther, who did not accept them, and to condemn De Maistre, who heartily submitted to them. This secret test, which really governs his judgment, all the time that he professes to be deciding by a different law, may be discovered from his criticism of the two metaphysical schools which ground the proof of reality in intuitive consciousness. He objects to the Kantian system, which limits the validity of intuition to the facts of self-consciousness, on

the ground that "if the mind admit its truth, it must renounce the right to criticise the material of that which it confesses to be beyond the limits of its own consciousness ; and thus, by abdicating its *natural* powers, *blindly submit to external authority*, and accept belief as the refuge from its own *Pyrrhonism*" (p. 38). He here distinctly implies that it is sceptical to deny to the *natural* powers of the mind the right of criticising the *materials* of the whole body and substance of the dogmas which it believes on the authority of the Church. On the other hand, he sympathises with the school of Schelling and Cousin, which regards intuition as able "to apprehend God positively, and spirit to Spirit." He evidently agrees with Schleiermacher in thinking that "the organ for truth in Christianity" is "the special form of insight which apprehends Christ, just as natural intuition apprehends God ;" which insight is called "the Christian consciousness." And he adds : "Perhaps no nobler analysis of the religious faculties has ever been given. Religion was placed on a new basis. A home was found for it in the human mind distinct from reason" (p. 347). The basis was new. For though Luther had previously given to faith "a home in the human mind distinct from reason," yet this home was no "natural power," but a "supernatural faculty," lost in the Fall, and restored in conversion. As Schleiermacher did not believe in the Fall, he was obliged to read "natural" for "supernatural." Thus his doctrine is only a reformed Lutheranism, which sets up a "natural faculty" as the judge of dogma, and condemns any doubt of the sufficiency of this faculty as Pyrrhonism and scepticism.

In setting up this faculty as the "home" of faith in the soul, Mr. Farrar unites with Mr. Maurice and Mr. Goldwin Smith in their attacks upon Mr. Mansel. He is not so positive as they are ; for he can admit that Mr. Mansel has done a great work in adapting the argument of Butler's *Analogy* to the metaphysics of the day, without complaining with Mr. G. Smith that "Butler, through the weak side of his system, has become the unhappy parent of a pedagogic philosophy, which is always rapping people on the knuckles with the ferule of 'analogous difficulties,' instead of trying to solve the doubts and satisfy the moral instincts of mankind." Mr. Farrar does not reduce his system to the unity of a single principle, as they do. Though, like them, he thinks the soundest way of approaching theology is to begin by enquiring, not whether there can be a philosophy of the Absolute and Infinite, but whether the pure in heart see God, yet he does not, like them, deny all religious value to metaphysical speculations. According to this school, the heart, exercised in purity, becomes the mirror in which man sees God face to face ; or, in other words, the pure heart becomes the organ of Divine intuition, which sees God as plainly as the eye sees colours, or the consciousness reads the thoughts of the mind. Revelation, the Bible, the Church, and Christian ordinances, are not, in the eyes of this school, meant to communicate truth, but only to prepare the heart to be



the discoverer of truth. The relation between the soul and God is one of affection, not of speculation; and therefore speculative truth is not necessary in their mutual communications. If we can know God, says Mr. Goldwin Smith, the difficulties of Scripture are as nothing; if we cannot know God, they are as death. And Mr. Farrar (p. 462 n.) says that the answer to the historical difficulties started in Mr. F. Newman's work on the Hebrew Monarchy consists in the denial that "the records of the Hebrew history are amenable to criticism, inasmuch as they do not partake of the ordinary conditions which appertain to human literature;" that is, because they are addressed not to the mind, but to the heart.

The establishment of an organ that "apprehends God positively," and the theory that purity of heart is not only the condition *sine qua non*, without which man is not able to apprehend in any saving way God's revelation regarding Himself, but is also the very organ which *ipso facto* by its own powers "apprehends God," necessitated the doctrine of development. As by his senses man yearly discovers more and more of the world, so by his religious intuition he from time to time discovers more and more of God. "Christianity from time to time admits a progress, but from within rather than from without: a deeper spiritual appreciation of old truths, rather than a reception of new ones" (p. 121). The orthodox doctrine of development makes the implicit idea perfect from the first, and affirms it to be explicitly unfolded as it comes in contact with external resistance. Mr. Farrar seems rather to lay down a growth of the implicit element, and a progress uninfluenced by external causes.

This theory is only a modification of the old Puritan justification of private judgment by the "new light" communicated to the individual soul. It is simply the apotheosis of *free thought*. The Bible is the only authority which it recognises (and this rather through the assertions of the Christian consciousness itself than through any external testimony of the inspiration of the sacred writers); but the Bible is to it only a dead letter till apprehended by the spiritual consciousness, which thus becomes the supreme judge to decide what parts of the Bible are of any value, and what are worthless. Sometimes, with Luther, it rejects whole books because they do not come up to its standard. Sometimes, with Mr. Farrar, it selects from the immense range of scriptural propositions three doctrines which it accepts as "fundamental," while it implicitly denies the fundamentality of the rest.

The difference between sceptics like Mr. Farrar and persons like Miss Martineau or George Combe is, that the former believes Christianity to be capable of improvement by the moral advance of mankind, while the latter believe religion to be capable of improvement by their intellectual advance in physical science. Both make it a "ludibrium ventis"—a plaything for the changing winds of "free thought." We cannot admire the architectonic powers of a man who has thus made his book prove just the reverse of what it was

intended to show; though we easily recognise the beauty, clearness, and power of many of the details.

48. Though no name appears on the title-page, it is impossible to read many pages of *St. Winifred's* without feeling sure that the author of *Eric* and *Julian Home* is before us. While, however, it preserves a strong family likeness to its predecessors, his new work is in many respects a decided improvement on them. The writer is describing here not a private but a public school, where the monitorial system, and the existence of an independent public opinion among the boys, which were wanting in *Eric*, are recognised facts. There is more force and play of character, without any want of that tenderness which gave its special charm to *Eric*; and there is a happy vein of humour running through the story. Henderson's unfailing wit is just of the kind in which schoolboys excel, and the power of giving nicknames is their specialty. In both stories the main interest centres in the biography of a few representative boys, whose career is sketched out with an elaborate, some would perhaps say an excessive, minuteness; but the story is so told in *St. Winifred's* as to give us a sufficient appreciation of the atmosphere of school-life in which they move, and their characters and circumstances are such as in a large public school we might expect to meet with. The charge of unreality which was urged, with exaggeration perhaps, against *Eric*, cannot with justice be brought forward here. There is, indeed, another charge closely connected with it, which cannot be so easily dismissed. There are many who consider it a mistake to hold up before boys a high standard of moral rectitude and conscientiousness, still more of religious principle, as likely rather to excite ridicule than respect. Boy-nature, in the judgment of these critics, is too radically corrupt for such treatment. Youth is the season for sowing wild-oats; growing years and the discipline of experience, probably of suffering, will induce sobriety of conduct—reformation, if not repentance. It may be possible to make Christian men; to attempt making Christian boys is an idle dream. Such notions are widely spread, and are often held where they are not put into words. It is a perfectly true accusation, if such it be considered, that the author of *St. Winifred's* enters an energetic protest against them.

At a public school there is necessarily a twofold process of education constantly going on,—the direct and the indirect. By the direct education, we mean that knowledge of Latin and Greek, and other subjects secular or religious, imparted by the masters; by the indirect, that gradual moulding of intellect and character carried on day by day, chiefly in the unrestricted intercourse of the boys with each other, though partly also by the influence of their masters, where these are men of high principle, and otherwise fitted for their responsible office. It by no means follows that, where boys are not kept under rigid surveillance, and drilled into machines obedient to

every impulse of the guiding hand, all attempt at moral training on the part of their teachers is to be abandoned, or the affections, on which so much of after character depends—most of all in the noblest natures—to be discredited or ignored; to such a theory this book offers a triumphant reply. That boys feel deeply and warmly, and that their affections are easily won, and still more easily retained, is a fact as certain as is the prevalence of an opposite belief. They are no doubt reserved, almost to a fault, in the expression of feeling, and have an instinctive horror of any thing affected or unreal, which to a superficial observer may pass for coldness or contempt. We need not wish it to be otherwise. There can be no true delicacy without reserve, and a gushing ebullition of ubiquitous sentimentality is no less shallow than revolting. But the fact remains, and those who despise or ignore it reject one of the chief instruments, if not the greatest, for moulding the nascent energies of youthful character. “Oh, if we knew how rare, how sweet, how deep human love can be; how easily, yet how seldom it is gained; how inexpressible the charm is when once it *has* been gained,—we should not trample on human hearts as lightly as most men do! Any one who, in that hard time, had spoken a few kindly words to Eden,—any one who would have taken him gently for a short while by the hand, and helped him over the stony places that hurt his unaccustomed feet,—any one who would have suffered, or who would have invited him, to pour his sorrows into their ears, and assist him to sustain them,—might have won, even at that slight cost, the deepest and most passionate love of that trembling young heart” (p. 137). This is said with special reference to the influence of boys on each other; but the story also supplies instances of the genial influence of their masters on those entrusted to their care. There are obviously, apart from differences of external system, two opposite principles on which a school, or any portion of it, may be administered. One is the iron and inflexible rule which makes no allowance, recognises no distinction, but stretches all varieties of heart and intellect on the same procrustean bed; and of this Mr. Paton is an instance—high-minded, unbending, severely just. But with all his singleness of aim and rigid impartiality, and notwithstanding much of seeming success, he fails, and fails just where it is most important to succeed, with the finest natures and keenest minds. He is doomed to exemplify the truth of the old adage, *summum jus summa injuria*; and the revolt against his discipline leads Walter, the hero of the story, into the one great fault of his school-life, which forms, however, in the bitter contrition which follows it, the secret of his moral nobleness, and teaches Mr. Paton a lesson he is too honest to overlook, too wise and generous to forget. Of the opposite system of dealing with boys, we have an example in another of the masters, Mr. Percival, who is no less scrupulously just, but has learnt that it is part of justice to “temper the wind to the shorn lamb;” and that if the same rule is applied indiscriminately to all, what in one case is culpable laxity, becomes cruel oppression in another. Mindful of



Dr. Arnold's recorded practice, to watch the characters, habits, and companionships of his pupils, not as a spy but as a friend, he realises the higher aspect of his office as an educator, which consists in not simply imparting instruction, but winning the confidence of his boys, and seeking by kindly personal intercourse to elevate and purify their moral tone.

The author of *St. Winifred's* is more remarkable for brilliant imagination, and grace, not to say poetry, of language than for dramatic power. Nor can it be doubted that a conscious moral purpose is apt to interfere with artistic symmetry. But here the didactic aim is never suffered so far to come uppermost as to turn the story into a sermon, which would be a serious fault. There is one point which appears to us to require fuller explanation. "The practice of learning grammar by means of Latin rules," and of repetition lessons generally, is more than once referred to in a tone of marked disapproval, and the death of one boy is chiefly ascribed to over-exertion in this kind of work. Now if all that is meant be to condemn such a wretched jargon of *memoria technica* as the *As in presenti* and *Propria quæ maribus*, which ought long ago to have been banished from our grammars, we have no more to say. But if the author means that the grammar and syntax of a language are to be mastered in the first instance, not by learning formal rules, but by gradually discovering, in the course of reading and composition, the principles on which those rules are based, then there is a further observation to be made. The memory is of course the earliest intellectual faculty developed in boys, and is often strongest, in boys as in men, where the powers of judgment are weakest. If, therefore, they are to be taught the rudiments of Latin and Greek, not by exercising their memory, but by eliciting their critical acumen, it follows that they should not begin such studies till a considerably later age than has been usual; certainly not, on an average, before thirteen—while their powers of observation and memory might be previously trained by other methods, as *e. g.* the study of the simple branches of natural science. Such a view is maintained by many whose opinion is entitled to respect, and they may have a good deal to urge in its favour. But if that is what the author means, we wish he had said so plainly. It is a subject on which he has a good right to be heard; but it is one which cannot be profitably dealt with by vague hints that may either be directed against the abuse of the existing practice or the use of it.

49. M. Emile Augier's comedy will be remembered as the brilliant literary manifestation of the disgust felt by the French liberals at the policy by which the Emperor endeavours to retain the support of the Catholic clergy. It commemorates a different phase of the Italian policy of France from that which is signalised by the pamphlet of M. About; and in both cases the scandal excited by the publication has impressed upon the public the importance of the work. Written in the school of the old French comedy before

Beaumarchais, it expresses in its language and in its spirit the peculiar style of the Second Empire. The infidel writers of France in the eighteenth century were either licentious scoffers or earnest and sanctimonious champions of virtuous ideas, like the followers of Rousseau. M. Augier combines with the wit, the frivolity, and the disbelief in morality which characterise one school, the faith in certain positive ideas which gives a sort of dignified asperity to the other. But the things which he honours and believes are political views, not moral laws; so that it would be hardly fair to say that his work is stained with hypocrisy. His comedy is the savage protest of the men of 1789, translated into imperial materialists, against morality and religion, as represented by the Legitimists and Ultramontanes of France. But the attacks are not always calumnious, nor the ideas of the author always destitute of a kind of truth.

He hits a real blot of modern society when he shows that the violence of controversy makes men sincere, and adds, therefore, to the guilt of inconsistency. "*Parbleu!* it is the result of conflict: there are no longer mercenaries in the *mêlée*; the blows which they receive give them a conviction" (p. 7). There is wit of a more cheerful kind in the place where the stolid deputy who gets his speeches from Giboyer, imagines that he has found an idea. *Giboyer*: "Vous-avez une idée?" *Maréchal*: "Ce ne sont jamais les idées qui me manquent, mon cher, c'est le style." The sum of the author's philosophy is that love of equality which is not only compatible with the love of distinctions, but a strong incentive to it, and the worship of the *fait accompli*. Here is the ingenious figure in which he disguises the latter commonplace idea. "The rivers make no mistakes, and they overwhelm the fools that try to stay them" (p. 101). M. Guizot, who is mentioned in the comedy under the significant designation of D'Aigremont, is hateful to M. Augier, not so much for his defence of the temporal power as because he is the prophet of that political doctrine which concentrates power in the middle class, and makes it the conservative force in the nation. Our author is provoked by this theory to make a pointed, and sometimes an ironical, exposition of his own: "For my part, I love that respectable *bourgeoisie* that is filled with horror at the revolution now that it has nothing to gain by it, that would sink the plank on which it floated, and revive to its own advantage a little feudal France" (p. 10). He makes the *bourgeois* say of the revolutionists: "As long as the doctrines of these rogues are not dead and buried, nothing will be sacred; it will be impossible to enjoy one's fortune in peace" (p. 26). In the following words he vindicates the imperialist theory of equality: "Equality is not a level . . . the great word can have but one sense, the same here below as above: to every one according to his works. Is that, I ask you, a principle incompatible with a hierarchy? . . . The administration, the law, the army, not to mention the clergy,—are they not true hierarchies of merit? . . . They are so solid that they have sustained all the rest" (p. 102).

This passage, with its parenthesis—"pour ne pas parler du clergé"—is most significant, and is the key to the whole work. What is it that this democracy hates, if it tolerates wealth, desires distinctions of honour, and worships power? What is so odious to its feelings in the Papacy? Not the sovereignty, for it does not seek to abolish the thrones. Not the pomp of office or the splendour of the social dignity, for it has renounced communism, and donned the garb of a courtier. Not the priestly order, for this is not the school of Michelet, and it shows no animosity against the clergy itself. For in modern France the priesthood is a democratic class, too poor to appear privileged, and too definitely enrolled in the hierarchy of office not to share some of the respect which belongs to the servant of the State. The one thing on which the hatred of the party that speaks through Giboyer is concentrated is aristocracy. In France itself, the clergy would no longer be involved in that source of unpopularity. They share it only through Rome. For there the priesthood is connected with real property, and with hereditary nobility; and as its interests are identified with those of the legitimist party, which in France is only its ally, it is opposed by all those who are the relentless enemies of the doctrine which preserves hereditary privileges, and of the class which enjoys them.

M. Augier identifies Ultramontanism with legitimacy, and labours to expose the immorality, insincerity, and hypocrisy of the Catholic party. It is of course true that, in an age when the Church as well as the aristocracy has almost every where lost her privileges, a combination of interests is formed to support them, which is almost peculiar to that age. The cause of the Church is made a party question, an object of intrigue, a source of advantage; and its defence is prompted by many interests and motives which are not religious. This is but the cause of nature and the instinct of self-defence, and so far the satire is calumnious. But there is something worse than this, and more distinctly characteristic of the circumstances of our time, which the fierce malignity of M. Augier has prevented him from seeing—a complication too novel for a mind so destitute of originality, too subtle for so rude a touch. In describing the characters worse than they are, he has made it impossible for him to exhibit the situation in all the tragic magnitude of its evil. For the great symptom of this unnatural conjuncture is, that it destroys morality, not, as this comedy pretends, by sensuality and conscious hypocrisy, but by perverting the sense of right. If M. Augier had described his *Bien pensant* as the most virtuous, devoted, and sincere of men, capable of any sacrifice and equal to any effort, he might have produced a far more faithful but more terrible picture. There is but one place where he seems half to comprehend the real nature of the thing he wishes to describe. One Catholic notability says to another: "Dear baroness, in the name of our cause I beseech you to abandon your *protégé*." The Baroness replies: "Alas! You take me where you know that I am defenceless. I can refuse nothing to the name which you invoke" (p. 111). On the lips



of that ignoble caricature with which the poet insults the Catholic society of France this means very little. In the real life of that class which he is so unable to understand, it would have a real meaning. It would mean that, in the service of religion the goodness of the cause mitigates or removes the immorality of the act; that things which would be sinful on other occasions are innocent or meritorious when they are done for the good of other men's souls; that we are restricted in the supreme work of salvation only by the rigid letter of the commandments; but that, in the application, its rigour may be largely remitted, and the obligations of truth, of honour, of honesty, of obedience, and of authority, however strictly they may be defined in ordinary cases, must yield at times to the higher objects of religious advantage. For the half-understood doctrine that the end justifies the means penetrates so insidiously the minds of many pious persons, and they so often do a thing with a sense of its being meritorious, while they know it to be indefensible, that they must often feel how fortunate it is that their proceedings are not publicly known. Every party requires sincere but unquestioning agents; and if it cannot obtain them otherwise, must purchase or delude them. It requires the help of men who, if they knew all the secrets of their cause, would instantly renounce it; and it seeks to gain those who would be attracted by one thing, but repelled by another. That, under these circumstances, falsehood should be deliberately adopted as a weapon, that the attractions or power of an adverse cause should be averted by slander, and their own recommended by deceit,—this is the worst sign of our time; and this would have been a legitimate subject for the powers of a greater and worthier satirist than the author of *Le Fils de Giboyer*.

50. The readers of Dr. Kenealy's *New Pantomime* will be reminded of Coleridge's famous amplification of a terse couplet in *Wallenstein* :

“The intelligible forms of ancient poets,  
The fair humanities of old religion,  
The Power, the Beauty, and the Majesty  
That had their haunts in dale, or piny mountain,  
Or forest, by slow stream, or pebbly spring,  
Or chasms and watery depths; all these have vanished.  
They live no longer in the faith of reason.”

They have been revived by a poet of uncommon powers, who, if he has not indeed the faculty of clothing with individual character the several spirits he evokes, or of following with philosophic insight his Origenist speculations, has succeeded in peopling the universe with ambiguous beings incredibly musical in their speech. On the border-land of pantheism and mythology, before the idea of emanation is broken up and vulgarised in the arbitrary and sensual creations of polytheism, there is a region marvellously suggestive of poetic fancies, in which some of the greatest poets have sought inspiration. Dr. Kenealy, we were going to say, has transported

himself to this region, but we are checked by the first words of the preface. "The poem that follows is an enigma to the many, and will always remain so. For the wise and true and learned it was written, and they alone can understand and appreciate it. Let no man criticise it who does not in part conceive what it means." We will be warned by this good advice, and not interfere either with the enigma, or with the preliminary apotheosis of Mr. Disraeli.

The rude outward scheme of the poem, as it would strike a reader having no pretension to any of the qualifications Dr. Kenealy desires in his critic, may be described as follows. When a poet of genius dies, the judgment which impends over his soul may be supposed to interest the supernatural beings who recognise in him something of the Titanic nature, the angels of heaven and the demons, the dead who have loved him, all the existences of mythology and fable with whom his imagination associated, and the characters who were the creatures of his intellect. Whilst the balance of his fate is trembling, whilst his cause is pleaded and his soul is carried through the different scenes of a Christian and a Pagan hell, all those supernatural beings are represented watching the event, and uttering their sympathy in song. In the World of Faërie the Nisses cry :

"Weep, weep for the fallen Spirit,  
Who bowed to the beauty of clay ;  
Who, destined to soar through the splendours of heaven,  
Crouched down like a worm in the way."

The poet chosen to be the lay-figure for all these adornments is Göthe, for no other reason, as it seems, than because the author has deeply studied him, has impregnated his mind with the ideas, the art, and the music of *Faust*, and has the temerity to enter into competition with it. Besides Göthe, there is his Boswell, the faithful Eckermann, whole passages of whose book are done into verse ; Mephistopheles, who has the largest part in the poem ; Gretchen, who intercedes for Göthe and saves him, and whose touching and melancholy song, *Meine Ruh' ist hin*, is unsuccessfully imitated. Then there are scenes in heaven, and in the Abyss of Hell, and in every other conceivable region ; and the personages of every mythology, and every fairy-tale, are brought together without dramatic or metaphysical propriety. One scene, containing many thousand verses, consists of a review of the inhabitants of hell, in which Dr. Kenealy puts into the mouth of Mephistopheles his opinions on history, literature, politics, and religion. The idea is taken from Dante, but the execution is in the style of Byron. For reminiscences of many poets occur from time to time,—sometimes in conception, where it is principally Dante, Calderon, and Göthe ; and often in the verse, which echoes with the words of divers great English poets. What redeems the visible extravagance and apparent want of purpose in the whole work, is a power of rhythmical and eloquent

versification, which Racine or Monti would have envied, and which deserves to make it survive most of the poetry that has been written since Byron died.

This poem appeared for the first time in 1850, and it was so little remembered by critics that no allusion was made to the former publication in the notices of the present. Dr. Kenealy may reasonably plead this circumstance in mitigation of the crime of having made no allusion to it himself in advertisement, title-page, or preface. The fact was made public at a recent trial, where many passages in the volume supplied a hostile advocate with materials for an assault on the character of the author. Nothing could be more irrelevant than the examples cited to support the charge; but a reference to Dr. Kenealy's antecedents may assist us in some measure in forming an opinion on his work. He is, we believe, a native of the South of Ireland, and by extraction and education a Catholic. Twenty years ago he was distinguished as a writer of a rather ephemeral kind of poetry, and especially for the great powers of language with which he composed imitations and even parodies of other poets. At length he tried his hand on Göthe, and wrote the *New Pantomime*.

We might extract passages almost at random which would show the thought of the poet quite unworthy of the exquisite melody in which it is expressed. We would draw attention to the second line in each of the following quotations:

"She sleeps on Afric's shore; the purple billow  
Dashes its crest beneath her silent tomb . . . . ."

"Beautiful spirit, clothed in sunny splendour,  
Musing so sadly through the golden air . . . . ."

"I hear a voice of weeping and of sorrow  
Borne on the melancholy stream of winds . . . . ."

The adaptation of sound to thought in the last line has never been surpassed. In the farewell of the guardian angel the images are monotonous, but some of the stanzas are good.

"Round thee, unseen by thee, like sunshine o'er thee,  
Morning and night saw me fixed by thy side;  
All the winged splendours of thought that before thee  
Burst like a heaven were the gifts of thy guide.  
Spirits I brought to thee, Visions and Dreamings,  
Voices of angels, to win thee once more;  
But the dark idols of Earth, whose false seemings  
Charmed thee, were all that thy soul would adore.  
Oh! and alas for thee! deep was thine error,  
Fatal the change to the False from the True,  
Ever since then the thick darkness of terror,  
Known to the fallen ones, still round thee grew."

*Fair* instead of *false*, in the last line but two, would be a juster description of Göthe's sin. Catholicism, like most other religions,



furnishes the author with some figures ; but it seems to serve him for more than a poet's wardrobe. Coleridge wrote in his epitaph :

“ Beneath this sod  
A poet lies, or that which once seemed he—  
Oh ! lift a thought in prayer for S. T. C. !  
That he, who many a year, with toil of breath,  
Found death in life, may here find life in death ! ”

Dr. Kenealy also believes not only in guardian angels and the invocation of saints, but in purgatory. Mephistopheles, who does most of his theology, says :

“ I've known it take ten thousand years to get  
To heaven from earth—nay, more, the greater part  
Of saints do not reach sooner . . . . . ”

“ Five hundred years must pass ere from our hands  
The pretty cruel Siren can be freed ;  
She suffers purgatory in these lands  
For taking share in Bothwell's bloody deed. ”

There is real theological thought in the following lines, in which Gretchen receives permission to deliver Göthe :

“ For I have long resigned what claim I had  
On his immortal spirit, and have yielded  
Him up entirely to the gods he served.  
The time may come, after purgation done,  
When he may yet rejoin thy soul in heaven. ”

The power of the demons on this earth has largely occupied the poet's mind :

“ So we seduced, and ever will seduce,  
The mortal race from him who's Lord above ;  
The monstrous things which poets introduce,  
Incests, intrigues in temple, stream, and grove,  
Are all true facts, and were achieved by us,  
Though many people think them fabulous. ”

Go to the East, you'll see us grandly shrined  
In temples built of marble and of gold ;  
India, Japan, Cathay, have bound the mind  
To us, and think 'tis God that they behold. ”

Almost every saint in the Calendar,—even St. Francis, St. Augustine, St. Benedict,—is condemned to hell ; while Hobbes, Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, and Voltaire, are all in heaven, to the great and reasonable disappointment, however, of the Devil.

Whatever his practice may be, into which a critic of his poetry has not to enquire, the early religion of the author sits lightly on him, and does not live in that region whence his genius is inspired. Some reminiscences there are, and some speculations, perhaps more Catholic in tendency than in their origin ; but Dr. Kenealy hates the Church that reared him with a bitterness which an apostate

could hardly exceed, and loses no opportunity to scoff at and insult her. His poem does not reveal the source of this animosity, and we have not been able to consult the devotional work to which he refers the reader who may be inquisitive respecting his opinions. But, in spite of the somewhat ostentatious assurances of the possession of a new doctrine, we are not disposed to believe that any serious system of thought separates him from the religion he denies.

The two following extracts will show the diversity of the poet's powers. The speaker in the first place is Mephistopheles; the other is from Göthe's dying lament.

" 'Tis rather funny to see these mortals  
Dying and breathing out their last;  
Whenever they come to the grave's dark portals,  
They give such a terrible kick to the past.  
To hear their prate when the knaves are gasping,  
How full of contempt for the things of earth;  
Yet all the while you can see them grasping  
Hard to stick in their fleshly berth.  
White-livered fools! I have watched them dying,  
And heard them swear they were so resigned:  
Yet the varlets knew they were foully lying,  
And would have lived still—had they had but wind."

In the next passage there is the same rivalry:

"Can I forget thee?—not an hour of life  
Hath seen my soul untenanted by thee,  
Or blotted from my memory the sense  
That thou and I were one, inseparate,  
Inseparable, as from planets light,  
From sunshine warmth, or fragrance from the rose.  
Can I forget thee? Ours was love indeed;  
No childish day-dream, but a life intense  
Within our hearts; we spake not of our love,  
But in our mutual silence it was felt."

The highest praise we can give the author is, that he has succeeded best where he has been most ambitious. He has had the courage to measure his strength with Göthe in Göthe's most splendid performance. He has imitated the famous chorus of archangels in *Faust*, and he has produced something not indeed so perfect in style, and without the classic chiselling of the original, but, in our opinion, of great magnificence. We will conclude our notice with a sample of these noble stanzas:

"Thou hast thy chambers in the Vast Unbounded;  
Thine are the Keys of Life and Death and Hell;  
The myriad stars on which thy thrones are founded,  
And the sun's daily songs, thy glories tell.  
Thou gavest the moon her seasons, to the ocean  
Thou didst assign the bounds that chain its might;  
Strength to the thunders, to the lightnings motion,  
Flowers to the earth, and to the planets light . . . .

How shall our faltering tongues declare thy praises ?  
How shall we hymn the gladness of thy ways ?  
Language and music yield not tones or phrases  
Worthy of thee, the Ancient One of Days.  
Read in our inmost souls the unbounded treasure  
Of faith, obedience, reverence, love, and awe ;  
And make our duty form our greatest pleasure,  
While humbly walking in thy Holy Law . . . .

Smile on thy sons, that, clothed in thy protection,  
Before thy heavenly glance we still may shine,  
Secure from evil, in the pure affection  
That emanates from thee, the One Divine."

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## CURRENT EVENTS.

THE Queen's speech at the opening of Parliament announced the approaching marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess Alexandra of Denmark, a daughter of the German House of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg; and on Saturday the 7th of March the Princess landed at Gravesend, and passed through London on her way to Windsor, where the marriage took place, in St. George's Chapel, on the following Tuesday. Beyond the simple announcement that her entry into the capital would be public, no steps were taken by the Government to convert it into a pageant. But a royal betrothal in which political considerations were understood to have held a very secondary place contained that touch of nature which is of more universal power than the attractions of a state ceremonial; and the opening of a new future, after the long sorrow and seclusion of the Court, supplied the particular combination which most powerfully moves the sympathies of a loyal people. In its spontaneous and universal enthusiasm, the reception given to the Princess has no parallel in our records. Those who accompanied the Prince of Wales in his entry into New York in 1860 may question, perhaps, whether the American city cannot boast a crowd at once more orderly and more vociferous than our own. But the real point of difference between the two demonstrations lies beneath the surface. It is a harmless pastime to gaze on the spectacle of unaccustomed royalty, and a wise and generous impulse to proclaim a national oblivion of injuries inflicted and received. But the shouting of the eager crowds that thronged the seven miles of the Princess's way from one railway station to another, and the silent homage of the 17,000 volunteers who came of their own accord, not only from the counties bordering on Middlesex, but from places as far distant as Salisbury and York, to do her honour, sprang from motives altogether different from these. By its complete identification with the national life, the Crown secures the actual participation of the people in its own domestic joys and sorrows. Though the marriage may, in fact, make smooth some of the rough places of diplomacy, it has little real significance in its bearing on our foreign politics, and even that little is not generally perceived. But the arrival of the Princess was regarded universally as the adoption of a new member into the family of the nation; and what men went out into the streets for when she passed was not to see but to welcome her. The feudal state and historic magnificence of St. George's Chapel three days later form part of the same picture with the popular demonstration, and, together with it, explain the stability of our government. An authority stands firm which strikes its roots into the past, and spreads abroad in the kindly light and keen air of freedom.

Since the second week in December, there has been a small but steady decrease in the number of paupers in the 21 unions of the cotton district comprised in the weekly returns of the Poor-Law Board. In the first week of January 1863, the number was 259,850. The decrease throughout the month amounted to 7,310 in the first week, 8,620 in the second, 4,490 in the third, 3,390 in the fourth, 6,900 in the fifth; being a total of 31,040 in the course of the month. In the first week of February the return was 230,540; the decrease in the first week of the month was 5,680, in the second 3,150, in the third 2,140, in the fourth 1,050; or 12,020 in the whole month. In the first week of March the return was 221,390.<sup>1</sup> The decrease in that week was 2,230, in the following one 2,450. The total decrease in the whole fourteen weeks for which it had been going on was thus brought to 59,270. The number of paupers returned for the second week in March was 218,940. Besides these, there were on the 7th of March 226,452 persons not receiving parochial relief who were aided by the local charitable committees,—making a total (according to Mr. Farnall's return) of 440,157 persons who subsist either on the poor-rates or on charity.

To the general good conduct of the operatives throughout the cotton famine there has now been one conspicuous exception. On Friday the 20th of March, a riot broke out at Staleybridge, the immediate cause being a resolution of the local relief committee to give relief in tickets instead of money, and to reduce the weekly aid from 3s. to 2s. 5d. per head. The houses of the principal members of the committee were attacked by a mob, the windows broken, and a great deal of property destroyed. The clothing and provision stores were then broken into, and the contents thrown out into the streets to be carried off by the strongest. In the evening some cavalry were brought over from Ashton, and the streets were cleared; but on the following day the same outrages were repeated, to be again checked by the appearance of the troops. On Monday the 23d, the rioters proceeded from Staleybridge to several of the neighbouring towns; but they were generally repelled by the police and the soldiers, without being able to do much damage. By the middle of the week the riots were over. The suspension of relief had made itself felt among the people; and the plunder of the provision shops was found to be a very partial and inadequate substitute. On the 25th the operatives presented themselves as usual at the schools, and accepted the tickets. A fresh illustration of the evils which arise from two committees distributing relief on different principles over the same area has been afforded on this occasion. After the riot had broken out, the Mansion-House Committee sent 500*l.* to the local committee at Staleybridge, clogged with the stipulation that it should be distributed in money. Whatever may be the respec-

<sup>1</sup> We give the figures as they appear in the returns of the Poor-Law Board. They are not always to be reconciled with one another.

tive advantages of relief in money and relief in kind, it is clear that a grant voted in this way ties the hands of the local committee, and acts as a direct encouragement to rioters. Indeed, the prospects of the manufacturing districts grow more and more gloomy. There seems little probability of any immediate supply of cotton; and though there are still large charitable funds in hand, they cannot hold out against the present drain unless some fresh impetus can be given to public generosity. But now, those features in the bearing of the operatives which appealed most strongly to the sentimental side of charity are gradually becoming effaced. There is no patience that may not break down under continuous and hopeless suffering; and if the crisis lasts much longer, the operatives may cease to exhibit any claim on the succour of their fellow countrymen except want—the greatest indeed of all such claims, but not, therefore, the most certain in its action. The only remedy at present suggested is emigration. But, besides the unwillingness of the manufacturing interest to see their hands irrevocably scattered, and the obvious difficulty of applying to one purpose funds which were originally subscribed for another, there are two great obstacles to the ultimate efficiency of such a measure. It could only weed the great mass of pauperism by a very small percentage; and, as a class, the factory workers are quite unsuited to the requirements of hard out-door work, the only work which the colonies can provide for them.

In this position of affairs, a bill has been passed extending the operation of the Union Relief Act of 1862 to Midsummer, and fixing fourteen years instead of seven as the term for the repayment of loans contracted under it. The question is thus disposed of for the moment; but it must engage the attention of Parliament again before the close of the session.

The first partition of Poland, in 1772, stripped her of her dependencies, but respected all that was exclusively Polish, except Galicia, and left her the shadow of an independent kingdom at Warsaw. The second, in 1792, and third, in 1795, suppressed the very name of Poland; and the national constitution of the 3d of May 1791—eulogised by Burke as the contrast to the contemporary movement in France, and important as showing that the modern Poles inherit traditions perfectly distinct from those of their ancient and anarchical régime—was blotted out with the defeat of Kosciusko at Macejowice. The hopes of the people were revived by Napoleon's ephemeral Grand Duchy of Warsaw in 1807, to be again disappointed in 1815, when the congress of Vienna "consecrated" the dismemberment, and registered the rights of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, as part of the public law of Europe. Yet the Congress implicitly confessed the injustice of its own decision; it made Cracow in Galicia an independent town, transformed the Grand Duchy of Warsaw into the kingdom of Poland (thus reviving the national name, which had ceased to have any diplomatic exist-



ence, and making Warsaw the nucleus for any future reconstruction), and erected Prussian Poland into the Grand Duchy of Posen. The three powers engaged to give the Poles "representation," and other "national institutions;" guaranteed "the preservation of their *nationality*" (the first introduction of the word into the public law of Europe); promised free-trade and circulation between the three divisions of "ancient Poland;" and recognised the Pole who had possessions in each of the three provinces as a "mixed subject"—neither a Russian, an Austrian, nor a Prussian, but a Pole.

To Francis of Austria these engagements were a dead letter. Frederick William III. carried them out to some extent in Posen; Alexander I., influenced by Prince Adam Czartoryski, whose Jagellon blood made him dream of a confederation between Russia and Poland, similar to the old union of Poland and Lithuania, created the constitution of 13th May 1815, which preserved the Polish language in public business, bestowed all offices on Poles exclusively, established easy communication with the non-Russian provinces of Poland, a national army, and freedom of education. But then came the terror of revolution, and the Holy Alliance; the three powers saw no safety but in the denationalisation, assimilation, and absorption of their respective provinces. Alexander began this policy, and Nicholas developed it. The revolution of 1831 was the desperate attempt to resist the infraction of the engagements of 1815, begun when the whole available military force of Russia had been marched to the Polish frontier, in expectation of a war with Louis Philippe. After the defeat of this rising, Nicholas, by the organic law of 1831, definitively incorporated Poland into the empire, abolished the ceremony of the coronation at Warsaw, suppressed the separate army, made the magistracy removable, gave all places in the administration to Russians, suppressed the constitutional chambers, and established provincial assemblies which were never convoked. The high schools, university, library, museum, and mint of Warsaw, were suppressed, or transferred to St. Petersburg; education was reduced to technical study, Latin proscribed, and children forced to attend the government schools and learn Russian; 45,000 families of the lesser nobility were transplanted to the crown lands or the Caucasus; the sons of the greater nobles were carried off to be educated at St. Petersburg; orphans were removed to Minsk, and multitudes of all ages banished to Siberia; religion was subjected to the regulation of the police, churches were taken from the Catholics and given to Orthodox priests, and the Ruthenians were forced to conform; the Polish costume was proscribed, and every artifice used to efface the recollection of Poland.

In the thirty years of lawless tyranny which followed we may distinguish three eras. The first, that of conspiracies and democratic propagandism, led by Konarski, Zaleski, and Dombrowski, came to an end with the Galician massacres of 1846, which made permanent the discord between peasant and noble, and disgraced the democratic movement by a suspicion which was confirmed by the

conduct of the Poles in 1848, when they made themselves obnoxious to the party of order throughout Europe, who looked upon Nicholas as the saviour of civilisation. The second was the diplomatic era, when the Poles trusted to foreign intervention ; these hopes came to an end with the Crimean war, and with Lord Clarendon's fruitless appeal to Count Orloff at Paris, 9 April 1856, when the Russian plenipotentiary declared that the emperor had determined to restore national institutions, religious liberty, the use of the native tongue and freedom of education, to the Poles, but that he could not promise it to the congress without depriving himself of the grace of the spontaneous acts which he meant to perform. Alexander II., however, on his first visit to Warsaw after the peace, made his famous speech to the Poles : " No dreams ! I know how to be severe ! All that my father did was well done." The third era was one neither of conspiracy nor of diplomatic combinations, but of a movement of social regeneration, of which Count Andrew Zamoyski was the originator.

Born in 1800, of an ancient and historical family, and nephew of Prince Adam Czartoryski, Count Zamoyski was minister of the interior at Warsaw in the national government of 1831, and afterwards envoy to Vienna, where the reconstruction of Poland may be supposed to have been viewed without great displeasure, since Gentz wrote a memoir in its favour, and Metternich himself was induced by the envoy to offer his mediation, and to persuade Tatichief, the Russian minister at Vienna, to write to Marshal Paskievitch to suspend hostilities. But Warsaw had already fallen when Count Zamoyski returned with the despatch. After the battle of Grochow he refused to emigrate, and from his obscure retirement meditated on the means of saving his countrymen from the revolutionary follies upon which they brooded in their enforced ignorance and idleness. No other way was open to him but that of material interests and pursuits. He established breeding studs, introduced steam navigation on the Vistula, organised the national bank, and began the *Annals of Agriculture* in 1842, the contributors to which became the nucleus of the agricultural society, which, except the Catholic church, was the only national institution in Poland, and therefore, in spite of its abstinence from all politics, had real political significance. It numbered 4000 landowners among its members on its suppression, by the Marquis Wielopolski, in 1862. Count Zamoyski was thus equally opposed to the revolutionists, whose plans he traversed, and to the Russians, who could not bear his power. He was obliged, therefore, to assume the utmost secrecy in words, so as never to compromise himself with either party, and to let his deeds declare his policy. This was simple : its one law was labour ; to do all that was possible to do, but to keep within the bounds of the law. He allowed no agitation, nor would he take advantage of the venality of the Russian functionaries. He inspired his country with life, by teaching it how, with the severest morality and strictest legality, it might take advantage of numberless oppor-

tunities, and baulk the senseless repression of the Muscovite despotism. The clear sense, perseverance, moderation, and dignity, with which he has fulfilled his task, make him one of the great men of the age.

The third era, then, was one of a philanthropic endeavour to remodel the country, morally and physically, without reference to politics. It was a period of religious fervour, heightened by persecution; of temperance leagues, suppressed by the Russian authorities as injurious to the excise; of industrial enterprise and agricultural improvement, which recalled the country to a sense of its own interests, and drew the Poles together by making them co-operate. Instead of conspiring, it taught them habits of legality, and the power of regular, persistent, and pacific action. Among the higher nobles, who were the revolutionists of 1831, the influence of this policy was to impress singular caution; they were opponents of rebellion, in favour of material progress and gradual national organisation. The rest of the *Slachziz*, comprising not only the lesser nobility and landed proprietors, but the gentry, and to a certain extent even the artisans of the towns, and forming what may be called the middle class in Poland, were differently acted upon. The social action of Count Zamoyski produced here political effects of a very peculiar character. This class is the focus of the present revolution; but they are revolutionists rather to be compared with medieval examples, like the crusades, or the unarmed mobs that wandered over England in the time of Richard II., or the *Pauperes Lugdunenses*, than with any modern instances. The mysticism, the passive unarmed resistance, the defencelessness which refused the arms within its reach, the spirit which breathes in the national poetry of Krasinski, abjuring hatred and vengeance, and resolving to conquer by love, self-sacrifice, and patience, were elements due partly to the example of Count Zamoyski and the high nobles, but chiefly to the influence of the multitudes of Siberian exiles who were returned to the country on the accession of Alexander II. These men, who are known as *Siberians*, have a common and very marked character: softened by secret and solitary suffering, calm and gentle, they have something of the mystic spirit of the solitaries of the desert; used to contemplation, they have furnished the best journalists, professors, authors, and administrators. They have communicated to the popular demonstrations a religious tinge, utterly alien to the revolutionary feelings of the exiles who have returned from the emigration in the West, and to whom, it may be presumed, the mechanical organisation of the secret societies which have now become the national government of Poland was chiefly due.

The peasants, whose coöperation in the revolution of 1831 was not sought by the nobles,—for they relied on the national army and the half-million of landless but privileged *Slachziz*, who gave a kind of French impetuosity to the Polish troops,—are now recognised by both Russians and Poles as the ultimate arbiters of the fate of



Poland. Hence the Russians would provoke them to imitate the Galician massacres of 1846, while the Polish nobles and insurgent armies treat them with the greatest consideration. The great work of the Agricultural Association was to settle the terms of the emancipation of these peasants. Serfs they were not, for the Code Napoléon, introduced in 1807, had given them equal civil rights. But they were tenants who paid their rent in labour (*corvées*) to the feudal lords. This rent was to be changed into an indemnity, to be paid up in annual instalments, and the peasants were to become proprietors at once. This compromise has been accepted by the Russian Government, so that materially the peasants could afford to be neutral between the parties contending for the country. Loosened from dependence on the feudal lord, they are less pliable than formerly, and having had as yet no time to gather the moral harvest of their emancipation, they have no great patriotism. Their traditions would make them remember their masters' tyranny as more grievous than that of the Russians, while on the other hand their Catholicism places a great abyss between them and the Muscovites; and the influence of the priests, except of a few belonging to the school of De Maistre, who fancy that the conversion of Russia depends on the subservience of Poland, is exerted always on the national side.

The origin of the present movement dates from the conference of the three sovereigns of Poland in Warsaw in October 1860, when their implied protest against national movements like that of Italy was met by the marked abstinence of all the Polish nobles from their court. This negative demonstration was followed by religious services in memory of the poets Mickiewicz, Krasinski, and Słowacki. In one of these services at Warsaw, on 29 November 1860, the hymn was first heard which has since become the national song of Poland—*Boże coś Polskę*—God give us our country. Thus began a revolution, without arms, violence, or conspiracy, expressing itself only in psalms and prayers and holy rites. The 25th of February 1861, the thirtieth anniversary of the battle of Grochów, was the crisis of this unarmed movement. The Agricultural Association was in Warsaw settling the terms of the peasant emancipation; Polish students from Kiev, Moscow, and Dorpat were there to agitate for a Polish university. At this moment another actor appeared on the scene, who has had the greatest share in the events which have followed.

The Marquis Wielopolski is a haughty, self-reliant, self-isolating, eloquent man, contemptuous alike of the profligacy of the bad and of the weakness of the good, with a pagan respect for strength, and with something of the Italian politician in his character, as well as with the name of Gonzaga in his pedigree. Succeeding to an impoverished patrimony, he set aside the sales of his improvident predecessors, and pleaded his causes so well that he became a great proprietor, a "mixed subject," with estates in all three provinces. Like Count Zamoyski, he served the revolution of 1831, and he was Polish

envoy to London. He pleaded the cause of reconstruction in a memoir addressed to Lord Palmerston, in which he said that Austria had never been totally unwilling to make reparation for the iniquity of 1772, and would be glad to interpose a friendly kingdom between her own and the Russian frontiers, especially if her sacrifice of Galicia could be repaid by the offer of the Polish crown to an Austrian archduke. But Lord Palmerston could not help him; and the disappointed envoy, with the pliability of a revolutionary doctrinaire, who in his earnest desire for the end is indifferent to the means so long as they are adequate, turned from the West in disgust, and began to look to Russia as the power by which the reconstruction of Poland must be effected. The events of 1846 strengthened this idea into a passion. After the massacres of Galicia he wrote the "Letter to Prince Metternich by a Polish gentleman," which advised the Poles to renounce all trust in the Western Powers, to reject their deceitful sympathy, their cheap encouragement, their pompous philosophy of right, and to betake themselves to Russia as the most generous of their foes, not as slaves to their master, but as gentlemen to a gentleman, admitting themselves conquered, and submitting without stipulations and without reserve, but in the hope and with the secret understanding that Russia would help them to avenge all the Slavonic blood shed by strangers, especially by the Germans. In other words, he became a Panslavist, not so much from sympathy with all Slavonic blood, but from the insurrection of a proud member of a despised and degraded nationality against all more civilised peoples which either took part in its oppression, like the Austrians and Prussians, or refused to deliver it when they might do so, like the French and English.

Of the great Slavonic stock there are 55,000,000 under the Russian crown, upwards of 17,000,000 under the Austrian, and 2,000,000 under the Prussian. Politically, then, Panslavism seems to be simply a means to extend the Russian empire by the absorption of its neighbours. But the Slavonic stock is grouped round two religious centres which are more important than its political divisions. 54,000,000 are of the Greek, 19,000,000 of the Latin Church; between these groups are the 3,000,000 of united Greeks, and 1,500,000 Protestants. Of one group the civilisation, traditions, literature, and alphabet are Greek; of the other, Latin. The Poles, of whom there are 4,600,000 in the Russian empire, are the centre of the Latin group. They catholicised, but did not latinise, Lithuania; and the union of Lithuania to Poland made the country the arena of the struggle between the Latin and the Greek ideals. The Latin ideal, eclipsed for a time, was revived by the Jesuits; but its subsequent depression may be inferred from the fact that they were expelled from Poland in the very year in which Catherine, relying on the Greek party, dismembered the kingdom.

Panslavism, the creation of a few literary men in Prague, was at first meant to propagate a single Slavonic literature for the vari-

ous Slavonic peoples, of whatever dialect or religion. But, like all communal ideas in countries where free political development is checked, it soon became political; in Poland it meant the equality of the Pole with the Russian; in Russia, the absorption of all Slavonic populations, the propagation of the Greek creed, and the Constantinopolitan ideal of civilisation; in Servia and Montenegro, opposition to the Ottoman; in Hungary, the abatement of the ascendancy of the Magyar minority. Every where it meant a protest against the superiority of governing races, especially the Germans, and the assertion of the equality of Slavonic literature and science with that of more advanced nations.

As a political movement, the immense mass of Russia makes her the nucleus of Panslavism; but as a movement of civilisation, the Poles might hope that their superiority might give them the lead, and enable the culture of the twenty millions of the Latin group to transform that of the fifty-four millions of the Greek group. It is a game of hazard, in which each party stakes its own existence. The Marquis Wielopolski trusts that, by a political suicide, his country may transform Russian culture, and that the Poles, thus made the soul of the empire, may direct its mighty forces to vengeance upon Germany and the West.

The solemnity of the 25th of February appeared to be an excellent opportunity for making Poland adopt his ideas. He therefore begged Count Zamoyski, as president of the Agricultural Association, to recommend an address to the emperor, opening with an act of contrition for the revolution of 1831, and declaring the perfect submission of Poland, and then demanding the fulfilment of the pledges of 1815. Count Zamoyski and his friends would neither disavow the past, nor commit themselves to the Panslavism of the Marquis Wielopolski, who accordingly refused to sign the address which was drawn up.

The unarmed demonstrations of the 25th were put down in blood by the interference of Muchanof, the minister of the interior, and of Trepow, the chief of the police. The next day the whole city was clad in mourning. On the 27th there was another unarmed gathering, again quenched in blood by General Zabolotsky and his Cossacks. Prince Gortschakoff, ashamed of this butchery, repudiated the general's act, offered to dismiss Trepow, to withdraw the military to their barracks, and to commit the police of the town to a commission of public safety under Count Zamoyski. Under this régime the victims of the 27th were honoured with a public funeral on the 3d of March, where the singular spectacle of a "nation in mourning," which has so struck the imagination of M. de Montalembert, was first realised. But behind this apparent concession Russian intrigue still went on, and it was discovered that Muchanof had written a clandestine circular to invite the peasants to rise upon their lords, as they had done in Galicia in 1846. The minister was dismissed, and the Russian government promised that some administrative reforms should be granted.



On the 1st of April these promises were fulfilled; the Marquis Wielopolski was made minister of public instruction, and a council of state, and elective councils for municipalities, governments, and districts, were established. The first act of the new minister was to countersign the order for the dissolution of the Agricultural Society, which was guilty of having maintained order when the government could only provoke collision. It saved the public order, he said; but the government cannot be indebted for such service to any body of men; it must perform it by its own proper forces. He had also his share of responsibility for the massacre of the unarmed petitioners on the 8th of April. He severely rebuked the clergy, and declared that he would not permit an *imperium in imperio*. But he honestly strove to carry out, in spite of Russian intrigue, the measures he was authorised to grant—the reform of the penal code and of the Jew-law, the composition of the new councils, and the law for the emancipation of the peasants, which he accepted, without alteration, from the Agricultural Society. But this law, which took from the Russians the power of governing Poland by setting the peasants against the lords, was denounced by them as treasonable. Moreover, their stupid despotism was unable to put up with the universal mourning, and the religious hymns of the Poles. They proclaimed a state of siege, and set up a secret tribunal in the citadel of Warsaw, which condemned accused persons on simple denunciation, without the formalities of a court-martial. The state of siege was declared on the 14th of October, in time to prevent the presentation of two petitions, one for the emancipation of the Jews, the other for a national, instead of a provisional representation, and to spoil the feast in honour of Kosciusko on the 15th. The outrages committed by the Cossacks on the congregations assembled in the churches on that day caused the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish authorities to close their places of worship.

A period of re-action ensued. The Marquis Wielopolski resigned, and General Lüders was sent to Warsaw; he deported a large number of students and artisans to the Caucasus and Orenburg. The rabbis, the evangelical pastor, and the canons of the cathedral were exiled, and the administrator of the diocese sentenced to death for shutting the churches. But this severity did not stop the passive resistance of the Poles; the nation was still in mourning; it still sang its national hymn. The mystical feeling communicated by the Siberians was one reason why the movement took a religious form. Another was, because in Poland the church is the only organised body which has its own laws and independence. Thus Catholicism has become the form of Polish nationality; but it is a Catholicism which has learnt by suffering to put off all intolerance. At the funeral of the Archbishop of Warsaw, on the 10th of October 1861, the body was carried in turns by clergymen, peasants, artisans, government officials, students, and Jews. The Protestant and Jewish congregations walked together with the Catholics in the procession. Polish Catholicism exhibits the rare spec-

tacle of an alliance between religion and the effort for liberty ; and its share in the agitation impresses upon the movement a form very different from that of the ephemeral fevers of revolution, which shrink away before sharp measures of repression.

The Marquis Wielopolski, who had been recalled to St. Petersburg in October, 1861, pleaded his cause so well that he conquered the intrigues of his opponents, and in the summer of 1862 was sent back to Warsaw as civil governor of Poland, under the Grand Duke Constantine, the viceroy. At that time Russia itself was in a dangerous condition ; the fermentation of the principles disseminated by M. Herzen was blazing up in the incendiary fires which destroyed whole quarters of the towns, and in the military and civil discontent which necessitated the closing of the schools and universities. The democratic ferment found aliment likewise in the serfs, who were then on the dangerous middle ground of an emancipation promised but not yet given. At such a moment the Panslavism of the Marquis Wielopolski offered itself as a kind of safety-valve. The demand for a constitutional Poland was seconded by all Russians who wished for a constitutional Russia. The *Welicorus*, a liberal paper of St. Petersburg, traced much of the bureaucratic oppression of Russia to the lessons learnt in Poland. The Russians who go there, it said, become hardened in despotism, and on their return they practise the same cruel system in Russia. Such a government requires a supplementary force of 200,000 men, and an annual expense of 40,000,000 roubles over and above the revenues drawn from Poland. Then the recognition of the Italian kingdom, so analogous to the dreams of Panslavism, was an apparent concession to the democracy, an acknowledgment of the similar rights of Poland, and at the same time an insult to the Polish Latinism and to the legitimist principles of the Holy Alliance. The very principles that had hitherto lent all their strength to M. Herzen were thus adopted by the Panslavists, and the Old Russian party and the Western form of revolutionary democracy was discredited in Russia.

Hitherto the Poles seemed to have profited by experience. Before the partition, when they so haughtily refused Catherine and Frederick's demands for a full toleration of the dissidents, they had yet to learn the lesson, so well known to their enemies, that the greatest of all revolutionary arts is that of putting enemies in the wrong. From October 1860 to the summer of 1862, they practised this art. But suddenly their tactics changed, and an attempt was made to assassinate General Lüders. In spite of this attempt, the Grand Duke, with his family and his civil governor, set out for Warsaw, where similar attempts were made on their lives. These attempts were attributed to a small party of Gallicised revolutionists who were supposed to be at the head of the secret societies. Against them Constantine put forth a proclamation, dated 27 August 1862. "Poles," he said, "will you allow to be sheltered among you an unimportant but insane and criminal party, who adopt the

most horrible means,—will you allow them to create a gulf between the throne and the nation, and prevent the fulfilment of the emperor's views? Will you allow that an unnatural conspiracy, under the guise of freedom and patriotism, shall continually terrorise over the people? . . . . The great reforms granted by the emperor and king to satisfy real wants, and which have been already carried into execution,—namely, the institution of the council of state, the organisation of schools, the separation of public instruction and religious worship, the freedom of the peasants on payment of a tribute, the emancipation of the Jews, the electoral powers granted to towns and districts,—all these measures loudly proclaim the solicitude which your exalted monarch feels for you. Do not believe that the complete execution of these measures will be checked by the acts of a criminal party, who sacrifice the welfare of the country by their revolutionary plans—a party who have the power to destroy, but not to raise up. Poles! confide in me, as I have trusted in you.”

Convinced that these attempts came only from a few fanatical revolutionists who infested the towns, and whom the Grand Duke confounded with the whole mass of unarmed petitioners, the Marquis Wielopolski advised him to persevere in the double process of severe repression on one side, and a progressive return to legality on the other. A law on mixed marriages promised some return to religious equality; the post was organised, the councils were called together, and the excellent law on the emancipation of peasants which had been prepared by the Agricultural Society was enacted. But the government was more intolerable than ever; in six months there had been 15,000 committals to prison, and yet not one Russian functionary had been attacked.

The inutility of this contradictory system only roused the anger of Constantine and the marquis. Their suspicions centered on the Count Andrew Zamoyski, to whose attitude they attributed their want of success. Pressed by the Grand Duke, he refused to promise loyal obedience to the king of Poland until he saw that king reigning over a real kingdom. He was then asked to state what he and the moderate party thought requisite in order to constitute such a kingdom. After consulting his friends, he presented a memoir, signed by two hundred nobles, to be sent to the emperor, in which he recommended two essential points: (1) the restoration of a distinct national representation; and (2) the restitution of its ancient provinces, Ruthenia and Lithuania, to the kingdom of Poland.

This memorial, thus obtained, was declared to be seditious, and its author was sent under a strong guard to St. Petersburg. There he had an interview with Alexander. The emperor said, “I will not keep you here, nor send you to prison; I will not make a martyr of you. You shall go abroad, and I hope that you will not treat me as an enemy.” “Sire,” answered the count, “I have your promise to ask God to enlighten you.” But, through his



minister, the emperor addressed to him far different language: "The only way to govern Poland was by terror; and if the government was forced to it, they would make Poland a heap of ashes and corpses. It had long been the conclusion of the emperor that the only policy for Poland was a policy of extermination."

Thus rid of his great rival, the Marquis Wielopolski felt all the more free to play out his dangerous game. He stood between the Russians and the Poles, by both of whom he was hated, resolved to weld them together in spite of their mutual antipathies, and to keep himself in power by playing them off one against the other. He needed Russia to force Poland into the path he wished her to tread; yet, as a Polish patriot, he wished to give the Poles equality with the Russians. Convinced that if he could but remove one or two thousand of the middle classes of the towns, his way would be clear before him, he suffered himself to be led into one of the most monstrous acts recorded in history. The conscription which, in consequence of the exhaustion after the Crimean war, had not been enforced since 1856, was to be again levied. Although Russia had engaged in 1815 to give Poland a separate army, the Polish recruits had since 1831 been drafted into the Russian ranks; and from a single district, between 1833 and 1856, more than 11,000 young men had been drafted, of whom only 498 had ever returned, and they had lost their religion, their language, and their traditions, and had become unfit for any employment.

It was obvious that the conscription would be a great difficulty in carrying out the peasant-emancipation. The Marquis Wielopolski therefore seized the opportunity of making a stroke of policy. He easily obtained license from St. Petersburg to exempt the peasants from the conscription; but as the objection did not apply to the towns, which were the foci of the passive resistance to his Panslavist attempts, the recruiting was to go on there. As, however, the occasion was an exceptional one, the mode of selection was to be exceptional also; and instead of the recruits being chosen by lot, the administration was to make lists of the 25,000 persons whom it chose to condemn to military service. The marquis countersigned this diabolical decree—of which the only defence is that it is not without precedent—on the 6th of October 1862. It was to be carried out on the 22d of January last. From the beginning of that month, some two thousand young men, who suspected that their names were on the list, took to the woods to avoid the conscription. There was, however, no intention of resistance. Whatever the "brethren of the wood" did, they did not in obedience to the secret revolutionary committee at Warsaw, but in self-defence. The policy of the committee was to prevent any outbreak before the beginning of March, when it was hoped the serfs in Russia would rise. Hence they would not place their stores of arms at the disposal of the escaped conscripts. On the other hand, the policy of these unarmed bands was to avoid all collision with the Russians, and to manœuvre themselves over the Austrian and Prussian fron-

tiers. They killed Russian sentinels, spies, and police-agents, and robbed all the depôts of public money which they could reach; but their secession from the conscription was by no means a revolutionary rising.

For nearly three weeks the Russian authorities took this view of the case, till suddenly recollecting that it would be their interest to hasten the coming insurrection, while the winter and the shelterless woods made campaigning difficult for the insurgents, they began to do all in their power to provoke it. The *branka* or levy, which the government knew would be, and intended to be, the signal for rebellion, was made on the night of the 22d of January; it was not very productive: the conscripts taken were marched quietly to the citadel of Warsaw. The next day the official journal announced that the "levy had met with no resistance, and the conscripts had exhibited nothing but good-will, satisfaction, and joy at having to attend the school of order opened for them in the military service." Not even by this insult—which M. de Montalembert well calls a cynical outrage on public decency comparable to that which was the signal for the expulsion of the Tarquins, or for the Sicilian vespers—were the Poles at once provoked to more resistance than they had exhibited for a month past. But the government, determined that there should be a rising, declared in its official journals that Poland was in full insurrection, and that the Russians had been generally massacred. When a few days brought to light the truth that the insurgents had disarmed without harming the few soldiers whom they had surprised, then the Warsaw journal congratulated the country on the suppression of the insurrection; but the St. Petersburg papers still continued to give details of Polish atrocities, and Moscow was inundated with barbarous woodcuts of cannibal Poles devouring the flesh of Russian soldiers, and plucking the beards of venerable Orthodox priests.

The secession of the "brethren of the wood" had been hitherto encouraged by connivance; now they were to be hunted down. Consisting for the most part of bands of not more than 300 persons, all of them townsmen escaping from a conscription in which they were forced substitutes for the peasants who were spared, they were not likely to be favoured by the peasants, who, in their default, might be called upon to fill their places. When to this danger a military pursuit was added, the seceders were compelled in self-defence to amalgamate into larger bodies, constantly eluding the Russian pursuit, tearing up railways, burning bridges, seizing government funds, attacking small parties of the enemy, separating when surrounded, to meet at a new rendezvous, surprising outposts, and gradually arming themselves with weapons taken from the Russians, or smuggled over the frontier.

The documents published in the English papers show that the "provisional government," or central revolutionary committee of Warsaw, put forth, on the 22d of January, a manifesto, calling on the Poles to combat for liberty and independence, and especially for

the political equality of all Poles, without distinction of belief, condition, or birth; and promising to give the peasants their allotments without the payments reserved by the law of the Marquis Wielopolski for the lords, whom the provisional government promised to indemnify out of the national revenue. Three days after, on the 25th of January, the same committee invited General Lewis Mieroslawski to take the dictatorship and chief command of the insurrection. The invitation was carried to the general at Paris by three Poles; he accepted it under certain conditions, and sent back a proclamation, which he ordered to be published when the moment should arrive. The appointment was kept secret, and communicated only to the different leaders, to take away from them all pretexts of insubordination to the revolutionary government.

While the strict and honourable neutrality of the Austrians permitted the Poles, whom Russian tariffs have educated into the most consummate smugglers of Europe, to take advantage of their neighbourhood to Galicia, the servility of Prussia to the Czar, and the traditions of a government more iniquitous in its origin than that of any other European kingdom, closed the frontier of Posen to the Poles, and even made Prussian soldiers auxiliaries to the Russians, converting the Prussian territory into a battle-field for their use. In spite, however, of all precautions, Mieroslawski eluded the vigilance of the Prussians, with a band of followers.

The dictator-elect succeeded in penetrating his new dominions by the Prussian frontier in the neighbourhood of Thorn; the insurgents who accompanied him from Posen were cut to pieces by the Russians at Konin; and the general himself disappeared from the scene from the 20th February to the 11th of March.

To the north of Warsaw the remarkable engagement of Wągrow took place, where 250 young nobles, who had induced a considerable number of their dependents to rise, finding their band surrounded, sacrificed their lives to stop the Russians for a quarter of an hour, and thus gave their companions time to escape. Eastward of Warsaw the rising gradually extended to Bar and Kiev, and northwards to Pinsk and Wilna, over an area of 150,000 square miles. Over this whole area the official journals represent the clergy to be the foremost promoters of the insurrection, with which the conduct both of the late and present archbishops of Warsaw shows their sympathies to lie. "The Polish clergy is national," says the Bishop of Orleans; "there is not a single priest among them whose heart does not beat with the heart of his country."

The peasants, though much under the influence of the clergy, have pronounced in favour of the insurrection only in those provinces where they were forced by Nicholas to conform to the religion of the state. Throughout Poland their aid has been canvassed for both by the government and the insurgents. The Marquis Wielopolski accepted the law prepared in their favour by the Agricultural Society, and moreover exempted them from the present conscription under pretext of carrying out this law. They have



been solicited likewise by the agents of government, first, under Muchanof, to massacre their masters, and next by the offer of head-money for all insurgent or disaffected nobles whom they might give up. On the other hand, the insurgent committee, after calling the latent power of the peasantry the Samson of Poland, and reckoning up the measures taken by the Marquis Wielopolski to bribe and delude it, found it necessary to go beyond his proposals, and to offer the peasants their allotments without any payment whatever, promising to compensate the landed proprietors from the proceeds of the public revenue (Proclam. of 22 Jan.). By this means it was hoped that, while the nobility of Poland frankly accepted this great sacrifice, and granted the peasants their allotments without compensation, the peasantry of Russia might be driven to demand the same boon, which Alexander Herzen has taught them to demand as their right, and thus either to impoverish the Russian government and aristocracy, or to overwhelm the country in revolution.

The success which fortune denied to the chosen leader of the democrats was for a while enjoyed by another leader, who succeeded in gaining the confidence of those classes whom the name of Mieroslawski would have deterred from sharing in the movement. General Langiewicz, a Pole of the duchy of Posen, who is said to have received his military education in Italy, but who had never seen war, was the first who united and organised the detached bands of the brethren of the woods. His first camp was at Wonchock, in the woody hills south of Radom, where he mustered some 5000 men, who had 1000 muskets among them. But the iron-works of the place afforded materials for arming the rest of his men with extemporised implements. He was not attacked till the 1st of February, when he eluded two corps sent against him, one from Radom on the north, the other from Kielce on the south; and on the 3d of February encamped at Slupia, in the immediate vicinity of the Russian garrison of Kielce, but protected partly by the buildings of the monastery of Holy Cross, partly by the difficult nature of the precipitous limestone ridges of the country. Here he had a comparative rest of nine days, exposed to constant sorties and skirmishes, during which time he procured rifles, and it is said eight cannons, from the Austrian frontier. On the 11th of February the Russians advanced to the assault of the monastery and the camp of Slupia; they were repulsed with success, and the general led his troops to Staszow, forty miles to the south of Slupia, and close to the Austrian frontier, his great arsenal, from which it was the evident intention of the Russians to cut him off, by reoccupying the frontier posts from which they had been hastily withdrawn when the insurrection first broke out. At Staszow the army of the insurgents is supposed to have increased to the number of 10,000; they were attacked by the Russians on the 17th, and succeeded in beating them off with some slaughter. The general immediately broke up his camp again, and turned back towards Kielce on the north.

By this time the tactics of the insurgent general had become as

evident as they were simple. He would select a secure position, where he would calmly await the troops closing in upon him from different points. He would then, after an indecisive combat with the vanguard or with a reconnoitering party, march off with his troops and take up a new position twenty or forty miles away, where he would play the same game. These tactics were only possible to an army which, from its smaller numbers and its want of equipments, was superior in agility to the forces sent against it.

In the neighbourhood of Kielce the Poles occupied themselves in intercepting parties of Russians who were carrying off numbers of Polish prisoners and conscripts. The numbers who had by this time flocked to Langiewicz's standard forced him to divide his troops, and to detach a portion of them under Colonel Jezioranski, who was to operate on the line between the Russian fortresses of Kielce on the east, and Czenstochow near the Prussian frontier, by which his army was confined to the south-western corner of Poland, on the frontier of Cracow and Galicia. On the 23d of February he was again enclosed by the Russians, and he therefore reunited his forces on the line of communication between the two Russian fortresses, where, under the shelter of the hills and woods, he fought only a portion of the Russians at one time. After a bloody skirmish, he again divided his troops, a portion of whom, under Jezioranski, escaped towards the west, while he led his portion towards the south. On the 25th he encamped at another Slupia, a few miles north of the towns of Zarnowice and Pilica, both garrisoned by the Russians. In this neighbourhood he remained till the 27th; on the 28th he approached Miskow, on the railway between Cracow and Warsaw. Here he was again attacked on the 1st of March; but the Poles kept among the trees, where the Russians refused to charge them, and the combat ended with the Poles destroying the railway-bridge, and tearing up the rails for some distance.

The Russians retreated, and were followed by the Poles to the neighbourhood of the Cracow frontier. Here the forces were again divided; but by an adroit reunion Langiewicz managed to surprise the Russians on the night of the 4th of March, when he put Prince Bagration to flight, and caused the Russians to evacuate Wolbrom, Olkusz, and Pilica, leaving the enemy in Miechow alone of all their strongholds on the old frontier of Cracow.

On the 10th of March Langiewicz proclaimed himself dictator, if not at the invitation, at least with the full concurrence, of the provisional government. He reserved to himself the immediate direction of military operations, while he left the whole civil administration to a private civil government. In assuming the dictatorship, he professed to begin nothing new, but only to finish the work begun by the national provisional government, from whom he accepted, in their entirety, the fundamental principles of their manifesto of January the 22d. By a proclamation on the 12th of March his new government was to consist of four members, whose names have never been made known; and he dissolved "all civil

and military authorities, whatever their origin or time of appointment," only allowing them "to continue their functions until further orders from the civil government or its commissaries."

This assumption of power by Langiewicz seems to have been a desperate attempt to counteract the democratic and revolutionary tendencies of the Warsaw committee. The Polish nobles always dreaded the assumption of any share in the movement by Mieroslawski, whose name, associated as it is with the revolutionary movements in the West, is hateful to all who struggle only in the cause of law and order. Langiewicz, on the other hand, refused the coöperation of Garibaldi, and conducted himself in a way which gained the entire confidence of the greater nobles, who had previously shown great indisposition to take any part in the insurrection; and he soon gained such an ascendancy that, on the 16th of March, the central committee of Warsaw conferred full powers upon him as Dictator of Poland.

But during this time the Russians were again closing upon the dictator and his doomed army, which had grown too large and too encumbered to split up and evade his enemies by his old stratagem of march and countermarch.

Unable to fight a pitched battle, and at last prevented from evading the fight, he was enclosed in a double net, which he was not able to break through. With troops from the garrisons of Kielce and Czenstchow, the Russians immediately reoccupied Walbrom and Olkusz, and strengthened their position at Miechow. But the dictator threaded this maze, and on the 16th of March reached Xions, a little to the north of Miechow. From this place the road to the east seemed open before him; but on the 17th he encountered another Russian force, supposed to be a fresh detachment from Kielce. After a small success on this day, and a more considerable one the next, the dictator, finding that the number of his enemies still increased, while his own troops were without food, and many of his officers were conspiring in favour of Mieroslawski, resolved, in a council of war held at midnight on the 18th, to break up his force into more manageable detachments. He appointed commanders to each division, and, in a proclamation which was distributed at the same moment as the breaking up of the army was announced, declared his intention of retiring for a time from the command, in order to inspect the detachments fighting in the other parts of the country. At the same time he retired to the Austrian frontier, hoping to be able to pass through Galicia to his destination.

The effect of these measures upon his troops was disastrous. They had lost their baggage on the 17th; on the 18th, though they had repulsed the Russians, they had suffered greatly, and lost much of their *morale*. On the announcement of the division of the army, and the withdrawal of the dictator, the forces dissolved, and made their way in parties across the Galician frontier, previously throwing away their arms, in order not to be conveyed to some town in the



interior. The dictator, finding his passage debarred, and no way of escape through the Russian lines, delivered himself up to the Austrians, and was conveyed, probably for safety, to the citadel of Cracow. On the 23d there were still skirmishes in the neighbourhood of Miechow between the insurgents, under Wisocki and other chiefs, and the Russians; while bodies of Poles were still making their way into Galicia.

The assumption of the dictatorship by Langiewicz on the 10th called forth a protest from Mieroslawski on the 11th, in which he first published the fact that he had been invited to assume the office on the 25th of January. He had, he said, from a feeling of high delicacy, out of respect for the proud sorrows of the country, which admitted of neither fictions nor surprises, abstained from making his nomination known till he had conquered a territory where his voice could command obedience. But, he added, Langiewicz took advantage, in the most unjustifiable manner, of the civic prudence of his rival, and hastily seized on the moment when a serious attack of illness compelled him to seek a quiet refuge, despite the authentic and solemn act of the national government, to proclaim himself dictator. Without accepting this audacious challenge to civil war, Mieroslawski said that he would content himself with appealing to the national common sense, and with furnishing the requisite guarantees of the truth of his assertion. His protest was countersigned by the two survivors of the three Poles who were sent to Paris in January to offer him the dictatorship. It is clear that this protest was not accepted by the central committee, for nothing was heard of it, in or out of Poland, till Langiewicz's army was broken up and he confined in Cracow. Even then it came to this country, not through the Polish correspondents, but through "the instrumentality of Mr. Scharf." Hitherto there is no proof that the provisional government of Warsaw has returned to its original choice, nor indeed can we say whether that choice was the act of the whole committee. Mieroslawski proves it only by the following "document:" "As proof of the transmission of the full powers of the national committee to this new government, the seal of this act is still the same as that of the ancient committee." Such foolish evidence rather makes the whole case suspicious, and leads us to suppose that the nomination of Mieroslawski was the act of a few demagogues, in opposition to the common sense of the Polish nation. One inconvenience of a secret government is the impossibility of discovering the authenticity or spuriousness of acts like this. Among the Polish nobles there will ever be the apprehension of socialist tendencies in any government of which Mieroslawski is head. He is a leader also who would raise the flag of insurrection not only in Russian, but in Prussian and Austrian Poland, and thereby deprive the movement of its chief hope, the honourable neutrality of Austria. On these grounds it was universally believed in Poland that the national government, in spite of the military merits of Mieroslawski, had renounced his services.

In the beginning of March the Russian government of Warsaw had shown signs of a desire to treat with Langiewicz; M. Petrikow, a functionary of the party of the Marquis Wielopolski, was sent to the camp with proposals for an armistice. The Grand Duke Constantine is said to have empowered him to promise that, if the insurgents would lay down their arms, a charter, modelled upon the constitution of 1815, should be procured for them. To this the insurgents, in their temporary ascendancy, are said to have had two objections: first, that they had no confidence in Russian promises, especially when unauthorised; secondly, that they could accept no constitution which did not provide for a national army, and the restoration of the old Polish provinces.

To spectators at a distance, the persevering claim of the restoration of the kingdom to its limits of 1772 has ever appeared the weak point of the Polish cause. It was supposed that the treatment which those provinces had received from the Polish government had left in them no desire to be reunited to the kingdom; and that the agitation was a demand, not for liberty, but for empire. But the conduct of those provinces has proved that, while the nobles are not so enthusiastic as those of Poland to cast off the yoke of Russian administration, the elements of insurrection are yet rife amongst them; whilst the peasantry, who were dragonaded by Nicholas into joining the Greek communion, are much readier to rise than the peasants in Poland proper, who have been for the last two years the objects of the particular favours of the Russian government. The insurrection, at the time of the fall of Langiewicz (whose field of operations had never been an area of more than 1600 square miles in the south-west), extended over an area of 150,000 square miles, from Skala in the south to Konin and Pinsk in the north, and Bar and Kiev in the east. It is to be feared that the Russians have determined to act with all severity; in consequence of some such determination, Mgr. Felinski, the Archbishop of Warsaw, is reported to have resigned his place in the Polish council of state. "That would be open rebellion," was the reply of the Grand Duke; "you are trying to bring about a religious war; but you will find that Russia is powerful enough to frustrate your intentions."

Those who are disposed to blame the Poles for not accepting with gratitude the reforms which Alexander II. commissioned the Grand Duke Constantine and the Marquis Wielopolski to make, must consider, that such reforms had been often promised, often begun, and had always proved futile. They must ever prove futile until Russia herself has entered into the path of political reform. The emancipation of the serfs, so far as it is a political measure, tends simply to place the Russian despotism upon a democratic basis. It contains no guarantee of, and nothing analogous to, the constitutional freedom promised to and demanded by Poland. While Russia remains in this political state, the Poles are justified in trying to deliver themselves from it; they have the same grounds for

separation as the Russians have for trying to get rid of their Czar.

And the Poles were right in resisting the reforms of the Marquis Wielopolski, because of the tendency and bearing which he confessed them to have. They were meant to separate Poland from the Western nations, to which it is allied by religion and civilisation, and to force it to enter the barbaric confederation of Panslavism, for the express purpose of helping all Slavonic populations to shake off the rule of dominant races. The pretended constitutional reforms, therefore, were simply revolutionary in intention. And this intention was shown in the disdain with which the Marquis Wielopolski treated the civilised classes of Poland, the greater nobility in the person of Count Zamoyski, and the lesser nobles and gentry in the persons of the conscripts whom he attempted to kidnap on the 22d of January. He and his government have invariably shown all their favour to the peasantry, the least civilised part of the community, because they were the only class whom he hoped to gain to his Panslavist ideas. He did not scruple even to invite these men to rise against their lords, and to quench the traditional civilisation of Poland in the wholesale massacre of the classes in which it resides, because it refused to amalgamate with the Muscovite culture.

The secrecy of the organisation by which these revolutionary measures were thwarted is not open to valid objection. The morality of such an association is not to be criticised by its secrecy, but by the objects which it proposes to achieve. Secret societies can only be condemned in those countries where there is freedom of association, and where secrecy is of no use but for the purpose of concealing the illegal or immoral objects of the association. Where the objects are lawful and right, and, on account of the unjust tyranny of the government, there is no other way of obtaining them than through secret associations, there such associations are perfectly justifiable.

Rome and Italy. That crisis in the relations between the governments of France and the Holy See which brought M. Drouyn de Lhuys into the place of M. Thouvenel was also signalised by unforeseen events at Rome.

After the rejection in June of the conditions proposed by M. de Lavalette, the Pope could not fail to consider that he had received the *ultimatum* of France, and that there was no security in relying further on the protection he had enjoyed so long. At the very moment when the tone of the French Foreign Office became less friendly, and the Emperor threw the blame of an obstinate and unreasonable resistance on the Court of Rome, events occurred in Italy which were calculated to supply the government of Turin with new arguments with which to urge on France a speedy compliance with its claim for the possession of the Capitol. The uncertainty of ulterior consequences, if the Pope should reject the proposals, had been made to



assist in the pressure used to induce him to consent. After they had been refused, the Pope was right in believing that the able and influential statesman who conducted the foreign policy of France was opposed to the prolonged occupation of Rome, and could not with consistency be the organ of any further measures for the protection of the Roman Government. This fact was hardly realised when Garibaldi commenced his expedition from the extremity of Sicily, with the avowed intention of raising Italy, and striking a blow at the remnants of the temporal power. The attitude of the authorities was exceedingly suspicious; the Turin ministry appeared to connive at the movement, and little reliance could now be placed on the support of France; for it was notorious that the Emperor would be quite willing to extend his protection to the Pope elsewhere than at Rome, and was more solicitous for his safety than for his independence. The French troops were removed from the southern frontier of the Papal States, by which the expedition might be expected to approach, to the neighbourhood of Civit  Vecchia. This might be an ostentatious intimation to the Italian government that the suppression of the insurrection must be its own work, and that it would be held responsible for the issue. Or it might be a repetition of that act of perfidy by which Lamorici re was inveigled to his ruin in 1860. After the displeasure manifested by France at the demonstration of Pentecost, and the irritation produced by the discomfiture of Lavalette, there was reason to apprehend the latter alternative. And, if the first were the true one, it was still uncertain whether the Turin government would have the power or the resolution to face the *prestige* of Garibaldi, and to stand before him on his march to Rome. No wonder, therefore, that the end of July found the Holy See plunged in a great anxiety. The revolution was once more in arms against the Papacy; France made a demonstration of the intention to abandon it; and Turin was sure to derive, even from the defeat of Garibaldi, a new claim on the Emperor for the evacuation of the papal territory. In this extremity Pius IX. adopted a resolution which was the most politic act of his reign.

The diplomatic agent of the British government, having obtained leave to spend the hot months in England, was about to depart from Rome in the last week of July. It chanced that at the period of the anniversary of the Pope's coronation, at midsummer, when the foreign ministers were received by His Holiness, Mr. Russell had not obtained an audience. He had made an application, but he had been put off; and, although the application was not renewed, an audience was still in some measure owing. He now informed Cardinal Antonelli of his intended departure, and paid him a farewell visit. After that, at the last moment, he was informed that the Pope would see him before he left; and on reaching the palace he was told by one of the ministers of the momentous resolution which had been taken. Having been thus prepared, he had a long interview with the Pope, the most extraordinary in some respects that has passed for centuries between a Pontiff and an English subject.

His Holiness expressed surprise to Mr. Odo Russell that he should abandon his post at so critical a moment. He described himself as beset with great perils, and spoke of the progress of Garibaldi, the intrigues of Turin, and the treachery of France. At no time, assuredly, during the occupation of Rome, had the attitude of the French government been more ambiguous; and on no occasion, it appears, has the Pope expressed so openly and so strongly his profound distrust of the French Emperor. He concluded by asking Mr. Russell whether, if his enemies compelled him to leave Rome, he would find a refuge in England. "The Pope spoke to him very much of Garibaldi being in Sicily; and, appearing to have considerable apprehensions of the state of Italy, he asked the question whether, if he sought an asylum in England, he might rely on our hospitality. To this Mr. Russell replied that our hospitality was well known, and that we gave asylum to all who sought it. The Pope afterwards referred again to the subject, adding, 'Perhaps I may one day seek the hospitality of England.'"<sup>1</sup> In a despatch to Lord Cowley, of January the 29th, Lord Russell writes: "In the course of a conversation of some length, the Pope expressed a wish to know whether, if any circumstances should at any time lead him to desire to take refuge in England, he would be well and hospitably received there. To this question Mr. Russell could of course give only a general answer. From this statement it will be seen that, instead of Mr. Russell asking an audience of the Pope, and at that audience making to the Pope an offer of an asylum at Malta, it was the Pope who sent for Mr. Russell, and it was the Pope who started the idea that he might, under certain circumstances, wish to reside in British territory." The circumstances of this interview having been kept secret, a rumour of it only reached the French Government, through the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, at Christmas. A minister friendly to the Holy See was now in power; and the revelation that the Pope had at one time been inclined to seek other protection than that of France, was in the highest degree untimely and annoying to the governments both of France and Rome. Under the strong provocation of the moment, the French minister therefore published a report which attributed the initiative to England, and expressed the indignation of the Emperor that his arm should ever have been thought insufficient for the safety of the Holy See. But, in the words of Lord Palmerston, "it was the Pope who sent for Mr. Russell; and Mr. Russell, not knowing why he was sent for, it was the Pope who in conversation expressed a wish to know whether, in the event of his being compelled by circumstances, which he of course did not then think likely, but which were possible, to leave Rome, he would be received and protected in England."

Mr. Russell instantly telegraphed home, and reached England a few days after his despatch. Early in August Lord Russell sent word to the Admiral commanding in the Mediterranean, that a ship

<sup>1</sup> Lord Russell, in the Debate on the Address in the House of Lords.

was to be held in readiness to convey the Pope to Malta, or to any port of the French, the Austrian, or the Spanish dominions. The Roman government was doubtless informed at once of the contents of this despatch.

It is hard for an English or Irish Catholic to contemplate without emotion the feeling that prompted the appeal of Pius IX. to this country, or the consequences that might ensue if that wise and generous impulse could have been carried into execution. It was a measure betraying at once oblivion of many bitter speeches, and of many intolerant acts, and a confidence in the spirit of British law, and in the sense of the better portion of the people, of which every Englishman who does not think that it was undeserved may be justly proud. We may deem it, too, an acknowledgment of the attachment of the Catholics of this empire to the Holy See, and of the fidelity with which they unite with that attachment a tolerant charity towards their fellow-countrymen, and a patriotic allegiance to a Protestant state.

A Pope may visit, and has visited, other countries, to be the guest and to obtain the sovereign protection and favour of emperors and kings; but if Pius IX. landed on our shores, he would do so to become the guest of the nation, enjoying no protection but that of our constitution, and no favour but the devoted allegiance of those who form a large portion of the subjects of the British crown. He would cast his lot with that nation whose government has encouraged the revolution in his States, but who have left the Church free from interference and patronage, rather than with the powerful protector whose bounty is a snare for her independence; and he would forget the wrongs he has suffered at the hands of England in order to trust in her for a shelter in his exile. The consequences of such an act would be yet more admirable than its motives. The presence of the Pope in these islands would be a cure for many serious evils both in Church and State. First, between a Pope sojourning among us and the government under whose laws he would live, the old attitude of estrangement founded on superstition and suspicion could not be maintained. The law of the Church and the will of the State would be no longer so separated that no intercourse and management could soften the asperities of their antagonism, or supply conditions of conciliation and concession, and furnish the opportunity for an understanding on disputed topics. The supreme authority which the Government encounters when dealing with Catholic affairs would not then be an unapproachable, inscrutable, and absolute power, to which ministers cannot explain their reasons, their objects, and their difficulties, and which answers their measures by decrees instead of negotiating on the basis of their designs; and by the same process, and for the same reason, the Papacy, by emerging from the mysterious and almost oracular dimness of its present position, would cease to be so great an object of alarm to the simple-minded among our countrymen. As the State, in matters of religion, would no longer have to treat exclusively with its own subjects,



ecclesiastical resistance would less easily glide into political opposition, and loyal protests on behalf of religion would cease to be confounded with signs of irreligious disaffection. The rulers of the Church, on the other hand, would become familiar with the spectacle of a free and tolerant community, in the light of whose example they would perceive the benefits which liberty confers on religion, and learn to distinguish the dross from the ore in systems and professions of freedom. But it is to Ireland rather than to England that the thoughts of the Pope were directed, and to the freedom of the English institutions more than to the wisdom of the English people. The only asylum fit for such an exile would be a country where not only the internal government of the Church is independent of the interference of the civil power, but where at the same time the mass of the population is Catholic.

In Ireland he would be surrounded with all the securities his station would require, and with some consolations to which he has been long a stranger; and the greatest of these would be that he would find evils existing among the people such as his presence would be sufficient to remove. It is useless, however, to pursue any further a speculation which can only lead to regrets.

The more immediate reasons which induced the Pope to think of a refuge in this country are perfectly intelligible. The Italians were closing upon him, and France seemed ready to abandon him. It was not possible to seek on the French territory a safety which the French policy had rendered needful. France could not have at the same time the blame of his exile and the credit of protecting him. Of late, too, the Austrian Government has lost its old *prestige* at Rome. Pius IX. regards with paternal affection the Concordat which he concluded with Francis Joseph under the centralist ministry of Baron Bach; but, since the giving of the Constitution, the Concordat is exposed to the hostility and even to the caprice of the Parliament. If, in the eyes of the Pope, Napoleon is a traitor for refusing to protect the integrity of his dominions, Francis Joseph is not free from blame in abandoning the Concordat to the disputes of his subjects. From the frontier of Turkey to the frontier of Spain, there was not a spot where Pius would be willing to land if once he left his own territory. It remained that he should choose between Spain and England. We know not why he rejects the thought of going to Spain; we know not even whether he rejects it, or whether he did not permit negotiations to be carried on in that quarter as well. But he thought of a distant nation of devoted Catholics, whose long fidelity in suffering had purchased a right to his peculiar favour, and now especially a claim upon his sympathy, when his weakness and sorrows are like their own; and he remembered the condition which the laws of England have enabled the Catholics who live under them to obtain, in spite of overwhelming numbers, and of hostile interests which are still supreme. He may have conceived that in exile he might succeed better than on the throne in completing the work of emancipation, and that by his own presence he might establish regular official in-

tercourse with the only great European Power with which he has hitherto had none.

Moreover, it has always been a tradition of the English crown, from the beginning of the revolutionary war, to extend its protection to the Supreme Pontiffs. Mr. Pitt has been unjustly reproached with a reluctance to proclaim a war of principle, and to direct the forces of the coalition into a crusade against France. He conceived at a very early period the design of a great league for the preservation of religion, society, and property, and he wished to place it under the supreme sanction of the Holy See. "I do not expect," he said, in May 1794, "that the Pope shall put himself at the head of a political crusade, or preach, like Urban II. Those times are gone by; and if I do not regret them as a Protestant, yet under the present circumstances, as a man and as an English minister, I cannot but entertain a different feeling. The courts of the Continent have been often hampered in a united action by the religious differences that exist between us. We need an authority that shall hold us together. The Pope alone can be this centre. He alone can speak without partiality, and without private interests. A bull addressed by the Pope to the Catholic powers, proclaiming a holy war against anarchy, would produce a most salutary effect. It would awe the sovereigns and the nations, and found an indissoluble alliance, which alone can conquer the savage enthusiasm of democracy. The legates of the Holy See who should be the bearers of such a manifesto, would be received in London with as much respect as at Vienna or Madrid. Religious distinctions disappear in the presence of the great public danger. If the Pope will consent to publish the bull of coalition, an English fleet shall cruise off the coast of Italy to protect the Roman states, and shall convey an ambassador from the king to the visible head of this indispensable alliance. In case of a French invasion, the Pope and the Cardinals may retire in the English ships to Sicily or the Balearic Islands, or Madeira, where they will be safe under our protection."

Pius VI. refused to join the proposed coalition, because it was not the function of his pontifical office to punish the excesses of the French with the arm of the flesh. He deemed that there was too much discord among the powers to give any hope that his interposition would be successful. But he declared that George III. was the best of kings, and he replied to the offer of Mr. Pitt in terms so applicable to the present time that they ought to be read in the original letter of the Cardinal de Bernis. "*M. Pitt a la bonté de lui offrir, en cas de besoin, un asile assuré sous la protection du pavillon Britannique. Sa Sainteté déclare qu'elle accepterait avec bonheur cet honorable asile, et que le Sacré Collège l'y suivrait avec pleine confiance. Mais le Pape croit ne pouvoir et ne devoir laisser le tombeau des saints apôtres que forcé et contraint; sa résolution irrévocable est d'attendre, au pied de son crucifix, l'ennemi venant au nom de la révolution.*"

The consequences of this determination were such as to make it

probable that the same offer made under similar circumstances would not again be refused by the Holy See. In 1811, when Pius VII. was a prisoner at Savona, the English Government undertook to save him. He was secretly informed that a frigate would appear in the offing, and after certain signals had been exchanged, would approach, in order to deliver him, and to convey him to Sicily or Malta, which was now a dependency of England. The French, however, discovered the plan, and before any attempt was made to execute it the Pope was removed to Fontainebleau.

These considerations, doubtless, were present to the mind of the English minister when he deliberated on the Pope's enquiry, and we must not forget them in judging the answer which he gave. Lord Russell acted upon the traditions of his country, and he offered to the Pope a residence at Malta. For some time no communications took place. At length the time came for Mr. Odo Russell to return to Rome, and he took with him the official reply of the English Government. It was his ungrateful task to couple with the offer of ships to convey the Pope to Trieste, Marseilles, Valencia, or Valetta, an urgent recommendation that he should go speedily, and await in a place of safety the opportunity of a possible return.

The most important feature in the answer is, that the demand addressed to Mr. Russell is silently refused. Pius IX. asks whether he might come to England, and he is told that he may go any where else. He asked for the protection of our soil, and we offer him the protection of our flag. He wished that if he were driven into exile, his misfortunes might not be without benefit to the Church, that the faithful aspirations of distant nations might be gratified, and that the regenerating spiritual influence which must accompany the Holy See during its presence in foreign lands,—an influence which, in the most evil times, was enjoyed by Pius VI. in Austria, and by Pius VII. in France,—might have the widest and most appropriate sphere for its exercise, in a country where there was both Catholic feeling to be encouraged and Protestant prejudice to be dispelled. Moreover he might reasonably believe that those who bitterly condemn misgovernment, and recommend so earnestly the institutions of freedom, would deem it the most valuable effect of his exile, that it should be spent in that country which is the most free and best administered of all, in order that he might behold the action of the system in its favoured home, and that a government much inclined to preach should have an opportunity of inculcating its precepts by its example. This idea Lord Russell refuses to entertain. The despatch in which he conveyed the reply of the Government was not, however, written in answer to the communications made to Mr. Russell on the 26th of July, but on the 25th of October, under the immediate impression of the change of ministers at Paris. He had just read the circular of M. Drouyn de Lhuys announcing the Emperor's altered policy towards Rome.

The answer which Mr. Russell conveyed to Cardinal Antonelli was as follows: "The Pope allows his spiritual authority to be im-



paired, and his hold over the Roman Catholic Church to be weakened by his resistance to the wishes of the Italian people. It does not become her Majesty's Government to dwell upon this danger otherwise than as one to which the religious mind of the Pope must be keenly alive. But the political evil is one upon which her Majesty's Government may fairly dwell. . . . Is there no way of terminating, or at least of suspending, the conflict. . . . Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that Rome should be the capital of the Italian kingdom. But, if they are rightly informed, the Pope believes that a time will come when, by general consent, his former territories will be restored to him, and when his temporal power will resume its former splendour. If such is his sincere conviction, would it not become the Pope that, instead of being himself the principal cause of civil war in Italy, he should retire from this conflict, and expect in tranquillity the issue which, in the order of Providence, may await the Papacy and determine the fate of Italy? In such a case, the admiral of her Majesty in the Mediterranean would convey the Pope to Malta, to Trieste, to Marseilles, or to Valencia; and if his Holiness should choose to remain in Malta, her Majesty's Government would there provide a mansion fit for his reception. There his Holiness might be surrounded by his chief cardinals and most trusty counsellors. He would not be asked to subscribe to any conditions repugnant to his conscience. Civil war would cease in Italy, and the Italian people would be at liberty either to enjoy the complete possession of their own territory, or again to assign to the Pope, if they so thought fit, a temporal dominion."

These words are expanded in a despatch to Lord Cowley, dated October 31: "Her Majesty's Government think that the people of the Roman territory are the most competent judges of what is best for their own welfare and happiness. If, as the British Government have reason to believe, the Roman people wish to annex their state to the Italian kingdom, and to make Rome the capital of Italy, they ought to be left free to do so. If, on the contrary, they wish to maintain the Pope on his throne, and to acknowledge him as their temporal sovereign, as well as to reverence him as their spiritual head, they ought to be left free to do so."

To the French Government this was nothing more than a suggestion that the occupation of Rome should cease. M. Drouyn de Lhuys therefore rejected the proposal with supercilious disdain. He refused to accept a copy of the despatch in which it was contained, and declared that between the two governments it was not a political, but a purely academical question. Lord Cowley reports that he said: "That his Majesty considered himself bound in honour to protect the Pope within the territory which remained to him, so long as his Holiness should continue unable to protect himself, or should not enter into some arrangement with the Italian government satisfactory to both parties. His excellency could not agree with your lordship in looking upon the latter contingency as impossible of realisation. . . . I desired, I said, in the presence of a minister of a Roman Catholic

sovereign, to speak of the spiritual authority of the head of that Church with every respect; but every one must admit and deplore the vices of his temporal government. M. Drouyn de Lhuys replied that, although he could not deny certain abuses, yet he considered them to be greatly exaggerated."

Cardinal Antonelli, on the other hand, held somewhat different language in November to that which the Pope had used in July. Possibly he thought that the delay had rendered the offer superfluous, and certainly he considered that the advice to take advantage of it speedily diminished its value. To abandon Rome on any thing short of physical compulsion would be tantamount, he declared, to a surrender of the temporal power. The Pope might be supposed to have abdicated the crown, like James II. when he left his country.

"On the other hand, should it ever so please Providence in the course of events to allow the French protecting forces to be withdrawn, and the Piedmontese to invade Rome, and should the free exercise of the Pontiff's spiritual duties thereby be endangered, then, and not till then, would it become the Pope's paramount duty to seek protection for the independence of the Church in some foreign land, and the generous offers of hospitality now made by her Majesty's Government might be gratefully accepted."

Soon after the Pope himself gave the same reply. "Cardinal Antonelli replied that he had communicated your lordship's despatch to the Pope the day after I had given him a copy of it, namely, on the 12th of November, and that his Holiness had fully acknowledged the friendly spirit in which that communication had been made; but that, since it was his manifest duty to remain in Rome so long as he could do so with advantage to the spiritual interests of the Church, he could but thank her Majesty's Government for their intentions, but he could not share their opinions, nor could he avail himself of their hospitable offers at present." "On this occasion the Pope was pleased to state to Mr. Russell that he had been gratified by the offers of hospitality made to him by her Majesty's Government, and he requested Mr. Russell to convey to her Majesty's Government his thanks for the despatch which he had communicated to Cardinal Antonelli, offering his Holiness the use of a mansion at Malta. His Holiness was pleased to add, that, although under existing circumstances he would not avail himself of the protection of England, he nevertheless desired to thank her Majesty's Government for their good intentions."

Thus, in his eagerness to counteract the effect of the change at the French Foreign Office, Lord Russell struck an aimless blow, and met the enquiry of the Pope in a manner inexcusably discourteous. To a minister so careful not to make proposals to America which were likely to fail, it was of course obvious in October that the Pope would not accept his advice, and that the offer of the fleet forfeited in consequence its friendly character. He was persuaded, as he himself declares, that the French Government would be deaf to his arguments; yet he sought an occasion to test the influence of the two

countries, in which England was sure to fail. If the despatch had been sent before the fall of M. Thouvenel, and if the consideration had not preceded the offer, the measure would not have been open to blame, and it would have had an importance which the offer actually made does not possess. It would have shown that, independently of the competition with France in the affairs of Italy, and of the anxiety that Italian unity should be complete, the Government was awake to the fact that England is, of all countries in the world, the one most interested in the independence of the Holy See, and in the suppression of those dissensions at home which are kept alive by the occasional confusion of Exeter Hall and Downing Street. Both Lord Russell and Lord Malmesbury have professed in some degree to understand the truth of this, and it is therefore the more to be lamented that no trace of this idea of policy should appear in the steps taken by the English Government in answer to the conversation between the Pope and the English diplomatist last July.

At Turin, under a helpless and almost dying minister, the Roman question slumbered, and a decentralising policy came to the ascendant; and the change there and at Paris altered the prospects of the Roman government. Confidence began to revive; the help of England was no longer wanted; and the influence of France prevailed once more. This influence was exerted, or rather asserted, in two remarkable instances.

The new French minister required some protection against the imputation of retrograde opinions; and it was necessary that the support he gave to the Roman government should be justified before the world by some concession. Accordingly, on the 13th of December, Monsignor Pila, the Roman Minister of the Interior, announced that the next municipal elections were to be held in conformity with the law of 1850. This was amplified in a memoir which was published in France, and in which, to the disgust of the *Armonia* and the *Civiltà*, the Roman government was defended on the ground of its resemblance to the other modern governments, and a promise of further reforms was held out. It was shown that the scheme of the government of Rome was the same as that of other states, at least according to the letter of its laws; it was stated that some of these which had been dormant were about to be enforced, that the council of state and the financial Consulta would be increased, and that a commission would be appointed for administrative reform, and another for the purpose of preparing a civil code. This defence and announcement of reforms proceeded from the necessities of the French government, and not from the intentions of the Roman. It was published without authority, and was at last acknowledged to be no representation of the policy of the Holy See. Its French authorship then became obvious; and it was seen, after all, to contain very little of importance.

It was while this was going on, that the French government heard of the communications which had passed between the Pope and the English agent. In the eyes of a French minister this was treason against the French protectorate, and it was mortifying



to one who was endeavouring to serve the temporal power to find that England had for a moment taken the place of France in the Pope's confidence. France required that the story should be contradicted, that the step should be retraced in such a way that what could not be denied should be disguised, and that a new version should deprive the facts of their effect. To this the Roman government was compelled to consent, in the month of January. Under the altered circumstances of the moment, the appeal of July was already matter of regret. An impression was therefore allowed to get about that things did not happen as they actually occurred. The Pope only said that the conversation with Mr. Russell had not had the important character which had been attributed to it; and it is evident that the report of the interview standing alone assumes much larger proportions than it would have had if publicity were given to the other negotiations which were going on at the same time for the purpose of obtaining safety for the Pope. But the French contradicted the whole story, and Cardinal Antonelli acquiesced in their version. By that numerous party of Cardinals, however, who resent his authority, the step is regarded as an unworthy act of subservience to the unjust pretensions of France. Their disposition manifested itself at the end of February, when a member of the Cardinal-Secretary's household was arrested on suspicion of treason, without the permission of his master having been sought. The state of public feeling gave to this event an importance it did not really possess, except as illustrating the position of Cardinal Antonelli. When he heard of what had happened, he instantly resigned; but the Pope compelled the minister of police to make him an apology, and he remains in office.

The kingdom of Portugal is the classical instance in Europe of a country ruined by the successive errors of revolutionary and reactionary governments, and of the consequences of a vicious antagonism between a clergy indifferent to civil freedom and a liberal party opposed to the freedom of the Church. The population is nearly three times as large as it was in the days when Portugal founded colonies, which have since become flourishing communities; when her flag was supreme in the Indian Ocean, and when she turned the paths of European commerce into her own highway. The traditions of that excellent soldiery that shared the toils and triumph of the campaigns of Salamanca and the Pyrenees are not yet extinct. The people are submissive, and under many disadvantages retain an attachment to religion less demonstrative and perhaps less practical than that of the Irish and Tyrolese, but not less deeply seated and not less firm. They even possess, in an unusual degree, that faculty of voluntary association for purposes of mutual succour or of benevolence, which is the rare but needful basis on which society may be reconstructed when it has been disorganised by civil war and revolutionary theory. Portugal has had no external enemies to

combat, and has enjoyed in the protection of England a security against foreign dangers, if not against internal dissension. And yet there are few countries in the world so helpless, so demoralised, or so much oppressed with financial insolvency and corruption.

Two measures belonging to the administration of Pombal typify those faults of the government which have been the greatest misfortunes to the country. The expulsion of the Jesuits was an arbitrary and tyrannical act, which must not be estimated according to the importance of a single religious order. It deprived the clergy of their best models in the exercise of spiritual functions, and the nation of its best instructors of youth. It hopelessly disturbed the internal state of the Portuguese, and successive generations of the clergy grew up after it with an education more and more deficient, and a spirit more and more lax. It brought the Church into a position of unnatural and disastrous isolation with regard to the Holy See. Moreover, it was a blow at all corporate existence of the clergy, and a protest once for all against the influence of religious ideas in the state. It marks a period during which the clergy have been in an attitude of suspicion and constraint, fearing to lose their privileges; and clinging, therefore, to every instrument of their power, so that their interests have ceased to be considered by themselves or others as identified with those of the public. The same despotic spirit ruined the trade of the country; and the decline of the fisheries is an example of the rest. The tunny fishery alone at one time produced 80,000,000 reis. In the year 1600, it had fallen to 18,000,000; and in 1700, to 500,000. Pombal determined to revive it. He built a town at the mouth of the Guadiana, and commanded the fishermen of the great fishing village of Monte Gordo to go and settle in it. The fishermen, who in a single year had caught 56,000,000 sardines, refused to leave their homes. The minister thereupon burnt Monte Gordo to the ground, and the skilled Portuguese fishermen emigrated to Spain. Since then the government has continued the work of destruction through its patronage. In 1830, the use of a particular net was prescribed. It was soon found that the new net, with its smaller meshes, exhausted the fishery grounds by catching the young spawn. But the government could not abandon its right and duty of providing for every thing.

Since the suppression of the religious orders and the total defeat of the Miguelites, no real political parties have been created; the political movement has consisted of a series of intrigues backed by sedition, and the only questions of principles have been those relating to religion. Yet the Church is less powerful in Portugal than in any other Catholic country. In the year 1834, the victorious party of Don Pedro suppressed 750 religious houses, sparing only 90 convents of women, which were forbidden to receive novices. The expelled monks went forth from a seclusion in which the strict discipline of the orders had long declined, and carried among the people the low ecclesiastical spirit in which they had lived. For a time there

was a great superabundance of priests, and the bishops were forbidden to ordain new ones. Meantime, out of fourteen episcopal sees six are vacant, and some have been vacant for thirty years. During the short reign of the late king, however, matters were improved. There are now 1864 students in the seminaries, and near 400 in the great seminary of Macao, which is in the hands of the Jesuits. The Fathers of the Society have also three establishments in Portugal, and are—such are the vicissitudes of human affairs—the only order now tolerated by the government, though their name cannot be mentioned officially. In the year 1861, they opened their novitiate at Sernache, where they educate priests for the missions beyond the sea, and receive a subsidy from the government. No attempt has yet been made to revive any of the other orders of men.

Among the few things which compensate in some degree for the numerous ills with which the Portuguese Church is afflicted, we must reckon the care with which charitable institutions are kept up, and the spirit shown by the clergy in moments of extremity. Many wealthy foundations still exist, and are well administered. In the great foundling-hospital, the *Misericordia*, and at other places of the same kind, there were, in 1854, above 16,000 children reared at the public charge. In the same year, there were no less than 3,715 associations for the relief of the poor; and the old and important charity of the *Casa Pia* has been considerably improved of late. When the yellow fever and the cholera raged at Lisbon, the clergy devoted themselves nobly for the care of the sick. Many who were away at the time returned to the scene of danger; the Patriarch and forty of his priests died of the pestilence; and great numbers received decorations from the government for their conduct on this occasion. Nevertheless, the capital is the place where the clergy have the smallest influence, and appear to the least advantage.

This is due partly to their defective education, partly to their accommodating and secular spirit. The training which is appointed for the seminaries is extremely imperfect, and there is no such thing in the kingdom as ecclesiastical learning or literature. In the country, this does not hinder the clergy from retaining some authority among the people; but even what they possess they are not apt to use. Many are freemasons, especially among the canons and professors. Nobody can be consecrated a bishop who does not declare that he is not a mason; but it is commonly said that only those who are have any chance of a nomination. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that religious zeal should be quite extinct. There are no residences for the priests, and they live almost invariably in lodgings, even where, if two or three chose to unite, they might have a house to themselves. In large towns the parish clergy are supported by surplice-fees, a table of which is suspended at the church-door. It is now proposed that they shall receive a fixed allowance from the state. The priests in the country are provided for out of the *congrua*; a sort of rate, of which the government fixes the amount, which the



ordinary tax-gatherer collects, and which the civil authorities then dispense to the clergy.

Every body goes to mass on Sundays; but the ceremonial is of the most meagre kind. There is no high mass except in cathedrals and collegiate churches; and there are hardly three churches in the whole of Lisbon besides the English college at which sermons are preached out of Lent. In those churches a homily is read before the principal mass. The children are in most cases very imperfectly catechised; and during nearly half the year it has not been the custom to teach them at all. Many of the parochial clergy dissuade their flocks from frequenting the Sacraments except during Lent. On Sunday the churches are closed by ten in the morning, and the observance of the day is almost entirely neglected. The law indeed enforces the obligation; but even government-works go on just the same as on weekdays, and the shops are open the whole day. It is the favourite day for auctions, and the regular day for bull-fights. In the *Catecismo do Patriarchado*, published in 1860, there is the following question and answer about the commandments of the Church (p. 17): "Quantos sam os mandamentos da Santa Madre Egreja? Os principaes sam cinco." The duty of abstaining from servile work on Sundays and holy days is not one of them. In 1861, the theatres were for the first time opened in Holy Week.

The moral statistics of the country are in some respects remarkable. In a European population of three millions and a half, there are no less than 30,475 civil functionaries in the service of the state. The parish clergy amounts to 4,090. Education is now compulsory; and the whole number of children receiving it is about 110,000, or 1 in 33. If we may trust a report which we have seen, there were 1,617 books printed in Portugal in 1843, and 471 in 1853. On the whole, the growth of the nation is slow; for although there are on an average at least four children to every marriage, and although the annual births are 124,000, and the deaths only 88,000, yet the increase of the population is almost imperceptible. The criminal statistics show, like those of most Latin races, a great predominance of crimes against the person, and comparatively few against property only. The average of late years has been 200 thefts, 500 robberies, and 250 murders.

Some proportionate idea may be formed of the magnitude of the evils under which the Church in Portugal suffers from a measure which the Cardinal-Patriarch was induced to take in the year 1859. Not long after his elevation, he was informed by the bishop of a diocese over the Spanish frontier, that grievous abuses prevailed in the administration of the Sacrament of Penance by the Lisbon clergy. From the testimony of Spaniards who had been to seek a livelihood in Portugal, it was discovered that their confessions had been often invalid (*segundo manifestam . . . as confissões feitas em Lisboa são nullas*). They said that some of the clergy of the capital were in the habit of stopping their penitents when they were beginning to recount their sins, that they gave absolution and dismissed them,

without hearing their confession, or uttering a word of spiritual counsel. It was therefore found indispensable by the ecclesiastical authorities in Spain, in dealing with these persons, to prescribe a general confession. The Patriarch took time to verify these allegations. At the end of four months, he declared that the scandalous abuses detected by the Spanish prelate had become inveterate in the city; that religion was decaying, because the priesthood indecorously absented themselves from the confessional; and that if the sacrament was neglected by the laity, it was the fault of its own ministers, who had betrayed it, and converted the fountain of grace into a source of sacrilege and reprobation. If this went on, he declared Christ's work would be dishonoured by His servants, and the sacred character would be despised and loathed, because of the guilt of the priests themselves. It had even become necessary to prohibit the clergy, under pain of excommunication, from accepting presents from their penitents under any pretence whatever. So grave was the occasion deemed, that the Patriarch, instead of circulating his reproof among the clergy only, by whom it was provoked, published it in a pastoral addressed to all the faithful of the patriarchate; and thus publicly and formally warned his flock against their own pastors. If we call to mind the awful and delicate subject of this admonition, the consequences which must follow in a society divided between the perils of ignorance and unbelief, from awakening or confirming a suspicion of the fidelity of the clergy in the discharge of their most solemn duty,—a suspicion which, in the words of the Patriarch, must leave the conscience without relief, and sin without a remedy,—and more particularly if we reflect how much is implied in the acknowledgment that an abuse, confessed to have been inveterate, was only at length discovered by the vigilance of a foreign bishop,—this pastoral will appear almost unexampled, in its appalling significance, throughout the modern history of the Church.

The Pope last year had reason to complain of the Portuguese bishops. Their absence from Rome at Pentecost might be explained; but they sent no expression of sympathy for the Holy See, or of adhesion to the declaration of the Episcopate. The Pope, therefore, wrote to them to complain of their indifference both towards the Holy See and towards their flocks. To this they have responded by forwarding their unanimous adherence to the sentiments expressed in the declaration of the bishops at Rome. Such manifestations of fidelity to the Holy See have been necessarily rare, in consequence of the irreligious spirit of the government, and of the dependence of the episcopate upon its authority and favour. The nomination to vacant sees belongs to the crown; and the Holy See seldom refuses to confirm its nominee, and sometimes protests in vain against the choice. Two recent instances in which the protest of Rome has obtained the withdrawal of the original candidates, and the substitution of men more worthy, illustrate both the hostile disposition of the government and the dawn of a better time. As all the bishops receive their salaries from the state, and have lost the property of

their sees by the same act which secularised the monastic lands, political independence is hindered by many obstacles from flourishing among them.

But it would appear that the anti-Catholic policy of the Loule ministry has awakened a spirit of resistance which promises to lead to a reaction, and to some improvement of the deplorable condition of the Church as an influence in society, and as an institution of the state. The Italian match, the late riots, and the measures by which the government has endeavoured still further to secularise religion and to diminish aristocratic influence, prove how vigorously and how openly this policy is pursued. The abolition of entails, which was carried in the Chamber of Deputies on the 28th of February, by a majority of 91 to 10, has been twice rejected by the Peers. In order to overcome this opposition, twenty new peers have been created. But meantime, another measure of ministers has called forth resistance in a quarter which has been hitherto little feared and little regarded. The political apathy of public men has been a great convenience to the government. Peers as well as deputies are negligent in their attendance, unless some great interest brings them flocking to the Chamber. The bishops, who have seats in the House of Peers, have been generally absent, and all but invariably dumb. But, in January last year, the government issued an order that, when a parish fell vacant, the new incumbent should be selected in a concursus, not as heretofore held before the bishop of the diocese, and decided on by him, but by lay judges appointed by the state. This would appear to be the final step which can be taken by a government to complete the prostration of religious liberty, and to degrade the Church into a secular instrument for political ends. It was the signal for a change in the attitude of the clergy of Portugal towards the government, such as none could have foreseen; and an act which was designed to be the crown of the edifice of state supremacy seems destined to be the occasion for the recovery of the freedom and authority of the Church. The measure passed the lower house last year, and in the month of February it came on for discussion before the Peers.

The Portuguese bishops, who were too often silent in the presence of ministers, and rarely attended the debates of the Chamber, united in a protest against the law, and appeared in their places to oppose it. The Patriarch, a man retiring, pliant, and even timid in character, boldly and solemnly gave utterance to the sentiments which he was known secretly to hold. The impulse to this memorable change was given by a new man, the Bishop of Oporto.

A few months ago, amid general surprise, a priest was appointed to that most important see, who had spent twenty years on the Chinese mission. He held no conspicuous position in the Church, but was known to be a man of piety and talent. His new position speedily brought to light qualities more rare,—independence of thought, energy of will, and the power of grasping principles, and incurring every sacrifice in their service. In the East, where even



episcopal control is hardly felt by the missionary, he had grown accustomed to judge for himself, and to be free in his actions. The constant interference and encroachment of the state-officials in ecclesiastical concerns filled him with indignation and disgust; he determined to strike for liberty; and he had no sooner taken his oath and his seat than, on the 14th of February, in the debate on the law for the appointment of the parish clergy, he delivered a very powerful maiden speech, and carried along the Patriarch and his colleagues by his example.

"When the representatives of the nation," he said, "are about to pronounce their judgment on the acts of the responsible advisers of the crown, my conscience forbids me to keep silence; duties the most sacred compel me to speak. Against my will I have been raised to a position to which my birth gave me no claim, in which I am the colleague of illustrious men whose wisdom and whose valour have honoured our age, and whose ancestors have furnished by their deeds the most glorious pages of our history. For eight-and-twenty years I have been absent from my native land; I am a stranger to the forms and customs of the new society that has arisen, and almost a stranger to my mother-tongue. In the presence of new laws, practices, and ideas, I fear that words may fail me, yet I am compelled to speak. I am compelled because, though I am unworthy, God has permitted that I should be a bishop of His church, and I will not risk my soul by neglecting the duties of my office. I am compelled, because I am a peer of the realm of Portugal, of a Catholic nation which, in the ages of its fidelity, carried the limits of its empire to the farthest East, and filled the astonished nations with the renown it acquired under the banner that bore the emblem of the sacred wounds of Christ; and in that capacity, among such a people, I have duties to fulfil which it would be dishonour to forget. If I could forget them, I should be reminded by the oath which I so lately took on becoming a member of this house. By that oath I bound myself to obey, and to cause others to obey, the constitutional charter of 1826, and to be faithful to my king and country. . . . As a bishop, therefore, I must defend religion; as a peer I must uphold the constitution. The sixth article of the charter declares that 'the Roman Catholic Apostolic Religion shall continue to be the religion of the State.' That religion is not the invention of man, but the revelation of God, carried by its apostles to the ends of the earth, defined and fixed by councils, and in such sort binding upon men that he who denies its faith, its dogmas, its laws, and its canons, may call himself what he pleases, but can never be a member of the Catholic Church.

"If a private subject chooses to abandon this religion, he must settle the matter between himself and God; there is no human tribunal that can judge him. But the constitutional government, sworn to uphold the charter, ceases to be legitimate as soon as it violates the religion which that charter recognises as the religion of the state. The edicts and laws which emanate from it, in opposition to

the fundamental law of the kingdom, are in themselves null, whatever be the authority on which they rest. With this principle in my mind, I cannot but deplore the series of acts which show that the government considers itself authorised to alter or repeal ecclesiastical canons, under the pretence of regulating the exercise of the royal patronage, and of carrying out the 75th article of the charter, which it interprets in a sense contrary to that put on it by the Cortes of 1821. The article says that the king is the head of the executive, and exercises his power through the ministers; and that two of his principal rights are the nomination of bishops and the presentation to ecclesiastical benefices. The canon law says, *Patronum faciunt dos, edificatio, fundus*. The king may therefore nominate to those benefices of which he has become patron by endowment, erection, or glebe, or by a concordat with the Holy See, like that of 1778. But in all these cases the nominee is to be examined, and only presented if found fit, by the ordinary, to whom also belongs the right of collation to all benefices of which the king is not the patron. On what legal ground, then, do you rest this new competition by testimonials for benefices? The canon law knows no such method of selection; and the practice is novel in Portugal.

"But if the royal nomination to benefices is supposed not to be a concession of the Church under the sanction of the canon law, but an essential and inalienable prerogative of the crown, overriding the ecclesiastical canons, then it is a mere fiction,—an absurdity which, for the credit of the state, ought to be abolished; for with such a law the religion of the state is no longer the Catholic religion, but simply an ecclesiastical establishment to which a portion of the civil administration is entrusted. It becomes a purely human institution to direct souls in the interest, and for the convenience, of the government.

"The charter places the supreme power in the nation, which delegates its execution to permanent or temporary representatives. The authority, therefore, of the public servants is all derived from the nation; and that which they exercise over the Church can be but a delegated authority, precisely like that which they exercise over the state. But this would give us a constitutional religion, founded on the sovereignty of the people, and varying with the fashion—a human religion, not the religion of Jesus Christ. For He gave the secular power no authority in His Church; the state can only exercise ecclesiastical authority by human right over a human church, which by the very terms ceases to be divine. The Church of Christ, therefore, can never recognise any such authority; she knows by bitter experience that the state often usurps this power, and she teaches that disobedience becomes as much a duty under such circumstances as obedience is when the state confines itself within its proper limits.

"She teaches that when a government, transgressing the limits of its authority, invades the sanctuary, disobedience to its commands becomes as imperative a moral duty as obedience in those matters

which are within the province of the state. She teaches by word and example that the secular power has authority over our bodies, our lives, and our liberties, but that the conscience and the soul are free. Guided by these sacred truths, and animated by a sense of duty, I entreat the government to withdraw a measure which in my conscience I deem incompatible with my obligations as a bishop and a peer, contrary to the canon law, and opposed to the sixth article of the charter. At the same time, I beg leave solemnly to declare, before my country and my peers, that it is my fixed resolve, by the help of God, to observe in the government of my diocese no laws but those which are imposed by legitimate ecclesiastical authority, and that I accept from this moment all the consequences in which this determination may involve me. God grant that, if some must suffer, I may be the only victim; and that the opposition which I hope to offer to the last against every act injurious to the Church may at length convince his majesty's ministers of the necessity of entering into a concordat with the Holy See, in order to define the limits of the two powers, and to prevent those collisions between church and state which are now inevitable."

On the 13th of September 1862 the Confederates, under General Lee, were at Hagenstown, where, on the 14th, they were overtaken and defeated by M'Clellan. Thence they moved southward, and on the 15th their head-quarters were at Sharpsburg, on the west bank of Antietam Creek. Here, on the 17th, M'Clellan again attacked them, and the battle which ensued was one of the bloodiest, and at the same time least decisive, of the war. The creek was passed by the Federals at two points, but the chief brunt of the engagement was sustained by General Hooker's division, which formed the Federal right, General Burnside, who commanded the left wing, not succeeding in crossing till late in the afternoon. Both wings held their ground, however, and the Federals claimed the victory. On the following day the Confederates evacuated their position, and recrossed the Potomac. They were enabled to do this unopposed, owing to the surrender of 10,000 Federal troops at Harper's Ferry to the Confederates under Jackson, on the 14th, which left their retreat open, while at the same time it had set Jackson free in time to rejoin Lee before the battle of Antietam. The Confederates then moved up the valley of the Shenandoah, while M'Clellan cautiously threw forward his army from Harper's Ferry as far as Manassas Junction, between which two points his front extended, having the Blue Ridge between him and the enemy, and Washington in his rear. Early in November, however, M'Clellan was superseded, and Burnside took the command. Meanwhile, Lee had passed the Blue Ridge, and placed himself between Richmond and the Federal army at Fredericksburg, on the south bank of the Rapahannock. To this point Burnside at once transferred his army, but he did not cross the river till the 4th of December. On the



13th the Federals attacked the Confederate army, which was very strongly posted on the heights to the south of the town. The advantages of position were so great that success was almost impossible. The attempt entirely failed, and the assailants were driven back with great loss. On the night of the 15th, Burnside recrossed the river without opposition. From that time the army of the Potomac has remained nearly stationary. Burnside resigned the command at the beginning of February, and General Hooker was appointed in his stead. The two other chief centres of military interest have been Tennessee and the Mississippi. In Tennessee, General Rosencrans fought the Confederates, under General Bragg, at Murfreesboro, about forty miles south-east of Nashville, for three days, beginning on the 31st of December. The loss was very great, and the result seemed uncertain until the morning of the 4th of January, when it was found that the Confederates had retreated. The Federals occupied Murfreesboro, but no advance movement has been ventured upon since that date. About the same time an expedition was formed under General Sherman to attack Vicksburg. Sherman landed his troops on the left bank of the Yazoo, and gradually fought his way, by a series of engagements, lasting from the 27th of December to the 2d of January. On this last day, however, he was attacked by the Confederates in force under General Johnston, and completely defeated. Shortly afterwards he was replaced in the command of the expedition by General M'Clermand, who was joined a month later by General Grant, with troops from Northern Mississippi. For the last two months the Federals have devoted themselves to cutting a canal across the neck of land on which Vicksburg stands, in order to divert the course of the Mississippi, and leave the place no longer protected by the river. The peninsula is only a mile across, but the nature of the soil makes the work very difficult.

The political events of the last six months have been more important than the movements of the armies. On the 22d of September 1862 the President gave up the attempt to carry on the war upon the basis of the constitution, and issued a proclamation declaring that on the 1st of January 1863 "all persons held as slaves within any state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforth, and for ever free;" and that on the 1st of January the executive would, by a further proclamation, designate the states then in rebellion. Accordingly, on New Year's-day, Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, except New Orleans and its immediate neighbourhood, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia, except Western Virginia, and certain specified counties then occupied by the Federal troops, were so designated, the slaves in them declared free, and the Federal executive charged with recognising and maintaining their freedom. The proclamation was received with enthusiasm by the Abolitionists, who, in consideration of the great change wrought by it on paper, were content to overlook the fact that

wherever the President had authority it left things just as they were. The democratic party denounced it as unconstitutional, and as calculated to throw additional difficulties in the way of a restoration of the Union; and it did much, probably, to promote the reaction which has given the democrats a majority in the next Congress. For a more practical step to the amelioration of slavery we must look to the South. In a pastoral issued by the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Confederate states, at their first convention, the slaveholders are reminded that it is their duty, "as Christian men, so to arrange this institution as not to necessitate the violation of those sacred relations which God has created, and which man cannot, consistently with Christian duty, annul. The systems of labour which prevail in Europe, and which are, in many respects, more severe than ours, are so arranged as to prevent all necessity for the separation of parents and children, and of husbands and wives; and very little care on our part would rid the system upon which we are about to plant our national life of these features. . . . . We rejoice to be able to say that the public sentiment is rapidly becoming sound on these matters, and that the legislatures of several of the Confederate states have already taken steps towards this consummation." What the nature of these steps is, in the absence of any intelligence from the South, we do not know; and any alteration extending merely to these features in Southern slavery would leave many of the worst parts of the system untouched. But a great advance has been made, when it is once recognised that slaves have rights, however imperfect may be the sanctions by which the masters are bound to discharge their corresponding duties.

The autumn elections resulted in a series of democratic victories. The Democrats were successful in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana; and in the great state of New York they elected the Governor, fifteen out of eighteen members of Congress, and half the State House of Assembly. The questions on which these elections turned were not so much the policy of prosecuting the war,—that is not yet an open question in the Federal states,—as the constitutional character of the measures adopted by the President for that purpose. "I deny," said Mr. Seymour, the newly-elected Governor of New York, in his inaugural message, "that this rebellion can suspend a single right of the people in the loyal states. I denounce the doctrine that the civil war in the South takes away from the loyal North the benefits of one principle of civil liberty." The acts of President Lincoln were open to objection on two principal grounds. In the first place, they were assumptions by the executive of the powers reserved by the constitution to the legislative and judicial branches of the Government. By his proclamation of the 24th of September 1862, not only "all rebels and insurgents, their aiders and abettors," but "all persons discouraging volunteer enlistments, resisting militia drafts, or guilty of any disloyal practice," were removed from the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals, and made "subject to martial law, and liable to trial and punishment by

courts-martial or military commission." These military tribunals were also made the sole judges of what constitutes a "disloyal practice," since "the writ of habeas corpus is suspended in respect to all persons arrested, or who are now, or hereafter during the rebellion shall be, imprisoned in any fort, camp, arsenal, military prison, or other place of confinement, by any military authority, or by the sentence of any court-martial or military commission." Thus, by the joint operation of the two clauses, the President was enabled, at his discretion, to create any number of new crimes not known to the law,—which is a usurpation of the legislative power,—and to entrust the trial of the offenders, not to the ordinary judges, but to tribunals of his own appointment,—which is an encroachment on the judicial power. In the second place, the President's acts were assumptions by the Federal authority of powers not delegated by the constitution to the Federal Government at all. "The persons who are the subjects of the emancipation proclamation are held to service by the laws of the respective states in which they reside, enacted by state authority, as clear and unquestionable, under our system of government, as any law passed by any state on any subject."<sup>1</sup> If, therefore, this proclamation is valid, there is no outrage upon the rights of the several states which it is not competent to Mr. Lincoln to commit at his discretion, on the plea of military necessity. From any further temptation to err in the former of these directions the Congress which came to end on the 3d of March has completely relieved him. By one act passed during the last week of the session, the President is empowered to suspend the operation of the law of habeas corpus whenever he may think it necessary to do so. By a second act he is empowered to recruit the army by a conscription extending over the whole country, without paying any regard to state boundaries, or being subject to any interference from the state governments. Thus, in his second attack on the constitution, he has been able to make Congress an accomplice. The Democrats were unable to make any serious opposition to the passing of either of these measures, partly from their dread of the unpopularity which still attends upon any want of vigour in the conduct of the war, and partly because, by being parties to the coercion of the South, they have cut away from under them their old standing ground of non-interference with state rights.

<sup>1</sup> Executive Power, by Judge Curtis.



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